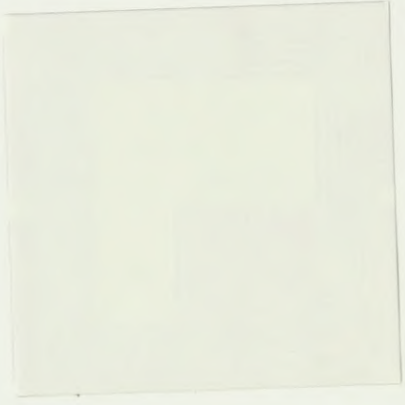

THE JOURNAL

OF

HELLENIC STUDIES

The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies

THE JOURNAL

OF

HELLENIC STUDIES

VOLUME IX.

1888

KRAUS REPRINT

Nendeln/Liechtenstein

1971

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THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

KRAUS REPRINT
A Division of
KRAUS-THOMSON ORGANIZATION LIMITED
Nendeln/Liechtenstein
1971
Printed in Germany

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RULES

OF THE

Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

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1. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows:—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archæological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archæological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilization.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society: in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council.

6. No money shall be drawn out of the hands of the Treasurer or dealt with otherwise than by an order of Council, and a cheque signed by two members of Council and countersigned by a Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed

and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President and Vice-Presidents shall be appointed for one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

17. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

18. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

19. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

20. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

21. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

22. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency, occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

23. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

24. The names of all candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to a Meeting of the Council, and at their next Meeting the Council shall proceed to the election of candidates so proposed: no such election to be valid unless the candidate receives the votes of the majority of those present.

25. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a payment of £15 15*s*., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment.

26. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

27. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

28. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

29. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

30. The Council shall have power to nominate British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

31. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members.

32. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

RULES FOR THE USE OF THE LIBRARY.

I. That the Library be administered by the Library Committee, which shall be composed of not less than four members, two of whom shall form a quorum.

II. That the custody and arrangement of the Library be in the hands of the Librarian, subject to the control of the Committee, and in accordance with Regulations drawn up by the said Committee and approved by the Council.

III. That all books, periodicals, plans, photographs, &c., be received by the Librarian or Secretary and reported to the Council at their next meeting.

IV. That every book or periodical sent to the Society be at once stamped with the Society's name.

V. That all the Society's books be entered in a Catalogue to be kept by the Librarian, and that in this Catalogue such books, &c. as are not to be lent out be specified.

VI. That the Library be accessible to Members on all week days from eleven A.M. to six P.M., when either the Librarian, or in his absence some responsible person, shall be in attendance.

VII. That the Society's books (with exceptions hereinafter to be specified) be lent to Members under the following conditions :—

(1) That the number of volumes lent at any one time to each Member shall not exceed three.

(2) That the time during which such book or books may be kept shall not exceed one month.

(3) That no books be sent beyond the limits of the United Kingdom.

VIII. That the manner in which books are lent shall be as follows :—

(1) That all requests for the loan of books be addressed to the Librarian.

(2) That the Librarian shall record all such requests, and lend out the books in the order of application.

(3) That in each case the name of the book and of the borrower be inscribed, with the date, in a special register to be kept by the Librarian.

(4) Should a book not be returned within the period specified, the Librarian shall reclaim it.

(5) All expenses of carriage to and fro shall be borne by the borrower.

IX. That no book falling under the following categories be lent out under any circumstances :—

(1) Unbound books.

(2) Detached plates, plans, photographs, and the like.

(3) Books considered too valuable for transmission.

X. That in the case of a book being kept beyond the stated time the borrower be liable to a fine of one shilling for each additional week, and if a book is lost the borrower be bound to replace it.

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The School Reading Room, *Rugby.*
The St. Louis Mercantile Library, *St. Louis, U.S.A.*
The Archæological Museum, *The University, Strassburg* (per Prof. Michaelis).
The Imperial University and National Library, *Strassburg.*
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LIST OF JOURNALS &c., RECEIVED IN EXCHANGE FOR THE JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

The Transactions of the American School, *Athens.*
The Parnassos Philological Journal, *Athens.*
The Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique (published by the French School at *Athens.*)
The Publications of the Archaeological Society, *Athens.*
The Mittheilungen of the German Imperial Institute at *Athens.*
The Journal of the Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece, *Athens.*
Bursian's Jahresbericht für classische Alterthumswissenschaft.
The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
The Jahrbuch of the German Imperial Archaeological Institute, *Berlin.*
The Revue Archéologique, *Paris* (per M. Georges Perrot, 45, *rue d'Ulm*).
The Numismatic Chronicle.
The Publications of the Evangelical School, *Smyrna.*
The Revue des Études Grecques, Publication Trimestrielle de l'Association pour l'Encouragement des Études Grecques en France, *Paris.*
The Mittheilungen of the German Imperial Archaeological Institute, *Rome.*
The Journal of the American Archaeological Institute, *Boston, U.S.A.*
The Publications of the Imperial Archaeological Commission, *St. Petersburg.*
The Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society, and the Journal of Philology.
The Proceedings of the Hellenic Philological Syllogos, *Constantinople.*
The American Journal of Archæology (Dr. A. L. Frothingham), 29, *Cathedral Street, Baltimore, U.S.A.*
The Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 9, *Conduit Street, W.*
Mnemosyne (*care of* Mr. E. J. Brill), *Leiden, Holland.*

ADDENDA

OF

BOOKS, PERIODICALS, &c.

IN THE

LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

FEBRUARY 1889.

Abbott (Evelyn). History of Greece. Vol. I. Crown 8vo. London. 1888.

American Journal of Archaeology. Vol. IV. Parts 1, 2, 3. 1888.

Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des Études Grecques en France. Vol. XXII. 1888.

Archaeological Institute of America—

Papers of the School of Classical Studies at Athens. Vol. II. An Epigraphical Journey in Asia Minor. By J. R. Sitlington Sterrett, Ph.D. Vols. III., IV. 8vo. Boston. 1888.

Architects, Society of British—

Journal of Proceedings. Vol. IV. 1888.

Transactions. Vol. IV. 1888.

Aristophanis Comoediae. Edidit Blaydes. Plutus. 1 vol. 8vo. London. 1888.

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique. Vol. for 1888.

Collignon (Maxime) et O. Rayet. Histoire de la Céramique Grecque. Royal 8vo. Paris. 1888.

Edmonds (E. M.). Greek Lays, Idylls, and Legends. Small 8vo. London. 1886.

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Joanne. Guides Joanne.—Athènes et ses Environs. 1 vol. 12mo. Paris. 1888.

Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vol. IX., No. 1. 1888.

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Ktesias. Fragments of the Persika. Edited by John Gilmore. 1 vol. 8vo. London. 1888.

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Nebraska University Studies. Vol. I. Nos. 1, 2. Lincoln, Nebraska, U.S.A. 1888.

Numismatic Chronicle. Vol. VIII. Parts, 1, 2, 3. 1888.

Penrose (F. C.). Principles of Athenian Architecture. Second Edition. Royal Folio. London (Society of Dilettanti). 1888.

Plato. The Phaedrus, Lysis, and Protagoras. Translated by J. Wright. 1 vol. 12mo. London. 1888.

Πρακτικά for 1887.

Rayet (O.). Études d'Archéologie et d'Art, avec une notice biographique sur l'auteur par S. Reinach. 8vo. Paris. 1888.

Revue Archéologique. Vol. XI. 1888.

Revue des Études Grecques. Vol. I. Nos. 1, 2, 3. Paris. 1888.

THE SESSION OF 1887–88.

The First General Meeting was held on *October* 20, 1887, MR. E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, Vice-President, in the chair.

MR. MURRAY read a paper on two vases from Cyprus (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. VIII. p. 317). These were found in recent excavations on the site of the ancient Marion, and were both undoubtedly of Athenian origin. The older was an *alabastron*, with female figures finely drawn in black on a creamy surface. The scene was of Bacchic character, and the painting was signed by an artist Pasiades, a name hitherto unknown. The second vase was a *lecythus*, with red figures on a black ground, but with accessories of white colour and gilding. The figures represented were Oedipus, the Sphinx, Athena, Apollo, Castor, Polydeuces, and Aeneas, and the subject Oedipus putting an end to the Sphinx after she had thrown herself down from her rock on the solution of her riddle. The colouring seemed to Mr. Murray to suggest an attempt on the part of the painter to reproduce the effect of a chryselephantine statue. Mr. Murray was inclined to fix the date at about 370 B.C.

MR. C. SMITH remarked that the interest of the vases lay specially in their coming from Cyprus, and dwelt upon the importance of working out so rich a mine.

MR. WATKISS LLOYD argued that a column in the second vase, which Mr. Murray had considered to indicate a temple, was more probably the column on which the Sphinx is ordinarily seated in vase paintings.

MR. T. CLARKE remarked upon the close relation between Athena and the Sphinx, which might be noticed in Asia Minor and elsewhere, and was certainly older than the myth of Oedipus. Hence, no doubt, her appearance on the helmet of the Parthenos at Athens.

An abstract was read of a paper, by the REV. E. L. HICKS, on an inscription found last year by Mr. Bent in Thasos. This was a decree having reference to the revolution at Thasos described by Thucydides

(viii. 64) as part of the programme of Peisander and his friends in B.C. 411. The full text, with Mr. Hicks's restoration and commentary, was published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. VIII. p. 409.

MR. BENT gave an account of his discovery of the stone. A squeeze of it was taken later by Mr. Christides, from which it has been published in the last number of the *Revue Archéologique*.

MR. C. WHITEHOUSE exhibited a fragment of an uncial MS. of Demosthenes from the Fayoum, and dwelt upon the importance of investigating the district from the archæological point of view before it was injured by new irrigation works.

The Second General Meeting was held on *February* 23, 1888, MR. WATKISS LLOYD in the chair.

MR. H. H. STATHAM, in a short discourse upon Greek architectural mouldings, said that he was not proposing at that moment to bring forward any new facts about Greek mouldings, but to call the attention of the Society to the interest of a phase of Greek work of which little was generally known outside the architectural profession. Referring to a small sheet of diagrams, which was handed round to the meeting, he pointed out the function of architectural mouldings as a means of producing changes of reflected light or shadow by changes in the plane of surface of the material, and that such a modelling of the surface, when drawn in profile (as mouldings always were drawn), became a form of lineal design. Examples were given of the profiles accepted since the Renaissance as the orthodox 'classic' mouldings (the 'Ovolo,' 'Cavetto,' 'Torus,' &c.), and in contrast with these attention was directed to the varied and delicate curvatures of some of the typical forms of Greek moulding, many of which were formed upon such curves as the hyperbola and the ellipse instead of on the circular compass-struck forms employed in Roman and in most Renaissance architecture. Some profiles of Doric capitals were also given, showing the variety of treatment which had been practised in this single feature in various ages and localities; and attention was drawn also to the delicate discrimination shown by the Greek architects in the placing of their mouldings so as to mark the special character of an architectural feature—treating an *anta* with a moulding quite distinct from that of a column, &c. In conclusion Mr. Statham said that his main practical object in calling attention to the subject was to recommend to the Hellenic Society that some special effort should be made, with the help which some of the architectural students of the School at Athens might give, towards forming

and publishing a tolerably correct and typical collection of full-size profiles of Greek mouldings, which were at present very inadequately illustrated, and mostly only to a small scale, in published works. Such a collection, he said, would be of value both artistically and historically. It seemed a work quite within the scope of the Society, and one which would be highly appreciated by architects and students of architecture.

The CHAIRMAN, MR. T. CLARKE, and others took part in the discussion which followed.

MR. L. R. FARNELL read a paper on the Classical Museums of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and St. Petersburg, giving a general account of their collections, and discussing certain antiquities that had not yet been published or not yet been sufficiently explained. The paper was published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. IX. p. 31.

The Third General Meeting was held on *April* 12, 1888, MR. SIDNEY COLVIN, Vice-President, in the chair.

PROFESSOR GARDNER read a paper on an Athenian amphora of the fifth century in the British Museum, from Vulci, representing a warrior taking leave of wife and child, and considered the question whether the scene should be regarded as one of mere *genre*, or as a rendering of the parting of Hector and Andromache as related in the *Iliad*. After discussing the relations usual between vase pictures and scenes in the *Iliad*, the writer came to the conclusion that in the case of the vase under consideration the intention of the painter was to represent Hector and Andromache (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. IX. p. 11).

DR. WALDSTEIN expressed general agreement with Prof. Gardner's views, but thought his timely protest against inconsiderate attempts to connect vase paintings with literature was in some respects overstated. In the interpretation of these paintings all considerations must be taken into account, and among others possibly the object or destination of the several vases, whether for practical use or of a votive character.

MR. WATKISS LLOYD also agreed that the vase painters should be looked upon as independent artists, drawing inspiration or suggestion at times from Homer, but rarely, if ever, attempting a literal reproduction of his scenes. As to the vase in question, he saw considerable difficulties in Prof. Gardner's interpretation.

MR. CECIL SMITH read a paper upon the fragments of a red-figured vase of the best period in the British Museum (Catalogue No. 804*). These

have been several times published as representing a scene from the myth of the Argonauts, specially in connection with another picture of a sacrifice, which is inscribed 'Αρχεναύτης. The latter has, however, been shown by Flasch to have no reference to the Argonautic legend, the inscription meaning merely 'ship's commander.' Mr. Cecil Smith suggested that in both cases we have not mythical scenes, but the thanksgiving sacrifice of Athenian citizens (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. IX. p. 1).

The Annual Meeting took place on *June* 21, 1888, Mr. Sidney Colvin, Vice-President, in the chair.

The following Report was read by the Honorary Secretary on the part of the Council:—

The progress and activity of the Society during the Session now ended have been remarkable and full of hope for the future. Year by year the Society is gaining in numbers, and is making its influence felt in all enterprises which come within its scope. During the past year it has been particularly prominent in assisting and organising schemes of exploration. The most important of these has been in connection with the island of Cyprus. It had long been felt that systematic exploration ought to be set on foot there, and might yield important results. In the autumn of 1887 proposals were put forward on the subject from more than one quarter, and the Council determined to do all in its power to bring them together into a single well-organised scheme. Accordingly a special meeting was held to discuss the question. The High Commissioner of Cyprus, who had recently forbidden any further private excavations on the island, expressed his willingness to give proper facilities, in accordance with the laws of the island, to a comprehensive scheme of excavation on a scientific basis. In the end a Cyprus Exploration Fund was instituted with a strong Committee, representing the leading Archaeological Societies, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the British Museum. An appeal for funds was drawn up by this Committee and issued in the name of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. The appeal was so far successful that towards the end of the year a party of students of the British School at Athens, under the superintendence of Mr. Ernest Gardner, the Director of the School, were sent out to Cyprus for the purpose of selecting a suitable site or sites. The Council of the Hellenic Society, regarding this as one of the most important undertakings with which the Society has yet had to do, thought it right to contribute the sum of £150 towards the Fund. A like sum was contributed respectively by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and by the Managing Committee of the British School at Athens. Early in February work was begun upon the site of the temple of Aphrodite at Old Paphos, and by the end of April the site had been

completely cleared. The results, if not of a sensational character, were quite valuable enough to justify the undertaking. Accurate plans have been made of the temple, which turns out to be of an unusual type. A large number of important inscriptions have been found, together with a few sculptures of a good period—especially a beautiful head of Eros—and many interesting terra-cottas and specimens of glass and pottery. Details will be given in the Report of the Cyprus Committee, and it is probable that the scientific account of the discoveries will be published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. Excavations on a smaller scale have been made on two less important sites. If funds are forthcoming it is intended to resume operations in the autumn. The Council earnestly recommend the undertaking to the support of all members of the Society.

Incidental mention has been made of the British School at Athens as having assumed the conduct of the work in Cyprus. As this Society has been closely associated with the School from the outset, it will be satisfactory to members to learn that besides the students engaged in Cyprus, two other students, both architects, and one of them the holder of the Travelling Studentship of the Royal Academy, have been doing good work in Athens. There does not seem any fear that the School will fail to attract a steady supply of competent students, and to win for itself an honourable position among institutions of its class. The danger is rather that its funds will not avail to secure its efficiency and permanence. Feeling convinced of the great services that may be rendered by the School to the cause of Hellenic Studies in England, the Council once more recommend the members of the Society to assist in its maintenance, either as donors or as annual subscribers.

Earlier in the Session the Council made a grant of £50 to the Asia Minor Exploration Fund in aid of another expedition about to be undertaken by Professor W. M. Ramsay, with a view of confirming and supplementing his previous researches. He did not start until Easter, and there are as yet no results to record, but judging from past experience it may fairly be assumed that valuable contributions both to archaeology and topography will be forthcoming from this as from the preceding journeys of this able explorer.

In January a grant of £50 was made to Mr. Theodore Bent, who was intending to continue his researches in the island of Thasos. Circumstances prevented him from carrying out his intention, but Mr. Bent made a good use of the grant in a coasting expedition along the southern bays and creeks of Asia Minor, where he succeeded in identifying the sites of three cities mentioned by Ptolemy but hitherto undiscovered, besides finding inscriptions and other remains.

The *Journal of Hellenic Studies* has in the past year fully maintained its high standard of excellence. Amongst the contents of the eighth volume may be mentioned the concluding instalment of the Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias by Professor Percy Gardner and Dr. Imhoof Blumer; the second and concluding part of Professor Ramsay's memoir

on "The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia"; Mr. A. H. Smith's "Notes on a Tour in Asia Minor" taken in the company of Professor Ramsay in the summer of 1884; and Mr. W. R. Paton's account of "Excavations in Caria." Professor Michaelis contributed an able memoir on the Cnidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles, to accompany two photographs of the beautiful undraped cast of the well-known Venus in the *Sala a croce greca* in the Vatican, which has been obtained for the South Kensington Museum collection by the well-directed zeal of Dr. W. C. Perry. The Rev. E. L. Hicks gave an historical account, largely based upon inscriptions, of the city of Iasos, off the coast of Caria; Mr. J. B. Bury continued his record of the Lombards and Venetians in Euboea. Professor Ridgeway put forward an interesting theory of the origin, value and affinities of the Homeric Talent; Mr. Walter Leaf offered a new interpretation of the famous trial scene in *Iliad* xviii. Shorter papers on unpublished vases were contributed by Mr. A. S. Murray, Mr. W. R. Paton, Miss Harrison and Mr. Ernest Gardner. Inscriptions from Thasos were published by Mr. Bent and Mr. Hicks; from Salonica by Mr. D. G. Hogarth, who also based an account of the cult of Apollo Lermenus upon inscriptions found by Professor Ramsay and himself in the valley of the Maeander. Lastly, as first fruits from the School of Athens, were published an elaborate memoir by Mr. Ernest Gardner on the remarkable archaic statues recently discovered on the Acropolis at Athens, a summary of discoveries in Sculpture and Epigraphy in 1886–7 by the same writer, and a record of the excavations in Greece in the same period from the pen of Mr. Penrose, the Director of the School. The last two papers formed part of the new supplements which also contained, as promised in last year's Report, a critical bibliography of recent archaeological publications. This bibliography, which will now form a regular feature of the *Journal*, can hardly fail to be of great use to members. On the other hand, it has been found impossible, from exigencies of space, to publish the promised summaries of the contents of periodicals. This is the less to be regretted inasmuch as similar summaries are now given monthly in the *Classical Review*.

The demand for the back volumes of the *Journal*, from which the Society still derives a steady income, has necessitated the reprint of two of the earlier volumes of which the stock was exhausted, and of additional plates to complete 250 sets of Volumes VI.—VIII. The outlay will amount in all to £500, and it was not undertaken by the Council without the fullest consideration. It was however felt that in the interests of the Society the expenditure was fully justified. To meet it, it will be necessary to withdraw for a time some part of the invested capital of the Society, but arrangements have been made to re-invest it by annual instalments until the amount is complete. The outlay will in the end be more than covered by the sales of back volumes, if the demand for these volumes continues upon the scale that the Council have reason from past experience to anticipate.

As announced last year, with Volume IX. the *Journal* enters upon a

new phase of its existence. The separate plates will be abandoned, and the size of the text will be raised to imperial 8vo, so as to take in conveniently all the illustrations that may be required. The Council believe that the economy of expenditure thus secured will be accompanied by no loss of attractiveness or efficiency. A very full Index to the first eight volumes of the *Journal*, prepared by Mr. A. H. Smith, with the help of Mr. Haverfield and Mr. F. C. Chambers, and a complete List of Plates, were issued with the last number.

The books named in last year's Report, and a few others, have been purchased for the Library in the course of the year. Some new books have been presented. In order to increase the usefulness of the Library a catalogue of its present contents has been printed and was issued with the last number of the *Journal*. Further additions will be recorded in the *Journal* from year to year.

In considering the financial position of the Society, as shown in the accompanying Balance Sheet, it must be borne in mind that the cost of the *Journal* has been very much heavier than usual. The expense both for printing and authorship of the new Supplement will in future be met by a reduction of expense both in illustrations and in carriage. But this year the *Journal* in its old form has had to bear the new expenditure without such assistance. The cost of the Index again is occasional. These two items between them account for nearly £100. Then the grants for excavation and kindred objects have been exceptionally large, amounting to no less than £350. It would be obviously impossible for the Society with its present income to devote so large a sum as this every year to exploration, when it has also to spend at least £500 upon the *Journal*. But the Council feel that it is alike the duty and interest of the Society to take an active part in the work of discovery, widening as it does the boundaries of knowledge in all departments of Hellenic study, and tending at the same time to keep the existence and objects of the Society before the eyes of the public, as a prime mover in such undertakings. The Council however fully recognise their obligation not to go, in this or any other direction, beyond the bounds of financial prudence.

To turn to the figures, the receipts of the year, including the subscriptions of members and of libraries, the sale of the *Journal* to non-members, and the interest on money invested, amount to £849 10*s*. A further sum of £53 3*s*. 7*d*. has come in from the sale of copies of the Facsimile of the Laurentian Sophocles, and reduces by so much the sum of £94 7*s*. 9*d*. advanced towards the cost of that undertaking. The sale of the remaining copies will rather more than cover the outstanding debt. The expenditure of the year, covering the cost of Volume VIII. of the *Journal*, and of the Index, and including the grants above referred to, the cost of the Library and the annual working expenses, amounts to £1136 14*s*. 11*d*. The balance at the bank on May 31 was £255 3*s*. 8*d*. It should be pointed out that the receipts of the year include Life Subscriptions to the amount of £78 15*s*. On the other hand the £1014 invested in Consols, as

mentioned in last year's Report, included ordinary subscriptions to the amount of £205 10*s.* On this question of investment it should be added that after full consideration the Council decided not to accept the offer of conversion into $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. stock recently made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but to sell out and re-invest in some safe security, yielding a rather higher interest. The sale was effected at a small profit—£1022 16*s.* 1*d.* for £1014—and the proceeds were invested, by the advice of Sir John Lubbock, in New South Wales $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Stock which then stood at $103\frac{7}{8}$. Lastly, there are arrears of subscriptions amounting to about £150, of which upwards of £40 have come in since the Balance Sheet was made up.

For some time past it has been felt that the interests of the Society would be better served if its finances were under the control of a working Treasurer. Sir John Lubbock, who kindly consented to act when the Society was founded, has too many engagements to superintend the accounts in detail. The work of Treasurer has accordingly been done hitherto by the Hon. Secretary, with the aid of a paid assistant. It has now been decided to relieve the Secretary of this additional duty, and to nominate a working Treasurer who can attend the meetings of Council frequently enough to make his influence felt in all financial questions. Mr. John B. Martin, of Messrs. Martin & Co., Bankers, Lombard Street, who has hitherto acted as one of the Auditors, has agreed to undertake the office, and if his appointment is confirmed the Council feel no doubt that his wide experience will be of the utmost value to the Society. Members should in future pay their subscriptions either direct to Mr. Martin, 68 Lombard Street, or to the account of the Society at Messrs. Robarts, Lubbock & Co., Lombard Street. Mr. Arthur Butler is nominated to fill Mr. Martin's place as Auditor.

Since the last Annual Meeting 61 new members have been elected,—a larger number than in any recent year,—and 9 libraries have been added to the list of subscribers. Against this increase must be set the loss by death or resignation of 26 members, so that the net increase of members and subscribers is 35; the present total of members being 662, and of subscribers 93.

Looking back on this eighth year of the Society's existence the Council see good reason for congratulating members on a marked increase both in numbers and activity. And if this activity has in the present year involved an excess of expenditure over income, to redress which the Society will be compelled for the next year or two to reduce its grants in aid of excavation and exploration, it must be remembered on the other hand that the evident determination of the Society to carry out vigorously the various objects which it was instituted to promote can hardly fail to add to its position and influence. The Council look to the general body of members to second their efforts by bringing in a steady supply of new subscribers, so as to enable the Society to meet as it would desire the numerous claims that are made upon its resources.

1887.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
June 10.	To Anderson, for Drawing		27 14 0
	,, Griggs, for Plates		16 0 0
	,, Brunner, for Plates		35 6 0
July 23.	,, Dickinson & Co., Paper Account		15 14 10
25.	,, Autotype Company, for Plates		17 3 6
	,, Walker & Boutall, Engraving		5 5 0
	,, Kell, for Maps		5 7 6
30.	,, Contributors to Vol. viii. Part 1		34 10 0
Oct. 11.	,, Clay & Sons, Printing Vol. viii. Part 1	129 10 2	
	,, Packing and Carriage to Members	22 6 8	
			151 16 10
1888.			
Feb. 23.	,, Anderson, Photo and Drawing		20 13 0
29.	,, Autotype Company, for Plates		35 15 3
Mar. 1.	,, Griggs, for Plates		8 0 0
	,, Index, Vols. i. to viii.		25 0 0
5.	,, Kell, for Map		8 15 0
	,, Walker & Boutall, Engraving		4 11 9
	,, Contributors to Vol. viii. Part 2		16 2 6
May 28.	,, Clay & Sons, Printing Vol. viii. Part 2	152 5 3	
	,, Packing and Carriage to Members	23 13 0	
			175 18 3
	,, Dickinson & Co., Paper Account		19 9 0
	,, Dujardin, for Plate		2 7 8
			£625 10 1

1888.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Jan. 31.	By Sales of Journal, July 1, 1886, to June 30, 1887		42 0 0
	,, Balance to Cash Account		583 10 1
			£625 10 1

CASH STATEMENT.

1887.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
May 31.	To Balance of last Statement		488 15 0
July 6.	,, Dividend on Consols	14 14 6	
1888.			
Jan. 6.	,, ,, ,,	14 14 6	
			29 9 0
31.	,, Repaid on Sophocles M.S.	29 3 7	
May 28.	,, ,, ,,	24 0 0	
			53 3 7
31.	,, Members' Subscriptions, 1887—1888	538 13 0	
	,, ,, Life Subscriptions	78 15 0	
			617 8 0
	,, ,, Subscriptions, 1886—1887	22 1 0	
	,, ,, Arrears	18 18 0	
	,, ,, For back Volumes	10 10 0	
			51 9 0
	,, Library Subscriptions, 1887—1888	64 1 0	
	,, ,, ,, 1886—1887	11 11 0	
	,, ,, Payments for back Vols.	33 12 0	
			109 4 0
			£1,349 8 7
1888.			
May 31.	To Balance at Bankers		£255 3 8

1887.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
June 10.	By Assistant Librarian, to May 31, 1887		7 10 0
July 23.	,, Stationery and Postage to June 30		19 1 4
	,, Insurance of Stock at Printers		2 12 6
	,, Nutt's Account, Library		24 18 2
	,, Partridge & Cooper, Binding Account		6 15 9
Dec. 9.	,, Grant to Cyprus Fund		150 0 0
13.	,, Assistant Librarian to Nov. 30, 1887		7 10 0
	,, Cheque Book		5 0
1888.			
Jan. 3.	,, Rent of Rooms, to Dec. 30, 1887		15 0 0
	,, Mr. Bent, for Excavations at Thasos		50 0 0
	,, Grant to the British School, Athens		100 0 0
Feb. 3.	,, Commission per Bank, and Mar. 5		1 2
23.	,, Stationery and Postage to Dec. 1887		14 9 3
	,, Clay & Sons, Sundry Printing		18 18 2
Mar. 31.	,, Power of Attorney, and May 3		16 6
April 4.	,, Grant to Asia Minor Fund		50 0 0
May 28.	,, Partridge & Cooper, Binding Account		9 7 0
	,, Clay & Sons, Sundry Printing		2 0 0
	,, Assistant Librarian, to May 31, 1888		7 10 0
	,, ,, Secretary, June 1, 1887, to May 31, 1888		24 0 0
	,, Balance of Journal Account		583 10 1
	,, ,, at Bankers		255 3 8
			£1,349 8 7

CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

1888.		£ s. d.
April 9.	To £1,011 7s. 3d. Consolidated 3% Stock sold at 101½ less commission	1,025 5 3

1888.		£ s. d.
April 18.	By £984 13s. New South Wales 3½% Inscribed Stock bought at 103⅝ and commission	1,025 5 3

We have examined this account, compared it with the vouchers, and find it correct.

JOHN B. MARTIN,
DOUGLAS W. FRESHFIELD, } *Auditors.*

June 19, 1888.

GEORGE A. MACMILLAN, *Hon. Sec.*

The adoption of the Report was moved by the CHAIRMAN, who explained in some detail the causes which had led to excessive expenditure; and seconded by MR. CHANCELLOR CHRISTIE, who expressed his entire satisfaction with the action of the Council and the progress made by the Society. The Report was unanimously adopted. The former President (the Bishop of Durham) and Vice-Presidents were re-elected, Sir John Lubbock being added to the latter. Mr. Martin's appointment as Treasurer was confirmed, and Mr. George Aitchison, A.R.A., Mr. R. A. Neil, and Mr. Cecil Smith were elected to vacancies on the Council.

In place of the usual address by the Chairman on the discoveries of the year, MISS JANE HARRISON, who had lately returned from Athens, read a very interesting account, illustrated by photographs, of the recent excavations in Greece (*Journal Hell. Stud.* IX. p. 118). Special mention was made of the discoveries on the Acropolis; of the excavation by the German Institute of a temple of the Kabeiroi near Thebes; and of the excavations of the American School at Dionuso, to the north-east of Pentelicus, which had been identified as the centre of worship of the deme of Ikaria. Foundations of two shrines, of Apollo and of Dionysos, had been found, and some sculptured remains of high importance.

The proceedings terminated with the usual vote of thanks to the Chairman and to the auditors.

FRAGMENTS OF A VASE WITH SACRIFICE TO ATHENA.I.

TWO VASE PICTURES OF SACRIFICES.

[PLATES I., II.]

I.

I SUPPOSE it may be thought that some apology is due, firstly for introducing in this paper what appear to be merely the scattered remains of a painted vase, and secondly because part at least of the fragments on Plate I. have been published more than once, and are already well known. I shall hope to show that both apologies are needless: for one reason, these fragments are quite sufficient to suggest to us probably all the beautiful picture that the painter had in mind; and for another reason, because the portions added since the original publication entirely alter the character of the scene.

It is much to be regretted that fragments of painted vases have not always received due attention at the hands of archaeologists. Among the records of travel in Greece of the early part of this century we frequently meet with descriptions of sites which were covered with fragments of painted pottery: but it was comparatively rare to find students like Sir C. Newton, or, as in the present case, Mr. James Millingen, who took the trouble to collect and preserve the fragments themselves. Recent excavations, such as those at Tiryns and Naukratis, and more recently still on the Akropolis at Athens, have taught us how much is to be learnt from a study of these apparently insignificant potsherds. Even if they do not always, as here, combine to show us a finished picture, they often prove invaluable documents of the keramic history of the sites on which they were found.

Mr. Millingen picked up a number of fragments of painted ware near Tarentum in the early part of this century, and in 1846 they passed with a collection of his vases into the British Museum. Six of these fragments, comprising the left-hand portion of Plate I., were joined together and were published in colour by M. Raoul Rochette in his *Peintures Antiques Inédites*

in 1836, Pl. VI. pp. 401 foll.[1] They subsequently were included in the British Museum *Catalogue of Vases*, no. 804.*

With them came also a series of fragments which were described in the *Catalogue* under no. 998. Some of these latter obviously belonged to the same vase as 804*, which when complete must have been one of those large-mouthed kraters shaped like an inverted bell with two horizontal handles which occur in the best period of Attic keramic art. It was not however recognized that no. 998, *a* certainly belongs to the position in which it is shown in Plate I. It is true, that none of the edges actually join, but from a comparison of the colouring and a close examination of the wheel marks on the under surface, the relative position of the two portions can be definitely ascertained.

For the same reason the other smaller fragment separately shown on Plate I. may be assigned to the bearded figure on the left. On the extreme left and right we thus have the beginning of an anthemion ornament, such as would naturally have decorated the handles; and we can therefore be sure that the design on this side cannot have contained any more figures. Allowing for the handles and the same space for the reverse side, we obtain a vase of about 17½ inches in diameter.

The portion newly added on the right is the upper part of a figure of Athene, completing the lower limbs of the adjoining fragment which were hitherto thought to be those of a figure of Nike. As she stands however now, the Athene of our picture is a type evidently inspired by the Parthenos of Pheidias—*τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν οἵαν Φειδίας ἐδημιούργησεν, οὐδὲν τῶν Ὁμήρου ἐπῶν φαυλοτέραν, Παρθένον καλὴν, γλαυκῶπιν, ὑψηλὴν, αἰγίδα ἀνεζωσμένην*[2] —we have the same noble mould of face, the broad shoulders covered by the snake-fringed, Gorgon-set ægis, the heavy Doric chiton girt at the waist and forming the beautiful arched kolpos which is so characteristic of the sculptures of that period; the thin soft under-chiton with the thicker robe above forming a graceful contrast of folds. On the helmet sits as supporter of the crest the Sphinx, her human head bound with a broad tainia. Our artist is not a slavish copyist, although the delicate drawing of this Sphinx is ample evidence of his skill in minute work: he is therefore content to merely suggest the richness of the ornamented helmet, such as we know it to have been, and as it is shown on the Hermitage gold medallions.[3]

In the medallions there are three crests, the central one supported by a Sphinx, the two side ones by winged horses: on the upturned cheek-pieces are Gryphons in relief, and a row of protomoi, busts of animals, probably alternate Gryphons and Pegasi, fringe the forehead. The idea of a helmet such as that is quite sufficiently indicated in our picture by the Sphinx and the suggestion of Gryphons' busts over the brow. The cheek-piece is on the vase left undecorated, but in the original sketch marks,[4] which can still be

[1] See also Gerhard in *Arch. Zeit.* 1845, pl. xxxv., 2, pp. 162 and 178: and Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1107.

[2] Maxim. Tyr. *Diss.* 14, 6.

[3] *Mittheilungen des Inst.* 1883, Taf. xv., Nos. 1 and 2.

[4] These sketch marks, which are found principally on vases of the better classes with red

FRAGMENTS OF A VASE WITH SACRIFICE TO ATHENA.II.

traced upon it, we see that this was originally filled in, and the lines certainly resemble a Gryphon as on the Hermitage reliefs.

Along the profile, midway down the nose, comes what is described in the *catalogue* as a 'nasal.' For this addition there is no authority in any of the known types of this head; and indeed it would be a most unusual appendage to meet with in a helmet of this form. I think it is not intended to represent a nasal at all, but merely the continuation of the side of the helmet, artificially introduced in order to break the long straight line from the top of the helmet to the nose, and to give a rounded appearance to the profile drawing. Such a device is of course not uncommon in vase paintings: it has in fact been adopted in another instance in this same picture: in the case of the right-hand boy a bunch of curls and part of the cheek and eye brought forward from the right side of his head serve exactly the same purpose. It is unfortunate that the surface should be just broken away at the point where the crest joins on to the Sphinx: it would have been interesting to see how the artist represented this point, as the method of attachment in the Akropolis statuette appears rather clumsy.

To complete the picture of the Parthenos of course we ought to have her shield resting against her side, and the Victory standing upon her hand. She is however here not a statue of gold and ivory, but the living personification of the patron goddess of Athens. It is the same idea as that which represents her on so many Attic marble reliefs (see Schöne, *Griechische Reliefs*, Taf. ix. 52, xii. 62), receiving in person the stewards of her treasury or the stranger honoured with the freedom of her city. She is the protectress of her people, ever present, though invisible, at those functions which were performed in her name or in her honour. Thus it is that we see her frequently on vase pictures of this time, a silent though interested spectator of what is going forward. One of the finest vases in the British Museum—a picture which is just about the contemporary of this—gives a good illustration of this *rôle* of Athene. The vase I allude to is *Catalogue* no. 727, which has been misinterpreted as showing on side 1 'Herakles Musagetes.' It is undoubtedly the celebration of the victory of a competitor in a musical contest. The winner, a bearded figure richly draped, as musicians usually are in such functions, and crowned with a wreath of olive, steps on to a small dais, striking the chords of his heptachord lyre: on one side sits the judge, wreathed with myrtle, while two Victories with tainia and libation float down on either side

figures, give us the artist's first study for his design; they are executed with some fine-pointed instrument which leaves a light indentation in the wet clay, and can therefore very often be clearly traced both on the red and black of the design. As a rule they exhibit the same firm freehand drawing as the finished picture: but frequently they show a detail which has been corrected and recorrected over and over again: or, what is more interesting, a point where the artist has in the finished picture changed his mind and altered a detail or a pose. It is curious also to observe, as we can do in these marks, how, in drawing a draped figure, the painter almost invariably sketches the nude figure completely before he adds the drapery: and how, when one portion of the figure is hidden by any object, such as *e.g.* an arm by the shield which it holds, the sketch marks show that this had been drawn before the object was laid upon it.

of the winner. Away in the left-hand corner sits Athene, recognisable by her spear and ægis, looking on, but not otherwise taking part in the scene.

In later developments of this idea, the goddess is not above taking part herself, as a kind of Superior Victory. Thus for instance in a vase published in the *Annali dell' Inst.* 1876, *Tav. d'agg.* D, E, and which from its style must be at least a quarter of a century after the time of our fragments, the scene is laid in the studio of a vase painter, who is seated among his assistants at work. Into the room come flying Athene and a pair of Victories, Athene with a tainia for the painter himself, and the Victories with decorations for the painter's assistants. Here we see at once a different conception of the relationship of the goddess, on the one side as towards the Victories, and on the other as to her dealings with mortals. In all probability the era which marks this change in Attic art is that of about 430 B.C., when the temple of Athena Nike received its decoration, in which Victories were represented in all kinds of the most graceful attitudes and occupations of daily life.

Among the results of the recent excavations on the Akropolis has been that of modifying the received chronology of vase-painting. We now have good reason for supposing that the origin of the red-figured style reaches well back into the fifth century: and we must consequently move back all our dates to an earlier period than was before thought possible. If, as seems likely from the similarity of their style, the fragments before us and the kitharist vase, no. 727, are contemporary, I think they may both fall within the years immediately following 437 B.C., when the Athene Parthenos of Pheidias was completed.

The presence of this figure of Athene makes it quite improbable that we should accept the hitherto received interpretation of this scene as an Argonautic sacrifice to the goddess Chryse. In the first place, Athene would hardly be present at a sacrifice to another deity: in the second place, this particular type of Athene, associated with her sacred olive-tree, unmistakably identifies the scene as laid upon the Akropolis at Athens.

In the early publication of our fragments by Gerhard, they were included in a series of pictures, all of which he considered to be representations from the Argonautic legend. Two of these scenes, which are later in style than our fragments, and which are almost identical in subject, are in the British Museum, nos. 804 and 805. On the left of a blazing altar over which Victory hovers, stands a bearded, wreathed figure pouring a libation: on the right are two boys holding spits with meat over the flames, and a flute-player who supplies the music for the sacrifice. On one of these vases there is written over the figure on the left the inscription ΑΡΧΕΝΑΥΤΗΣ, which was always taken, in pursuance of this Argonautic scheme, as indicating Herakles, the commander of the ship Argo. Flasch, in his *Angebliche Argonautenbilder*, first pointed out that the right interpretation of this and similar scenes is that of a 'Siegesopfer,' a sacrifice of victory, as is shown by the presence of Nike herself, and the laurel wreaths which the sacrificers wear. Archenautes means simply 'ship's commander,' and I think it is quite possible that the particular vase on which this title occurs may represent the commemoration of a

victory achieved in an ἄμιλλα νεῶν, one of those boat races which formed part of the Panathenaic Games[1] for instance, and to which the interesting paper of Professor Gardner in a former number of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*[2] referred.

On the analogy then of these other scenes, I take it that the picture before us represents the sacrifice, not of Philoktetes to Chryse, but of a private Athenian individual to Athene. The dignified bearded figure on the left is not, I think, the person who offers the sacrifice, but the priest of Athene; and the two boys are his acolytes; just in this relation a bearded priest and an attendant boy appear respectively upon the centre of the eastern frieze of the Parthenon. Who then is the person who provides the sacrifice? This point is I think settled by the appearance of the olive-tree. To its branches are hung three little square pinakes, each painted with a design.[3] These little tablets are known to have been used extensively and hung on trees in this way as ex voto dedications to a deity. In all probability they were specially so employed by the vase painters themselves, as we see for example in the case of the large collection of them found near Korinth and now at Berlin: a number of these have scenes painted on them relating to the art of the potter or vase painter and a dedication to the god or goddess.

Our picture then may possibly represent the thanksgiving service of some vase painter to Athene; in this connection I would explain the statue on a stele which stands in the background behind the altar. One of the most ordinary forms of dedication to a deity in ancient Athens was that of a statue or statuette, either of the deity itself, or of some subject applicable to the circumstances, placed upon a high column. As single instances we may quote the Nike of Paionios, or again the little bronze archaic figure from Paestum published in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, Taf. 6.[4] On the Panathenaic amphorae we find beside the figure of Athene columns supporting figures which may probably admit of the same explanation. And especially we may refer, in returning again for a moment to the Akropolis excavations, to the fragments of inscribed shafts and statues which have been found there, and which evidently formed part of similar groups. One of these groups has been very happily restored by Studniczka (*Arch. Jahrbuch*, 1887, p. 141), and in its complete form it reminds one very much of the statuette on our vase. Two similar instances are moreover inscribed with dedications by different vase-artists: and I would suggest that the statuette on the fluted Doric shaft in our picture is a statuette dedicated by the person who provides the sacrifice. It is true, that statuettes of this nature found on the Akropolis are of a date much earlier than that of our vase. Still there is no doubt that the tradition of such dedications must have been kept up, as indeed the

[1] Mommsen, *Heortologie*, p. 197.

[2] Vol. ii., pp. 90—97.

[3] The subjects represented on these pinakes —a dancing Seilenos, a Mænad dancing with torches, and a boy on horseback leading a second horse—are drawn very slightly and carelessly, and cannot be taken as having any special significance as regards the main scene.

[4] Cf. also *Arch. Jahrb.* 1887, p. 219, and *Ephemeris Arch.* 1887, p. 133.

Panathenaic vases of the fourth century show us: the custom is not unknown even in our own times, as witness the Nelson column in Trafalgar Square.[1]

In this case it is impossible to determine who the statuette represents, as the upper part is broken away: all we can say is, that it is an archaic female figure, probably of Athene herself: in this connection the broad band of pattern down the centre of her dress may be compared with the similar band on the well-known torso of Athene in Dresden, which is decorated with a vertical row of scenes.

At the dedication of a statuette of this kind there would in all probability always have been a sacrifice of consecration. Another vase in the British Museum (*Catalogue*, no. E. 167) represents probably the parody of some such scene, where a little statuette of Herakles stands on a column, and the sacrifice is offered by a Seilenos and a Maenad. Another vase which compares well with ours is no. 1287 in the same *Catalogue*, where a wreathed hero is crowned by a flying Nikè, and the prize tripod dedicated by him as a thank-offering stands on a column in the background beside the goddess Athene.

There remains one point to explain, that is the inscription. In the main portion of the field is written quite clearly ΦΙΛΟΞΚΕΤ, the termination, including probably about two letters, being broken away. This used to be referred to the hero Philoktetes, the variation in spelling being attributed to the carelessness of the painter. Now that we have disposed of Philoktetes however, it is necessary to find some other explanation. Seeing that the inscription occupies part of the most important space in the design, and cannot from its position be applied to any of the figures in the scene, we may naturally suppose it is some observation of the painter himself. The most usual inscription of this character is the artist's own signature with *ἐποίησεν* or *ἔγραψεν*. Now on the other side of the column there is just about the amount of space which these letters would require. After coming to this conclusion, I found quite plainly inscribed on the newly-joined fragment the final Ν which evidently has belonged to one of these two words. If my conclusion is correct, the whole inscription must originally have stood ΦΙΛΟΞΚΕΤ[ΗΞ[2] or some such name, ΕΠΟΙΗΞΕ]Ν or ΕΛΡΑΦΞΕ]Ν. And we thus have recovered a new artist's name and a new scene of private life in the golden days of Athenian prosperity.

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[1] In Benndorf, *Gr. u. Sic. Vas.* xxxi, 1, is Athene standing beside a column on which is a statue of a boy: on the plinth of the column is painted the inscription *Τισίας*? *ἀνέθηκεν*. If the reading 'Tisias,' or more probably, 'Teisias,' is correct, it is possible that this scene also represents the votive offering of a vase artist: six vases signed by an Athenian of this name are known (see Klein, *Meistersignaturen*,[2] p. 212), which for palæographical reasons are referred to the sixth century: the lettering on the plinth is of course much too late for this date, but the dedicator of the sculpture on the column here may well have been the descendant of the older Teisias, bearing his name, as usual in the second generation: the lapse of two generations would about suit the relative dates of the vases in question.

[2] The name *Φιλοσκέτης* presents grave philological difficulties, but it is hard to say what else it can have been.

II.

The second picture, reproduced in half-size on Plate II., I have selected, not so much as the text of any special discovery, but because it forms a natural pendant to Plate I., and is also a sacrifice to Athene of peculiar interest and attractiveness.

It is composed of three fragments, which were discovered in Mr. Biliotti's excavations at Kamiros and came into the Museum in 1864, where the lower fragment was recently found to join. The fractured edges are covered with calcareous deposit, so that, the vase having been broken in antiquity, it is to be feared that no more of the scene will be forthcoming.[1]

As it stands, we have on the left the upper part of a building, perhaps a small temple or ædicula, of which parts of three Doric columns and the architrave are shown: within the columns is a thin spike, which may be the top of the spear held by the xoanon which the temple contained. Above the architrave appears a branch of olive. Towards this temple Nike flies down, carrying in her two hands a branch of olive; she wears a chiton, apparently talaric, with a girdle and the usual cross belts across the breast, a stephane, and ear-rings; the impetus of her movement as she alights is shown by the large bird-wings expanded above her head, by her hair which floats behind, and by the small peplos which flutters back over her arms.[2] On either side of Nike is a wavy line[3] indicating the slopes of a hill as the locality in which the scene is taking place.

On the same upper plane of the design and on the extreme right is a graceful figure of a young girl, moving to the left upon a horse, which from her position she is evidently riding side-saddle: she is looking down upon the scene, and wears a Doric chiton; her hair, which lightly floats back with her onward movement, is confined in an opisthosphendone and stephane.

Stephani has well shown (*Compte Rendu*, 1860, pp. 43, 78) that in most cases where we have in Greek art a female figure on horseback, the presumption is in favour of its identification with Selene. Riding female figures are very rarely represented, except in the case of an Amazon, which this clearly is not: and the type as applied to Selene is of course specially known from the description by Pausanias (V. 11, 8) of the sculptures with which Pheidias decorated the base of the throne of his Zeus Olympios. Our fragment is an interesting addition to the list which Stephani gives[4] (*loc. cit.* pp. 43—45) of

[1] The fragments as a whole are ·205 metre high, and give us about ¾ of one side of what has from the curve been probably a large pelikè (shape 42 of the Berlin Catalogue), of which the neck would have been about ·17 metre in diameter. The painting is in red figures, with fine black and reddish brown inner markings; and the design appears to have been further rubbed with vermilion, of which traces are specially apparent on the figure of Selene.

[2] On the lower part of her figure are two black lines which do not appear to belong to the dress or figure of Nikè: they are in form like the antyx of a chariot, but too little remains to identify them.

[3] These lines are not, as we should expect, indicated in colour, but lightly incised half way through the black glaze, so that they appear in a reddish-black or purple colour.

[4] To this list must also be added the Sabouroff pyxis, *Sammlung Sabouroff*, pl. lxiii.: the

the vase pictures which represent this goddess. Perhaps the best known of these pictures is the celebrated krater from the Blacas collection in the British Museum (E. 176):[1] unfortunately, the figure of Selene in that vase is shown, now that the modern restorations are removed, to have suffered a good deal on the surface: still, enough remains to show that it is a type like ours, except that the figure is that of a female of mature years, and that her head is partly covered with drapery: her horse moreover is cut off at the knees, not, as here, and as in the horse of the Parthenon Pediment, at the base of the neck. There is no attempt at indicating any characteristic specially marking the Lunar character of the deity, such as occurs in the later vase in *Compte Rendu*, 1860, pl. III., where a mantle passes crescent-form over her head; at the time when our fragment and the Blacas vase were painted, the personality of Selene would be sufficiently explained by the familiar type of the draped horsewoman, probably only used in this connection.

The contrast between the Selene of our fragment and that of the Blacas krater is very remarkable: it comes before us not only in the difference between the young girlish type and the matronly figure of the goddess herself, but also in the two horses; the horse of Selene on the krater is an old ambling hack, who does not seem capable of any more spirit, and who has seen his best days: his knees are bent, and his mane falls in unkempt disorder over his neck.[2] How different this from the smart well-groomed animal of our fragment, whose arched neck, hogged mane, deep-set eye, and mobile nostril might well have been inspired, *longo intervallo*, by its prototype in the E. pediment of the Parthenon. Considering the symbolical character of the type, and its introduction as a rule from the point of view of a dramatic adjunct, it may well be that the different phases of the changing moon may have been indicated by some such variations in the personality of the type.

Unlike Helios, Selene is never[3] represented in a quadriga, sometimes, possibly, in a biga: but at any rate in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. the horsewoman type is the one most generally accepted. I cannot therefore see why we should not accept this type for the Selene of the E. pediment of the Parthenon. Michaelis (*Der Parthenon*, p. 178) speaks of a second horse, of which even in Carrey's time only a 'formless remnant' stood in position; in Carrey's drawing this object bears no resemblance whatever to a horse's head; it is quite inconceivable that this fragment—still in situ and well protected by the angle of the pediment—could have been already damaged past recognition, and yet remain in position beside its fairly well preserved,

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B.M. pyxis, E 775 (Winter, *Tirocinium Phil.*, p. 71): and, chief of all, the Gigantomachia vase, *Mon. Ined.* ix. 6, which gives us completely the type of Helios and Selene which I would propose for the Parthenon: and we may compare for its representation of deities of light that in *Vasi d'il Conti di Siracusa*, pl. vi., though Selene is not shown on that fragment.

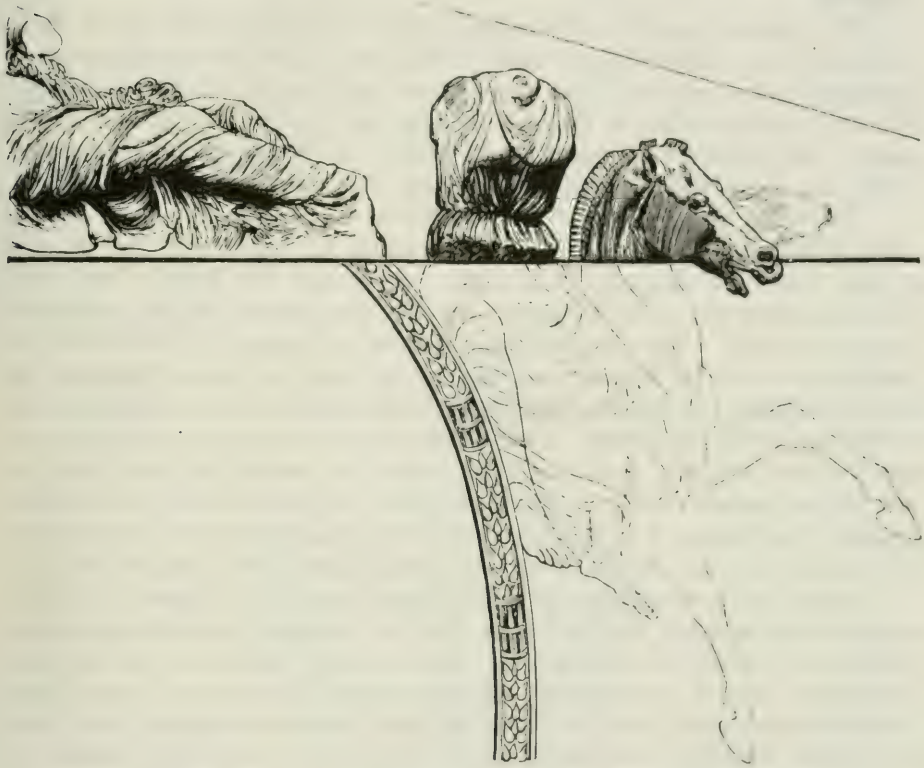
[1] Published in *Musée Blacas*, pl. 18, and in no less than twelve other works.

[2] It is evident that this is intentional, and not merely due to the carelessness or unskilfulness of the artist: he has shown that he can draw a spirited horse in those of the chariot of Helios on the same vase, which indeed exactly resemble the horse of our fragment, and might have been drawn by the same artist: in this connection we may also note the similarity of treatment between the wings of these horses, and those of Nikè on our fragment.

[3] Stephani, *Nimbus und Strahlenkranz*, p. 28 note 6 gives one late and doubtful exception.

though more exposed, companion. It is much more likely that this is part of a rock, behind which Selene is sinking, and corresponds with the waves of the opposite angle out of which Helios rises.

Again, I am convinced that no impartial person, looking at Michaelis's own drawing of the present condition of this pediment would for a moment imagine that the torso of Selene could be in any relation to the existing horse other than that of its rider; if it were a charioteer, it would be much farther away from the horse's head than it is possible to place it, the



body would be more inclined, and would be set square with the direction of its movement, and both arms would undoubtedly be extended forward holding the reins: as it is, the right arm is undoubtedly drawn back and the left thigh is advanced, as would be the case in a figure sitting side-saddle on horseback.[1]

The folds of the chiton certainly seem to indicate the side saddle position: the V-shaped fold on the upper edge, which in a figure with shoulders square would fall exactly between the breasts, is in this case inclined towards the right breast, as would be the case where the left

[1] It may be urged that the figure is in this case sitting on the off-side: to this it may be answered that (i) in the case of a rider moving to the right, an artist would allow himself the license of transposing the seat: and (ii) in the group on the Pergamene frieze, and two of the vase pictures, Selene actually rides on the off side (see *Hellenic Journal*, iv, p. 128).

shoulder is raised. The cross belts, which Michaelis says (*loc. cit.* p. 177) are specially suitable to a charioteer, are equally found in the riding figure of Selene in *Compte Rendu*, 1860, Pl. III. (see *ibid.* p. 80).

We have moreover, in the Olympian sculpture already quoted, a distinct reference to Pheidias's use of the rider type for Selene—at least the expression which Pausanias uses, *ἵππον ἐλαύνουσα*, can hardly I think be explained in any other way: there is no reason why *ἐλαύνουσα* should not be applied to a rider, and the singular *ἵππον* puts a biga or quadriga out of the question.

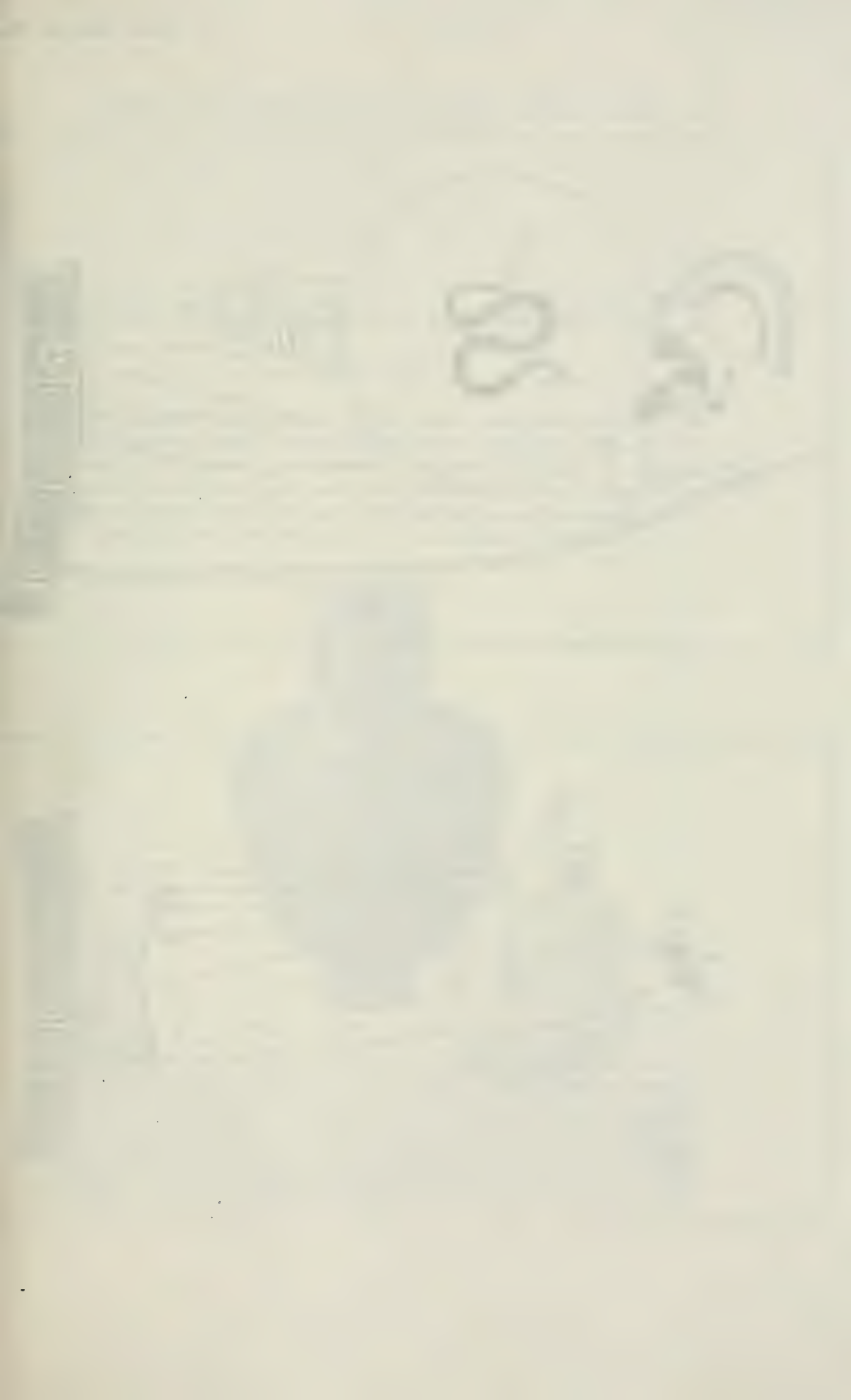
The relative position of horse and rider is exactly shown on the Ruvo vase (*Mon. Ined.* IX. 6): the woodcut here given is simply the adaptation of that vase to the sculpture: this arrangement satisfies the conditions imposed by the actual remains, by Carrey's drawing, and the balance of the Helios group: the ground-lines beneath the groups of Helios and Selene would meet at a point exactly beneath the vertex of the pediment.

The figure of our fragment then is Selene, the moon appearing over the crest of the hill: whether she is rising or setting we cannot say, but in view of the downward direction of the line which cuts her horse's head, and of the fact that she is advancing towards the main scene, we may conjecture that she is rising. Her youthful figure is more in keeping with the Parthenon torso than that of the Blacas vase: and in any case the type is interesting as having probably the nearest resemblance of all that have come down to us, to the Selene of the Parthenon. That she was the closing figure of the scene on this side is shown by a slight projection in the clay behind her head, which is now all that remains of the handle of the vase. As this is so, and as she rarely figures in art alone, it is possible that the left-hand side of the composition may have been similarly closed by a balancing figure, possibly of Helios.

Below her, and apparently in the lowest plane, is a figure of Athene: another reminiscence of the Parthenon type, who here again seems to stand as an impartial spectator of the scene: her right arm holds her spear, her left has been raised, but it is impossible to decide what its action can have been. Above the crown, and over the frontal ridge are traces of what may have been the Sphinx and Gryphon ornaments, as on Plate I. Like that picture too, a device has been adopted here for breaking the straight line of the helmet and profile; in this case a single ringlet of her hair has been brought forward for the purpose.

On the left of Athene is a thymiaterion, such as is carried upon the frieze of the Parthenon, and which is sufficient to mark the sacrificial character of the central part of the scene now lost: what is the occasion of the sacrifice in this case we have no means of discovering; the wreath held in the hands of Nike would seem to point to a sacrifice in honour of a victory, as in Plate I. On the other hand, the figure of Selene would hardly be introduced in a scene of mere daily life: her presence, and the temple decked with olive, seem to point to some festival in honour of the goddess Athene, possibly on the occasion of one of her special Athenian *fêtes*.

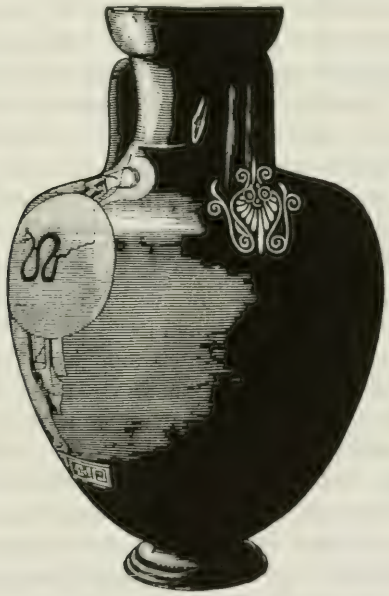
CECIL SMITH.



HECTOR AND ANDROMACHE ON A RED-FIGURED VASE.

(Plate III.)

The vase which is the subject of the present paper is no new find. It has been for many years in the British Museum (*Cat.* No. 810), and was mentioned by Overbeck in his *Heroische Bildwerke* in 1851. It has not however hitherto been figured, and it may be well to take advantage of its publication in these pages to make a few observations on the general subject of vase-paintings which are connected with the myths of the *Iliad*.



The present vase is an amphora from Vulci, height nineteen inches. The form and decoration are given in the woodcut. On one side is a warrior standing to the left, clad in a chlamys, and armed with helmet, spear, and shield adorned with serpent. On the other side is a lady to the left, clad in Ionian chiton and overdress, her head enveloped in a kerchief; she raises her right hand; in her left hand is a baby boy, who turns and stretches his hands to the right. The main outlines of the figures are traced in black, but the

folds of the Ionian chiton with light red; there are three incised circles on the warrior's shield. Under each figure runs a line of maeander pattern; an anthemion adorns the bottoms of both handles. (See Pl. III.)

We can scarcely be wrong in seeing in our vase a production of the latter half of the fifth century. The drawing is on the whole fine and bold. Attitudes are well rendered, and the lines of drapery in the female figure show a fairly good sense of form. The head of the lady strongly reminds us of some of the heads of nymphs on the coins of Syracuse of the middle of the fifth century. The coin figured as Pl. iii. No. 2 of Head's *Coinage of Syracuse* presents to us a head strikingly similar in every detail, the lips, the facial angle, the kerchief, even the line of loose threads falling from the kerchief on the neck. In striking contrast to the general drawing is the rendering of extremities, hands and feet, which are very clumsy and ugly; this however is notoriously the case even in very fine Attic vases of the period. Modern archaeologists consider that vases of this class found in Etruria were imported from Athens. Our vase was certainly painted by a Greek; but there is perhaps more clumsiness in the drawing than one would have expected in the work of an Athenian artist; a certain note of provincialism; and the Attic origin of the vase is not beyond doubt.

The two pictures on our amphora, though on opposite sides of it, are evidently intended to form one group; and the motive of that group lies on the surface. A bearded warrior is about to leave wife and child to set out for battle. The husband stands quiet and self-contained as befits a hero. The lady raises her hand for a farewell greeting, the child stretches out his arms towards his father in eagerness. That the lady is a lady and no mere nurse is proved alike by her pose and by her drapery: the maid-servants who are of such common occurrence in domestic scenes portrayed on vases and sepulchral slabs do not usually wear an overdress, but merely the Doric or the Ionian chiton. The form and face of the infant are not indeed exactly those of a babe in arms, yet they are quite childish; the plump little body is very well rendered. In fact, one might at first be disposed to consider the successful rendering of the child as a reason for placing this vase at a later period than the rest of the drawing would warrant, since it is generally allowed that infants were not successfully rendered in Greek art as infants, rather than as little men and women, until after the time of Praxiteles; and the infant Dionysus of that great master is not at all completely infantine. But it does not do to make too hard and fast rules in these matters; the babe of our vase is not more of a babe than is the infant on the sepulchral relief of the Villa Albani, commonly called the Leucothea relief, a work of the earlier part of the fifth century.

As the group appears in our drawing, the lady seems to turn away from her husband and to salute some person on the opposite side. But we may best consider this as a somewhat awkward result of bringing together figures separated in fact by the whole surface of the vase. According to the intention of the painter both lady and child are greeting the warrior, who, being on the opposite side of the amphora, may equally well be considered to

be on the right or on the left of the pair. It is however possible that the authors of the *British Museum Catalogue* may be right in supposing that the lady is beckoning to an attendant who may be supposed to have stood behind her: for it is certainly rather *naïve* to make mother turn in one direction and child in another while both greet the same person.

What then is the scene which we have before us? Is it an ordinary parting of husband and wife? or is it the celebrated parting of Hector and Andromache as related in the sixth book of the *Iliad*? The question may sound a simple one, yet he who could answer it with certainty would know more than any of us as to the language of Greek vases.

If indeed we turn to the Homeric text we shall at once see that it does not at all exactly correspond to our vase-picture. Hector meets Andromache, who is accompanied by a nurse bearing the infant Astyanax. After the talk of husband and wife, a conversation which lovers of Homer know by heart, the moment for parting arrives, and Hector turns to kiss his boy. 'But the child shrunk crying to the bosom of his fair-girdled nurse, dismayed at his dear father's aspect, and in dread at the bronze and horse-hair crest that he beheld nodding fiercely from the helmet's top. Then his dear father laughed aloud, and his lady mother; forthwith glorious Hector took the helmet from his head, and laid it, all gleaming, upon the earth; then kissed he his dear son and dandled him in his arms.'[1] After a solemn prayer Hector returns the child to his wife's bosom and with words of good cheer departs, while Andromache turns homewards, oft looking back and shedding great tears. Such is the Homeric version of the scene; but on our vase there is no nurse, and the child, instead of being afraid, stretches out his arms with longing. Perhaps we may suppose that the moment portrayed is that at which the infant has been restored to his mother, and Hector has replaced his helmet with a view to departure. In that case we might indeed remove obvious difficulties, but we should be adopting a method of interpretation entirely false. Modern artists set themselves to illustrate passages of the poets; and try to make their painted version correspond as closely as possible with what they suppose to have been in the mind of their author. Ancient artists, whether great or small, did nothing of the kind.

With vase-painters often the design came before the meaning. They sometimes adorned their ware with such figures as seemed to them graceful in a design regulated by their strict notions of symmetry and completeness, and then considered what meaning could best attach to the scene. Or they repeated with some slight variations of their own a group which they were accustomed to see upon vases of a character like that on which they were working, without ever troubling themselves about meaning at all.

But of course the better sort of them commonly worked with meaning and intention. This intention would be, worthily to portray some scene familiar in legend or in the poetry current at the time. But they would still

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[1] *Il.* VI, 467-474. I quote Mr. Leaf's version; to cite the Greek seems unnecessary when there is only question of subject-matter.

be far from working with the liberty to which moderns are used. In the case of most scenes there would be a sort of traditional scheme handed down from generation to generation of potters, and not lightly to be departed from except in details. The persistence of such a scheme is admirably illustrated in Miss Harrison's paper in this *Journal*[1] on the vase-paintings representing the Judgment of Paris.

Even if the scene were not associated with a traditional scheme, very probably the painter might borrow a scheme made familiar by use in a scene of parallel or kindred character. A good illustration of this method is furnished by a small vase painted by Hiero.[2] The subject he intended to represent was the leading away of Briseis from Achilles, a rather rare scene on vases. Hiero apparently was somewhat at a loss how it should be represented. In the *Iliad* Briseis is fetched away by Talthybius and Eurybates. Evidently Hiero did not adopt this version, for in his picture it is Agamemnon himself who is leading the lady, accompanied by Talthybius and by Diomedes, who looks backward as if fearing pursuit. One is at a loss to understand the origin of so variant a representation until one observes that the group is copied figure for figure, and with some variation attitude for attitude, from another vase of Hiero, a kylix[3] where the subject is the abduction of Helen, a case in which the armed hero does himself, quite naturally, lead the lady, and in which his companions may reasonably fear pursuit. In his picture of the abduction of Helen, Hiero has adopted a customary scheme of the scene; in his picture of the abduction of Briseis he has still retained that scheme, inappropriate as it is, merely placing new names above the heads of the actors concerned.

Moreover in any case the vase-painter would be bound by strong unwritten laws of a tectonic character, which would introduce an architectural, almost a mathematical character into his design. Scene must necessarily balance scene, and figure correspond to figure. Within these narrow limits he might energize; and the object of his action would be to portray that which he regarded as most essential in story or scene, omitting what was less important, and combining the elements into a picture which would tell its own tale even to the uneducated, and not by any means be dependent for meaning on the memory of those who beheld it.

There is thus in Greek vase-painting of all periods, and more especially of the archaic and best periods, but little realism, and strong elements of idealism. The scenes depicted are not rendered with any intention of reproducing actual facts, but rather directed to raising certain ideas in the minds of the observers. The degree to which this tendency is sometimes carried is astonishing. For instance, a black-figured vase-picture representing the arming of Achilles[4] places on one side of the hero his father Peleus, on the other side his son Neoptolemus, though when Achilles was arming at Ilium Peleus was in Phthia and Neoptolemus in Scyros. But they were

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[1] VII. 196.

[2] *M. d. I.* VI, VII, 19.

Gerhard, *Trinkschalen*, pl. I 11, 12.

[4] Heydemann, *Vasenbilder*, VI. 4.

present at Ilium in spirit if not in body. Similarly, on a terra-cotta relief which represents the redemption of Hector's body, there is a simple group. In the midst lies the dead body: on one side of it stands Achilles, on the other the supplicating Priam and Hermes his guide. In the *Iliad* the story is told quite differently. Hermes leaves Priam, who enters the tent of Achilles alone, and finds the hero just finishing a repast; the body of Hector lies outside the tent. But the artist has accomplished his object, which was not to conform to the Homeric text, but to make clear a few points, that Priam came supplicating for the body of his son, and that this was done by the counsel of Heaven, a counsel embodied in the person of Hermes.

The instances cited are works of archaic art, and of child-like simplicity. In the vases of the fifth century the simplicity is less obtrusive, and the influence of literature has grown appreciably. For instance, on a red-figured aryballos which represents the embassy to Achilles,[1] the main feature of the embassy, the converse of Odysseus and Ajax with Achilles is fairly represented, but Phoenix appears not, as in Homer, as a member of the embassy, but as an attendant of Achilles, and Diomedes is introduced, quite against literary authority, to round off the composition. In the same way, several black-figured and early red-figured vases which represent the redemption of Hector's body make Priam enter the tent of Achilles, not, as in Homer, alone, but with a train of attendants bearing vases and objects of value. Priam, the vase-painters knew, brought treasures from Ilium to exchange for his son's body, and actually did purchase it with them; but whether he took those treasures direct to the tent of Achilles, or left them in the first instance outside;—this was a detail which the painter considered that he might fairly vary according to the necessities of his composition.

We find the same relations prevalent between poem and picture if we turn to the numerous vases which represent some of the duels of the *Iliad*. The vase-painters do not alter the result of those duels; they do not make Hector overthrow Ajax, or Aeneas Diomedes, but they usually neglect the circumstances under which the Achaean heroes defeat their enemies. The ordinary scheme consists of a warrior advancing with sword or spear, and his enemy sinking before him to the ground; the variety which is so striking a feature of the Homeric duels is altogether absent; the fact of victory only is preserved.

The facts above cited will not be new to those, in this country few indeed, who have made a careful study of Greek vases. Yet if these facts and others of a similar kind had been borne in mind by archaeologists, how many false explanations and superficial theories we should have been spared! Some writers have discovered discrepancies between the Parthenon frieze and the historical order of the Panathenaic procession, and so have proceeded, with a total want of historic judgment, to assert that the Panathenaic procession is not what is represented on the frieze. Others, finding in a vase-picture[2] a combat between Hector and Achilles, the details of which do

[1] *Arch. Zeitung*, 1881, pl. VIII. 1.

[2] *Arch. Zeitung*, 1854, pl. 67, and text.

not correspond to the Homeric description of the great contest between those heroes, have sagely concluded that a previous conflict between them must have been described somewhere in the Cyclic poets, the course of which more nearly corresponded with what we see on the vase. Modern critics are apt to forget that the thing to consider in examining a vase-painting is not what we should mean by a particular set of figures, but what the artist who drew them meant; and in fact no critic can be trusted to bear this in mind unless he adds to a historical mind a sound archaeological training.

In the old days of Raoul Rochette and Gerhard many classes of vase-paintings were regarded as intended to illustrate the *Iliad*, which were really mere scenes of ordinary life, departures of warriors, domestic scenes and the like. Of late years the pendulum has swung, perhaps too far, in the other direction, and we are very shy of supposing a vase-picture to have reference to a scene from the *Iliad*, unless either the names of Homeric heroes are appended to the scene, or else it bears a close resemblance to scenes thus identified by explanatory inscriptions. Yet there can be little doubt that Lückenbach is right when he says[1] that probably the great majority of vase-pictures which represent duels and the scenes of war were intended by the artists to represent events in the great Trojan epics. Just as on the Greek stage the scene of tragedies was almost always laid in the heroic past, so did painters commonly select their theme from heroic legend, and comparatively seldom took it from the daily life about them.

The course of this brief discussion will have already indicated my own opinion as to the intention of the painter of our vase. The representation in itself is of an ordinary leave-taking between warrior-husband and wife. Yet it is more likely than not that the great epic prototype of all such partings, that between Hector and Andromache, was in the painter's mind as he painted, little as he has cared to preserve the exact complexion of the passage in the *Iliad* which narrates that parting. Further than this we cannot go; and if any reader prefer to consider the scene one of pure *genre*, he cannot be confuted, though he might perhaps reasonably be called on to produce other instances in which infants thus figure as present at ordinary scenes of departure. Such instances would not I think be easy to find.

It is a matter which is worthy of reflexion, that while there is no scene in the whole *Iliad* on which a modern painter would so readily fasten as the parting between Hector and Andromache, not one amid the many hundreds of ancient paintings taking their subjects from the epic of Troy which have come down to us are concerned with this theme, with the doubtful exception of the present vase. Hector and Andromache do indeed appear together among the Trojans on some vases, such as the archaic crater of the Campana Collection.[2] But here the absence of the child removes all temptation to consider the representation as related to Homer. The reason is not remote nor abstruse. That which makes the parting of Hector and Andromache different

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[1] *Verhältniss der griech. Vasenbilder zu den Gedichten*, &c.

[2] Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenb.* IV. pl. 322.

in modern eyes from any other legendary or mythical parting is the admirable beauty of the lines in which Homer describes it. A modern, knowing the lines by heart, would feel grateful to any painter who should succeed in bringing before his eyes what has so often dwelt before his imagination. The Greek painter, on the other hand, worked with no such subservience to poetry. And from his point of view the scene would offer but little attraction. Its only beauty could consist in the pathetic expression infused into the group; and pathetic expression is not a thing which we should expect in vase-paintings of the fifth century. To painters of a later time, and working in a less restricted field, such as Timanthes, who painted the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, or Aristides, who painted the tragedy of the sack of a city, such a subject might perhaps offer more attraction, but whether it was adopted by any of them we do not know. Meantime we must get such satisfaction as we can from a vase-painting, which if it be really intended to have any relation to the Homeric scene, certainly cannot be considered adequately to illustrate it.

PERCY GARDNER.

METROLOGICAL NOTES.

I.—The Origin of the Stadion.

In a former paper in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* I endeavoured to show that the primitive Hellenic unit of land measure was the γύης or *plough*-land, which was the portion of land lying between landmarks (οὖρα), being the amount which a pair of oxen (or mules) could plough in a day, the length of the furrow being a fixed quantity. Whilst I was able to point out some data for estimating the *breadth* of the piece, I was unable to throw any light on its *length*, or in other words on the *length* of the furrow.

The object of this paper is to inquire if we have the means of arriving at any solution of the question, based on fairly probable grounds. The scholia on the word πεντηκοντόγυον (cf. Ebeling, *sub voc.*) are as follows: πεντήκοντα πλέθρων, οἱ δὲ πεντήκοντα ζευγῶν. γύης μέτρον γῆς μικρῷ τῶν δέκα ὀργυιῶν ἔλασσον. ἢ ζύγον, ἢ πλέθρον ἢ ἑκατὸν ποδῶν· παρ' ἑτέροις δὲ ἑξήκοντα πηχῶν.

On the other hand the scholiast on *Odyssey* vii. 113 says: ὁ δὲ γύης δύο στάδια ἔχει.

Now in the first group of scholia it is evident that the explanations of γύης by πλέθρον, ζύγον, and ζεῦγος are all equivalent. The ζύγον and ζεῦγος mean a day's ploughing of a yoke of oxen (answering to Lat. *iugum*). The *plethrum* probably varied as the *acre* varied in extent in different parts of England. Of this we have a clear indication in *Il.* xxiii. 164, πυρὴν ἑκατόμποδον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα. From this we may infer both that πλέθρον was neither 100 feet square, nor even 100 feet in length. Square measure is still unknown, and ἑκατόμποδον probably differs from πλέθρον. But the statement that the γύης is a *little less than* 10 *fathoms* is of the utmost importance. This has all the appearance of being no mere guess on the part of a scholiast, who explains off-hand the γύης by the ordinary land measure of his own day. Furthermore the extent is given in ὀργυιαί, a measure which is used in Homer to express short lengths—of timber, rope (*Il.* xxiv. 327, *Od.* x. 167), whilst we do not find ποῦς so used except in the compound ἑκατόμποδος (*Il.* xxiii. 164). This latter circumstance would indicate that the scholiast is giving us a traditional interpretation, not merely one evolved from his own inner consciousness. If we regard this as the most probable statement, it follows that the breadth of the γύης was a little less than 60 Greek feet, as Greek feet were in the time of the scholiast.

But when we come to the scholion on *Od.* vii. 113 (*ὁ δὲ γύης δύο στάδια ἔχει*) we are met by an apparently hopeless difficulty. The stadion invariably consisted of 600 feet, even though the feet differed in size in different times and places.

Dr. Hultsch (*Metrologie*[2], 41) tries to escape from this by taking the stadion here as a measure of area, equal to six square plethra, that is, a strip of land 100 feet broad, and 600 feet long. The *γύης* would therefore be 200 feet broad, and 600 feet long. This suggestion is at once open to the objection that the stadion is otherwise unknown as a land measure on Greek soil (Hultsch, *Metrol. Script.* I. 28). Again whilst the scholia variously explain *γύης* as *πλέθρον* (= 100 feet), 60 *πήχεις* (= 100 feet), yet none of these measures are more than half the breadth of the *γύης* as assumed by Hultsch. There is finally a fatal objection, admitting that *γύης* means a day's work of a plough, inasmuch as the piece assumed by Hultsch (200 × 600 = 120000 feet) is nearly three times the size of the English acre (66 × 660 = 43560 feet), which we know as an established fact to be a day's work for a plough. Hultsch assumes from *Od.* xviii. 371-4 that a piece of ground containing four *γύαι* (*τετράγυον*) represented the day's work with a pair of oxen of a sturdy ploughman. But this view is not supported by the passage. In the lines immediately preceding, Odysseus challenges Eurymachos to a contest of endurance,

ὥρῃ ἐν εἰαρινῇ, ὅτε τ' ἤματα μακρὰ πέλονται,
ἐν ποίῃ, δρέπανον μὲν ἐγὼν εὐκαμπὲς ἔχοιμι,
καὶ δὲ σὺ τοῖον ἔχοις, ἵνα πειρησαίμεθα ἔργου,
νήστιες ἄχρι μάλα κνέφαος, ποίη δὲ παρείη.
εἰ δ' αὖ καὶ βόες εἶεν ἐλαυνέμεν, οἵπερ ἄριστοι,
αἴθωνες, μεγάλοι, ἄμφω κεκορηότε ποίης,
ἥλικες, ἰσοφόροι, τῶν τε σθένος οὐκ ἀλαπαδνόν,
τετράγυον δ' εἴη, εἴκοι δ' ὑπὸ βῶλος ἀρότρῳ,
τῷ κέ μ' ἴδοις, εἰ ὦλκα διηνεκέα προταμοίμην.

If we regard the ploughing match as a test of *endurance*, the conditions of the first part probably apply to the second part of the challenge. Eurymachos will likewise have a pair of oxen. They will therefore have two *γύαι* each. But the conditions are, that it is to take place in the season of spring when the days are long, without stop for meals until dark night. The cattle are to be prime. Hence one *γύης* would not suffice, as all such 'acre-pieces' represent an easy leisurely day's work.

But there is an alternative explanation more simple still, and that is that there is no reference at all in the passage to the extent of work to be done in a day, but it is simply his *skill* as a ploughman which he vaunts. He says: give me good oxen, well matched, well fed, drawing evenly, not in jerks, and you will see the straight unbroken furrow which I will open up. The term *τετράγυον* is only used as a general expression for a piece of ground in a chief's Temenos, just as the orchard of Alcinous is of the same extent.

First now let us ask ourselves why the term *stadion*, which is especially reserved for measures of distance, should be brought into relation with γύης, the unit of area. Some light is thrown on this subject as soon as we find that the stadion was anciently known as αὖλος, and when we recall that the double stadion (διστάδιον) was regularly known in historical times as δίαυλος. The *Etymologicum Magnum*, *s.v.* στάδιον, says στάδιον κατὰ τὸ ἄρχαιον ἐκαλεῖτο αὖλος, and Suidas, *s.v.* αὖλος, gives one of its meanings as μέτρον. Next comes the question, what is this αὖλος? It can hardly be αὖλος = pipe or flute (from which Liddell and Scott and Pape derive δίαυλος). The compiler of the *Etymologicum Magnum* himself, although in great straits for a derivation, keeps clear of αὖλος = pipe, for after the words already quoted he proceeds thus: ὅθεν δίαυλος, τὰ δύο στάδια, ἀπὸ τοῦ δύο αὐλῶνας ἔχειν. καλεῖται δὲ, ὅτι φασὶ Δάναον ἐπὶ τοῖς γάμοις τῶν θυγατέρων ἀγῶνα ἐπιτελοῦντα δεῖξαι τοῖς μνηστῆρσι τὸ τοῦ δρόμου τέρμα ἐν ᾧ ἐπεφύκει σέλινα ἐξ ὧν σπάσαι τὸν φθάσαντα καὶ τοῦτο σύμβολον γενέσθαι τῆς νίκης, ὥσπερ νῦν τὰ βραβεῖα· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ σπάσαι κληθῆναι σπάδιον καὶ στάδιον. ἢ ὅτι τετραποδιστὶ τὸ πάλαι περιπατοῦντες, μετὰ τὸ εὑρεθῆναι τὸν Δημητριακὸν καρπὸν ἀνέστησαν, εὐρωστίας ἐπίδειξιν ποιούμενοι δρόμον ἠγωνίζοντο· διὰ τὴν στάσιν οὖν στάδιον.

There are several points worth noticing in this extract. First, δίαυλος is derived not from αὖλος, but from αὐλών, which of course is impossible. Next let us remark that the invention of the στάδιον is in no way connected with Olympia. Danaos has nothing to do with Elis in any form of the legend. Lastly we find the stadium connected with the first cultivation of corn. What if this last connection were to contain the truth, although in a somewhat disguised form?

Let us now take a passage from Pausanias (v. 17, 6), where he employs the term δίαυλος to explain a phrase, the precise meaning of which we perfectly understand. Pausanias in describing the archaic inscription on the chest of Cypselus, says: σχήματα ἄλλα τῶν γραμμάτων βουστροφηδὸν καλοῦσιν Ἕλληνες· τὸ δέ ἐστι τοιόνδε· ἀπὸ τοῦ πέρατος τοῦ ἔπους ἐπιστρέφει τῶν ἐπῶν τὸ δεύτερον ὥσπερ ἐν διαύλῳ (al. διαύλου) δρόμῳ. Bustrophedon of course is a metaphor from ploughing, the oxen turning back when they reach the end of the field, and returning to the headland (τέλσον ἀρούρης). In such fashion did the oxen plough a double furrow in the short intervals between the refreshment of the ploughmen in the scene on the Shield (*Il.* xviii. 541):

πολλοὶ δ' ἀροτῆρες ἐν αὐτῇ
ζεύγεα δινεύοντες ἐλάστρεον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα.
οἱ δ' ὁπότε στρέψαντες ἱκοίατο τέλσον ἀρούρης,
τοῖσι δ' ἔπειτ' ἐν χερσὶ δέπας μελιήδεος οἴνου
δόσκεν ἀνὴρ ἐπιών· τοὶ δὲ στρέψασκον ἀν' ὄγμους
ἱέμενοι νειοῖο βαθείης τέλσον[1] ἱκέσθαι.

[1] Hesychius explains τέλση (a byform of τέλσον) by τὰς στροφὰς (*sc.* τῶν βοῶν). Cf. Germ. Anwänder.

It is this *βουστροφηδὸν* process which Pausanias explains by *ἐπιστρέφει (—στροφηδόν)* and *δίαυλος δρόμος*. Has Pausanias a feeling that *δίαυλος* means not merely a racecourse but also a double furrow? If *δίαυλος* were not accompanied by *δρόμος* in the passage, we would have no hesitation in saying that he used it simply in the sense of double furrow. But the reading varies between *ἐν διαύλου δρόμῳ* and *ἐν διαύλῳ δρόμῳ*. Was the original reading *ἐν διαύλου δρόμῳ* altered into the common *δίαυλος δρόμος*? *ἐν δίαυλου δρόμῳ* would mean in a course of a double furrow, the descriptive genitive being emphatic in relation to *βουστροφηδόν*.

Did then the word *αὖλος* really represent *αὖλαξ* in ancient usage, supplanted and forgotten in this sense save in *αὖλος = μέτρον*, and *στάδιον*, and *διαύλος*? In that case *αὖλαξ : αὖλος = λίθαξ : λίθος, βῶλαξ : βῶλος*. *Αὖλος* seems to be an old word meaning any kind of groove or track, or furrow, from which were derived by differentiating suffixes the distinctive forms *αὐλών*, a large groove, valley, and *αὖλαξ* (*ὦλξ*), a small groove, especially of the plough, although used sometimes in a wider way, *e.g.* Aretaeus (i. 70, 42) says: *ἀτὰρ καὶ ἐντομαὶ βαθεῖαι, ὁκοῖον αὔλακες μέλανες, τῶν ῥινῶν*. This passage makes clear the use of *δίαυλοι* in Oppian (2, 101) to describe the nostrils, and shows that we need not even here derive *δίαυλος* from *αὖλος*, a flute. The scholiast on Pindar (*Pyth.* iv. 105) says: *αὔλακες... παρὰ τὸν αὖλον· πᾶν γὰρ ἐπίμηκες οὕτως εἴρηται*. Again Eustathius explains *αὖλαξ* as *διὰ τὸ στενοεπίμηκες ἐκ τοῦ αὔλου παρωνόμασθαι*. These references show at all events the close connection in the Greek mind between *αὖλος* and *αὖλαξ*. Finally it is worth noticing (although he is a late writer) that Heliodorus (*Aethiopica*, I. 29) uses *αὔλακες* of the passages of a cavern, showing that *αὖλαξ* could be used as equivalent to *αὖλος* even in the sense of pipe, or cylinder, and not merely as a groove. But there are some other considerations to influence us in favour of this explanation of *αὖλος = στάδιον*.

Now the Dorians used a form *σπάδιον*, with which there can be little doubt the Latin *spatium* is connected. Some have made efforts to identify etymologically *στάδιον* and *σπάδιον*, but as this can only be done by postulating a form *σκαδ-*, and as the evidence in favour of the connection of *στάδιον* with *ἵστημι* (STA) is overwhelming, the effort is fruitless. Scholars now, as did the compiler of the *Etymologicum Magnum* above, connect it with *σπάω*. *σπάδιον* is probably older in use than *στάδιον*: for if *σπάδιον* and *spatium* are cognates, not derived the one from the other, they evidently form part of the common stock of an earlier period. If on the other hand *spatium* is a loan-word borrowed from the language of the Greek race-course in later times, we would have had a form from *στάδιον* rather than from *σπάδιον*. Are we justified in saying that *σπάδιον* is older in Greek than *στάδιον*, which eventually supplanted it? Its explanation is not far to seek if we recognize that its equivalent *αὖλος* simply means the standard furlong (furrow-long). *σπάδιον* is a derivative from *σπάω*, 'to draw,' and probably means the space covered in a single draught of the plough. With this we may compare the Latin *actus*, the distance which the oxen were driven at a single stretch

(Columella, v. 1). Did then the term *στάδιον* come into use to express the regular *standard* distance, just as *στατὴρ*, another derivative of *ἵστημι*, became the name for the standard weight unit?

We have now got a natural unit of length developed out of the Greek land system, just as our own furlong has originated. It is hard to imagine a more simple origin for the space employed in the athletic contests of early days. To run the length of the ordinary field furrow would form the simplest kind of race contest, and such still survives in our own customary race of 220 yards, the old English furrow-long. If double the distance was required, let the athletes double round the landmark (*νύσσα, οὖρον, meta*) at the end of the *γύης* strip, and run back down the other side of the balk (*limes, οὖρα*). But have we any facts to support this suggestion? We turn naturally to the games in Homer. In *Iliad*, xxiii. 327 *seqq.*, Nestor, while giving his son Antilochus 'the straight tip' for the race, describes the course appointed by Achilles:

> *ἕστηκε ξύλον αὖον, ὅσον τ' ὀργυι' ὑπὲρ αἴης*
> *ἢ δρυὸς ἢ πεύκης. τὸ μὲν οὐ καταπύθεται ὄμβρῳ,*
> *λᾶε δὲ τοῦ ἑκάτερθεν ἐρηρέδαται δύο λευκὼ*
> *ἐν ξυνοχῇσιν ὁδοῦ, λεῖος δ' ἱππόδρομος ἀμφίς·*
> *ἦ τευ σῆμα βροτοῖο πάλαι κατατεθνηῶτος*
> *ἢ τόγε νύσσα τέτυκτο ἐπὶ προτέρων ἀνθρώπων,*
> *καὶ νῦν τέρματ' ἔθηκε ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.*

The *τέρματα* then are either the grave-mark of some hero, or a *νύσσα* in the days of men of old time. The Lexicons take *νύσσα* as equivalent to *goal*, and it is compared with *meta*. Just as *meta* originally meant *landmark*, so too *νύσσα*. But in the case of the latter there is no evidence that it ever had the technical sense of *goal*. Certainly there is no trace of it at Olympia. The starting-point is *ἄφεσις* or *βαλβίς*, the turning-post *καμπτήρ*. The *νύσσα* here must simply mean a *landmark* in days of yore, when that part of the plain was in cultivation. That such stones lay on the plain we know positively from *Il.* xxi. 404, where Pallas Athene smites Ares with a stone which she found:

> *κείμενον ἐν πεδίῳ, μέλανα τρηχύν τε μέγαν τε*
> *τόν ῥ' ἄνδρες πρότεροι θέσαν ἔμμεναι οὖρον ἀρούρης.*

Of like nature was probably the *τέρμα* selected by Achilleus. It is important likewise to notice that *νύσσα* is used, just like *σῆμα*, to describe the *τέρμα*, which represents the technical word for *goal*. In like manner in the legend quoted already, Danaos points out to the suitors the spot where the parsley grew as *τὸ τοῦ δρόμου τέρμα*.

If my development of the racecourse out of the Greek land system is right, it affords a curious parallel to the origin of our own cricket crease of twenty-two yards long, that is, a chain, four rods, the breadth of the acre between the balks in the common field.

Let us next examine the stadion at Olympia in historical times, and see

if it can throw any light on its own origin. Pausanias (vi. 20, 8) says: *τὸ μὲν στάδιον γῆς χῶμά ἐστι, πεποίηται δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ καθέδρα τοῖς τιθεῖσι τὸν ἀγῶνα.* Again he says (ix. 23, 1): *Θηβαίοις δὲ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐστὶ τῶν Προιτίδων καὶ τὸ Ἰολάου καλούμενον γυμνάσιον, καὶ στάδιον κατὰ ταὐτὰ τῷ τε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ τῷ Ἐπιδαυρίων γῆς χῶμα.* From these two passages we learn that not only at Olympia, but also at other places the stadion was not the actual running-path, but a bank of earth alongside of which they ran. Is it going too far to conjecture that this bank represented the balk (*οὖρον, limes*) of the *γύης* strip?

At this point it will be convenient to review our results, and define clearly the position of the stadion in relation to the Greek land system. We have arrived at the conclusion that it is probable that the stadion, anciently called the *αὖλος*, was only the length of the furrow in the ordinary field. The stadion always contained 600 feet, whether the foot unit varied or not in size. We saw above likewise reason for believing that the breadth of the *γύης* was about 60 feet. Hence the *γύης* or acre was a strip ten times as long as it was broad. Now to this we get curious parallels in the English and Irish acres. The former is 660 feet long, 66 broad, the latter 840 feet long, 84 feet broad. The shape is the same in each. It would seem that in this custom of making the plough-land ten times as long as it is broad we have a very ancient Indo-European institution. But the exact words of the scholiast respecting the breadth of the Homeric *γύης* are *μικρῷ ἔλασσον τῶν δέκα ὀργυιῶν*, a little less than 60 feet. Now the scholiast without doubt reckons by the standard foot of his own time, which almost certainly was the common Greek and Roman foot of ·297 metre. If at an earlier period a foot of slightly smaller size had been in use, this would account for the form in which the scholiast has stated the breadth of the *γύης*. Besides the common Greek foot of ·297, there was without doubt the Olympic foot of ·325, by which the stadion of Olympia was measured, and which tradition declared to be the foot of Herakles himself (Aulus Gellius, i. 1). This has been verified very exactly by the excavations of Adler and Dörpfeld at Olympia. Many circumstances point to the probability that the metric system of Olympia was imported from the East at a comparatively late period. The worship of Herakles everywhere indicated connection with the Orient, and the ascription to him of the founding of the games at Pisa may well point in the same direction. Furthermore the very close agreement between the Olympic foot and that which Lepsius (*Langenmasse*, p. 72) calls the small Assyrian foot of ·31968 is so close that we can hardly doubt the connection. But we want a foot smaller, rather than larger, than the common Greek and Roman foot of ·297. Now there was a very ancient foot of ·277 retained in use in Italy among the Oscans and Umbrians, and even in Rome. Was it this foot which formed the smaller unit of the Homeric system? Ten orgyiae, each of six feet of ·277, would explain perfectly the way in which the scholiast describes the breadth of the *γύης*.[1] So now when

[1] I owe this suggestion to Mr. F. Seebohm.

we compare the γύης to the English acre, we must remember that probably the Greek acre consisted of 600 × 60 feet of ·277, whilst the English = 660 × 66 feet of ·301. We can now get a rational explanation of the words of the scholiast, ὁ γύης ἔχει δύο στάδια. The γύης is an oblong patch of ground, forming a parallelogram. It has two short sides, two *plethra*, and two long sides, two *stadia*. The scholiast expresses himself thus because he wants to explain this archaic shape of the land unit to an age which knew only the square plethron.

Finally now let us bear in mind that if the Greek stadion is simply the ancient furrow-length, we are brought back to so early an epoch for its institution that we may set at rest all theories of the importation of the *stadium* from the East. Here then is the place to notice the only theories of the origin of this measure which are as yet in the field. Brandis (*Münz-Mass- und Gewichtswesen*, p. 20) holds that the Babylonians determined the length of an hour of equinoctial time by the waterclock; in one hour the sun traversed a portion of the sky thirty times his own diameter, therefore every two minutes a portion equal to his apparent diameter. With this they equated the distance which 'ein tüchtiger Fussgänger in derselben Zeit auf der Erde aufmachen kann.' The stadion therefore is the distance traversed by an active walker in two minutes. Hultsch (*Metrologie*[2], p. 33) adopts the same doctrine. Lepsius (*Langenmasse*, p. 33) on the other hand makes the Greeks to have borrowed their long measures from Egypt. Yet all these authorities agree in making the parts of the human body the basis of all the smaller units of length, the finger, the palm, the span, the foot, the ell. Why should one people have to borrow standards of measure which they themselves carried likewise about with them? But if there was no need to borrow the smaller units, why was it necessary for them to borrow the longer ones, such as the *plethrum* and the *stadium*? In the case of the former the authorities themselves admit its connection with the unit of land measure, the day's ploughing. There is then only left the *stadion*. Is it rational to declare it an alien imported into Hellas? But if the stadion is nothing else than the furrow, the question is settled. For every schoolboy now knows that the Aryans, whether they came from Finland or from the Hindu Kush, had the plough and knew its use before their separation. It will be therefore absurd to regard as imported from the East, and as based on the sun's equinoctial course, a measure intimately connected with an art possessed by the Aryans themselves from the earliest times. The agreement between the Greek, Babylonian, Egyptian, and Hebrew stadion may be easily explained by the fact that over these countries agriculture was carried on in very like conditions, and consequently measures based on it would exhibit considerable uniformity. Doubtless in later times under the influence of mathematical science certain alterations would arise, as standards of greater precision were required. Improvements in the art of agriculture would likewise modify the length of the furrow. With an improved plough men ploughed deeper, and consequently it was necessary either to shorten the distance traversed at each draught, or to increase the number of oxen. The

latter was the case in England, the former seems to have been the case in Italy, as we may infer from Columella, ii. 2, 27 : Sed nec in media parte uersurae consistat (arator) detque requiem (bubus) in summa, ut spe cessandi totum spatium bos agilius enitatur. Sulcum autem ducere longiorem quam pedum centumuiginti, contrarium pecori est ; quoniam plus aequo fatigatur ubi hunc modum excessit. Evidently in some places still the furrow was longer. That however the *actus quadratus*, or square patch, each of the sides of which were 120 feet, was of late introduction is shown by Columella, v. 1, 5 : *Actus minimus* (ut ait M. Varro) latitudinis pedes quattuor, longitudinis habet pedes cxx. *Clima* quoque uersus pedum est lx. *Actus* quadratus undique finitur pedibus cxx. Hoc duplicatum facit *iugerum*, et ab eo, quod erat iunctum, nomen iugeri usurpauit. Sed hunc actum prouinciae Baeticae rustici *acnuam* uocant : eidemque triginta pedum latitudinem et clxxx longitudinem *porcam* dicunt.....*Stadium* deinde habet passus cxxv, id est pedes Dcxxv, quae mensura octies multiplicata efficit mille passus, sic ueniunt quinque millia pedum. In conjunction with this passage let us read the following extract from Varro (*R.R.* i. 10, 1) : Modos, quibus meterentur rura, alius alios constituit. Nam in Hispania ulteriore metiuntur iugis, in Campania uersibus, apud nos in agro Romano ac Latino iugeris. Iugum uocant, quod iuncti uno die exarare possint. Versum dicunt centum pedes quoquo uersum quadratum. Iugerum quod quadratos duos actus habeat. Actus quadratus qui et latus est pedes cxx, et longus totidem : is modus acnua Latine appellatur.[1]

First we learn from a comparison of these quotations that the rustics of the Province of Baetica, who called the actus *acnua* were not the native Spaniards, but the colonists from Italy. Secondly as Baetica and Hispania ulterior indicate the same region, we may infer likewise that those inhabitants of Further Spain who measured by the *iugum*, or day's work of the yoke of oxen, were likewise settlers from Italy. These colonists therefore had brought with them an ancient measure, different from the *iugerum*. It is important to observe that neither Varro nor Columella connect *iugerum* with a day's ploughing. Perhaps Columella is right and it only means a pair of *actus*. But the point to which I want to call especial attention is that we have here plain evidence that the Roman land unit had been originally not square, but oblong. The *porca* of Baetica, 30 feet by 180 feet, evidences this, and likewise proves that the coloni had brought from home with them a customary measure 60 feet longer than the *actus*. It is reasonable to infer that the *porca* was older than the *actus*, and this lends good support to my hypothesis of the gradual shortening of the length of the furrow, until at last the length of the *actus* (headland) of 120 feet was reached, which became the basis of the square measure of the Roman gromatici. Having thus seen the history of the Roman unit of 120 feet square, we may not unreasonably

[1] The *actus minimus* is the headland (iter inter vicinos). The Gaulish *arepennis* (Fr. *arpent*) is identified in size with the *actus quadratus* by Columella. It too probably originally meant headland (*ara-penn*). The Irish *air-cenn* (Gaelic *cenn* = head = Gaelic *penn*) means both the headland and a piece of ground.

assume a somewhat similar development for the Greek unit of 100 feet square—the *plethron*, and also for the Oscan *versus*, namely that it arose from a land unit of larger extent, and oblong in shape, the breadth of which originally may have been about 60 feet, like the *clima* of Columella mentioned above. Finally it is worth observing that Columella evidently intends to bring the *stadium* and *mille passus*, which he gives as measures of *length* only, into immediate relationship with the *actus*, the unit of area, a tendency which is in favour of my attempt to connect the Greek στάδιον with the original land unit.

If this connection is real, we get two units of length derived from the original unit of area, first the *stadium*, or αὖλος, the length of the piece, secondly the πλέθρον, derived from the *breadth*, and which after having probably varied in amount finally became fixed at 100 feet.

To this we find an exact parallel in the case of the Yorkshire acre, which Mr. Seebohm has pointed out to me. Not only did the *length* of the acre give the *furlong*, but its *breadth* was likewise used as a measure of length called an acre.

Such then is my attempt to find a rational origin for the *stadion*. We have got the *stadion* beyond doubt identified with a term αὖλος, which cannot be αὖλος = pipe or flute, for Suidas says it is a μέτρον, and it would be ridiculous to suppose a measure of 600 feet derived from a flute. I have given some evidence to show the close connection of αὖλος with αὖλαξ, a furrow, and I have called to aid the comparative method, which has shown us that the shape and dimensions of the Greek γύης would be thus in strict harmony with those of land units found elsewhere. I had not data to show the steps by which gradually the change of shape and extent took place from 600 × 60 to 100 feet square, but I was at least able to show from the Roman writers that a very analogous change from a larger oblong piece to a smaller square had taken place, and at the same time to point out that Columella evidently thought that there was a connection between the *actus* and the *stadium*, which he makes the eighth part of the Roman mile. I do not say that my thesis is proved, but I submit that the evidence brought into court establishes a probability, which I have little doubt will be considerably strengthened by further research, and which is far more rational than the theory that the Greeks borrowed from the East a standard unit calculated by the Chaldaeans from the sun's apparent diameter at the time of the equinox.

II. Pecus and Pecunia.

In a late number of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* the present writer endeavoured to show, (1) that in the Homeric poems the gold talanton simply represented the value of the ox or cow, a relation which remained at Delos down into historical times, and (2) that the actual value of both units was a gold daric, or gold Attic stater (two drachms) of 130-135 grains Troy; in fact

the standard on which all the gold coins, and a large proportion of the silver coins of Greek Proper were struck; and at the same time the basis of the standards of Asia Minor, Syria, and probably of Egypt. I then confined myself to the countries immediately bordering on the Aegean, and did not attempt to deal with the weight system of the Italian Peninsula. I propose in the present paper to examine the Roman system, and to seek for it, as I have tried for the others, a natural unit, by which I mean a metallic unit based on some older unit of barter.

Dr. Hultsch remarks (*Metrologie*[2], p. 151) that whilst the weight unit of the Roman pound is the most accurately known of all ancient standards, its origin on the other hand is the most obscure. The Roman libra weighed 327·45 grammes. Though it was adjusted at a later period to the Attic system, it plainly dated from a period long before Rome had come into contact with the culture of Athens. Hultsch thinks he finds the clue as follows. Athens used the Aeginetic standard down to Solon's time. The mina of this system weighed about 150 Solonian drachms (of 67·5 grains each). In antiquity (he says) each weight unit was able to evolve a new unit out of its own half. Such a smaller unit he supposes to have existed side by side with the larger and older Aeginetic mina. Accordingly the Roman libra, which is equal in weight to 75 of Solon's drachms, corresponds to this supposed light mina. In support of this conjecture we find traces of the heavy mina on Italian soil in Vitruvius and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and in the older Etruscan monetary system. Hultsch then suggests that the Roman libra is the half of a Phoenician trade-mina, which had penetrated to Greece and Italy in early times, appearing in the former region as the so-called Aeginetic (655 grammes).

Hultsch shows (§ 19, 3) that gold being to silver as $12\frac{1}{2} : 1$, the small talent called the Sicilian or Macedonian, used exclusively for gold, and weighing six Attic drachms, is equivalent to a Roman pound of silver. The Aeginetan silver mina of 150 Attic drachms (more accurately 153) would be equivalent to 6 Attic gold staters (12 drachms) or 52·4 grammes. If then as in Etruria (§ 57, 9) silver was to copper as 288 : 1, this gold talent of 6 staters (of whose existence there is no trace) would have a corresponding copper talent of 3600 units, each of which was of like weight with the gold talent, and would have as its equivalent in silver a quarter obol. This then was the twelfth of the old Italian mina, *i.e.* the *uncia*, or small *unit*. Taking then instead of the heavy one of 655 grammes the light one of 327·5 grammes, that is, the Etruscan, Latin, and Roman pound, we find the pound of silver equivalent to three Attic gold staters, that is to the *known* small gold talent of Sicily and Magna Graecia. Since at Rome, prior to the reduction of the as (268-3 B.C.), the scrupulum of silver was the equivalent of the *as libralis* of copper, consequently the pound of silver, and small gold talent of 3 staters were equivalent to 288 *asses librales*. So far I have given a summary of Dr. Hultsch's excellent piece of work.

First let us divide 288 by 3, which will give us the value in copper of 1 Attic stater ($288 \div 3 = 96$). One Attic gold stater accordingly is worth

96 asses librales of copper. But the Attic stater is the Homeric talanton = ox.

Have we got any data for determining the value of the ox in Italy in early times, such as we employed for fixing its value in early Hellas? The Law known as Aternia Tarpeia dealt with questions of penalties; certain notices of it fortunately preserve for us most valuable material. Cicero (*De Rep.* ii. 35, 60) says: Gratam etiam illam legem quarto circiter et quinquagesimo post primos consules de multae sacramento Sp. Tarpeius et A. Aternius consules (A.U.C. 299) comitiis centuriatis tulerunt. To this same law Dionysius of Halicarnassus refers (x. 50): *ἐπὶ τῆς λοχιτίδος ἐκκλησίας νόμον ἐκύρωσαν, ἵνα ταῖς ἀρχαῖς πάσαις ἐξῇ τοὺς ἀκοσμοῦντας ἢ παρανομοῦντας εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐξουσίαν ζημιοῦν. τέως γὰρ οὐχ ἅπασιν ἐξῆν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὑπάτοις μόνον. τὸ μέντοι τίμημα οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς ζημιοῦσιν ὁπόσον θεῖναι δοκεῖ κατέλιπον, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀξίαν ὥρισαν, μέγιστον ἀποδείξαντες ὅρον ζημίας δύο βόας καὶ τριάκοντα πρόβατα, καὶ οὗτος ὁ νόμος ἄχρι πολλοῦ διέμεινεν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων διαφυλαττόμενος.*

Again Aulus Gellius (xi. 1, 2-3) has a curious notice: Coniectare autem ob eandem causam possumus, quod Italia tunc esset armentosissima, multam, quae appellatur suprema, institutam in singulos [dies] duarum ouium, triginta boum; pro copia scilicet boum, proque ouium penuria. Sed cum eiusmodi multa pecoris armentique a magistratibus dicta erat, adigebantur boues ouesque alias pretii parui, alias maioris. Eaque res faciebat inaequalem multae punitionem. Idcirco postea lege Aternia constituti sunt in oues singulas aeris deni, in boues aeris centeni. Minima autem multa est ouis unius. Suprema multa est eius numeri, cuius diximus: ultra quem multam dicere in singulos ius non est, et propterea suprema appellatur, id est, summa et maxima.

Festus, *sub voce* Peculatus (p. 206), says: Peculatus furtum publicum dici coeptus est a pecore, quia ab eo initium eius fraudis esse coepit, siquidem ante aes ant argentum signatum ob delicta poena grauissima erat duarum ouium et xxx bovum. Ea lege sanxerunt T. Menenius Lanatus, et P. Sestius Capitolinus cons. quae pecudes, postquam aere signato uti coepit P.R. Tarpeia lege cautum est, ut bos centussibus, ouis decussibus aestimaretur. Niebuhr considers that Dionysius and Cicero, who evidently mean that Aternius and Tarpeius fixed the number of animals, are right. C. Julius and P. Papirius (coss. 325 A.U.C.), to whose *aestimatio multarum* Livy refers (iv. 30) probably changed the penalties in cattle into money equivalents. Gellius and Festus have muddled their authorities. But the important thing for us is that both agree in giving the value of the ox at 100 asses. As the as was not reduced till long after, these 100 asses are *librales*. But we saw above that 1 Attic gold stater (= Homeric ox-unit) = 96 asses librales, according to Hultsch's calculation of the relative values of the metals in Italy. The agreement in the value of the Italian ox (100 asses) with the value of the Homeric ox as calculated in Italian money (96 asses) is too close to be accidental.

It seems beyond doubt (cf. Hultsch, p. 280) that the earlier we go back

the cheaper we find copper in relation to silver. Thus whilst in 263 B.C. silver is to copper as 250 : 1, in the fourth century B.C. it was as 288 : 1. It is not improbable that a little earlier (429 B.C.) the relation was 300 : 1, in which case the silver pound = 300 copper pounds. Therefore one gold stater ($\frac{1}{3}$ Sicilian talent) = 100 asses, which is the actual value of the ox in the Law of Julius and Papirius.

As in the case of the Greek ox-unit we gained from Draco's laws and the ritual of Delos the means of identifying it with the gold stater, so in this case likewise we owe the clue to legal conservatism.

The question next arises, was this gold unit (= the ox) brought by the Italic tribes into the peninsula, and may it thus be considered as identical in origin with the Greek unit of like value, or was it under Greek influences in Etruria and Magna Graecia brought directly from Greece, in which case the unit of barter, the ox, had been adjusted to the newly imported unit of metal, as we found (in my former article) had been the case in Ireland. Again, it might be urged by some that the Etruscans if they came from Asia Minor might have brought with them the light Babylonian shekel. If however on inquiry we find on Italian soil traces of a system entirely foreign not only to that of the Greeks, but also to that of Etruria in its earlier coinage, we shall have a strong presumption that such a system is indigenous, and therefore dates from a period prior to any influence from the East. Now in Sicily the original Sikel and Sikanian population began to coin money a little before 480 B.C. 'These coins are *Litrae*, weighing 13.5 grains, and were equal in value to the native copper libra, which the Sikels had brought with them from Italy when they first crossed the straits' (Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 99). This pound (libra), which = $\frac{1}{1\frac{1}{2}0}$ of the Attic talent = 50 Attic drachms, had beside it a silver equivalent = $\frac{1}{5}$ drachm. Twenty-four Attic drachms therefore are equivalent to a copper talent. Had this talent likewise an equivalent in gold? The light Babylonian shekel at once suggests itself, that is the daric, or Attic gold stater. This would give the relation of gold to silver as 12 : 1, which is nearly the relation found in Italy (Hultsch, p. 665). Hultsch adduces also the tradition that the daric was used as a talent. He (*ibid.*) adds the further conjecture that to this talent of twenty-four Attic drachms (= one Attic gold stater) there corresponded one of double its size = fifty Euboic silver drachms = two gold staters = 288 minae or pounds of copper of the weight of fifty Euboic drachms each. Therefore one gold stater (= ox-unit) = 144 librae = ninety-six asses librales.

To sum up then, I have shown (1) that in 429 B.C. at Rome the ox = one hundred asses librales; (2) that following Hultsch's computation of the relative values of the metals in Italy the gold stater of 135 grains (8.73 grammes) = ninety-six asses librales; but this gold stater I have shown to be the *τάλαντον* of Homer, and the metallic equivalent of the ox in the Homeric poems; (3) that taking Hultsch's computation for Sicily we find once more this ox-unit at the base of the Sicilian system, and equivalent to 144 copper litrae (= ninety-six asses librales). But all the authorities are agreed

that the Litra is an indigenous production. There is then a fair presumption that it is related closely to the Roman system, especially as the gold unit in each case = ninety-six copper asses librales. But the Roman equivalent in copper to the gold unit (ox-unit) approximates so closely to the known value of the ox at Rome that it can scarcely be fortuitous, and we therefore may without being over rash come to the conclusion that the Roman system of money (pecunia) was based on the ox, which was *par excellence* the *pecus* of Italy.

William Ridgeway.

SOME MUSEUMS OF NORTHERN EUROPE.

(Plate IV.)

The classical museums of the Baltic cities are among the least known in Europe, and the accounts of the objects they contain have hitherto been desultory or are not recent enough to be of sufficient value. The present paper is not intended as an exhaustive register of the classical antiquities of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and St. Petersburg, but only as a short notice of such among them as are of some archaeological importance, and about which nothing or not enough has as yet been said. Judgment on these is often precarious, because it is difficult to discover their 'provenance' or the circumstances of their discovery. Of the classical antiquities in the 'Prindsen's Palast' at Copenhagen a detailed account was given by Wieseler in the *Göttingen Gelehrte Anzeigen* of 1863 (pp. 1921—1952); but there is now much in the small museum which is not noticed in his account, and which therefore has probably been more recently acquired. To the archaic period belong certain terra-cottas from Santarin, found together with a few vases of the geometrical system of ornament; the latter have been published by Ross and noticed by Conze, but as far as I can discover the terra-cottas are still unpublished. Two of these are worth special attention: (1) a small slab showing a winged Gorgon in full flight, of which the execution well illustrates the development of the free figure from the relief. The body is worked on both sides, but the whole form shows the impress of the relief style in the same pose of the limbs as appears in the so-called Nike of Archermos, in the Nike of Olympia, and in the relief-figure found on the site of the Hyblean Megara.[1] The form of all these suggests at once that the motive was originally designed for relief-work, perhaps for metal plates or terra-cotta slabs to be attached to a background.

Of later archaic work is another terra-cotta of four or five inches height, the bust of a goddess who wears calathos and veil, and who is therefore probably Demeter.[2] The hair above the forehead is treated much in the same way as in the transitional-archaic marble bust of Demeter in the Louvre, published in the *Monuments Grecs*, 1873. The features of the Copenhagen head show the later archaic style, with the same depressions in the middle of the face as we see in some of the recently discovered heads from the Acropolis.

[1] *Vide* Furtwängler, p. 325, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882. Gerhard, *Antike Bildw.* Taf. 95: 1-3.

[2] Cf. Overbecks *Kunst-Myth.* Pt. ii. P. 415:

There is no sculpture in this museum of the period of the transition from the archaic to the perfected art; but the fragment of a vase that must be of this age and, so far as I know, has not been published, deserves mention. On a greyish-yellow background is represented in dark-brown tint a lady in attitude of mourning, with her head propped on her hands. The drawing is fine, the type of features and the expression are severe and full of earnestness.

Besides the two heads from the Parthenon metope, which are widely known through casts, there is no sculpture here of the great period of the fifth century; but one vase may be mentioned that belongs to the end of this century, and of very excellent style: the representation is a Dionysiac group. The wine-god, whose hair is fastened in a band, is seated, and behind him is a Maenad about to tie a vine-crown round his head, while before him stands a woman holding an oinochoe and thyrsos: at her left is Silenus with a lyre. The drawing is throughout serious and noble, and the vase is of special importance for the strikingly spiritual rendering of the countenance of Dionysos, whose form shows the transition from the older ideal to that of the younger Attic school.

The museum has no sculpture of the fourth century, save possibly a grave relief of cold and dull execution, but of the forms of the earlier part of this era, with the inscription—

ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΣ ΘΟΓΝΗΤΟΣ
ΣΤΕΙΡΙΞΥΣ

The representation is one of the many varieties of the Apoxyomenos motive: Dorotheos is a youth holding a strigil, which he raises to his hair. There are no plastic works that seem to belong to the Alexandrine or later Greek style, but the Greco-Roman antiquities are fairly numerous, among which may be noted (*a*) a terra-cotta relief showing Mars seated and holding shield and spear, with Aphrodite standing at his left and half leaning on his shoulder. The torso of the god shows much the same violent treatment of the muscles as is seen in Pergamene sculpture.

An interesting relief of picturesque style contains a figure in a Phrygian cap, standing in a cave and holding a torch; above him is the head of the rising Helios surrounded with disc and rays. The torch and the cap are perhaps sufficient to identify the figure as Atys, for though there is little else that is characteristic, the torch appears in other representations of Atys, and the pine-tree played a special part in his ceremonies. The presence of the sungod need not have any reference to the solar character of Atys, which was a dogma of the later philosophic mythology, although this aspect of him really appeared in ancient sculpture, as for instance in the reclining figure found in the Metroon at Ostia.[1] The Copenhagen relief may merely indicate through

[1] *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, Daremberg et Saglio, Fig. 2248, p. 1688: *vide* Urlichs, *Jahrb. d. Rhein. Alterthumsvereins* 23. 49, Taf. 1 and 2 and *Dütschke, Bildwerke Ober-Italiens.* 4. 354, 359, 369, 380. On Taf. iii of Urlich's Article, we see an Atys standing near the throned Cybele, and above is the rising sun in chariot.

the form of the rising sun the resurrection of Atys. And it may belong to that series of grave-reliefs on which the figure of Atys is used as a quasi-mystic symbol. The head of the sun-god is noticeable, being slimmer than the head found often on Rhodian coins, and more or less recalling the Pergamene type by its wildness of hair, the great breadth between the eyes, and the rather corrugated forehead.

(*b*) A painted tablet with a representation which I cannot explain—a woman seated and gazing at two boys, the one clad in a yellow chlamys, and in one hand holding a spear, and placing the other hand on a tragic mask, the other holding a sword and just rising from a couch.

(*c*) A small Etruscan sarcophagus of terra-cotta with a recumbent figure on the top, and in relief the representation which Winckelmann interpreted as Echetlos with the plough-share, a motive rather frequent on such objects. It is probable, as Schultz suggests in Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexicon*, s.v. *Echetlos*, that the figure when seen on the Etruscan urns is only an Etruscan demon or genius of death.[1]

The Stockholm museum is somewhat more extensive than the Copenhagen, and of this there has been more than one attempt at systematic description; the fullest and, as far as I can discover, the latest is that of Wieseler in the *Philologus* of 1868; a scantier notice had been given by Heydemann in the *Arch. Anzeiger* of 1853 and 1865. But nearly all the objects which I wish to notice have not appeared in their accounts. There is nothing of the very archaic period in the Stockholm museum which claims mention here. The earliest monument of the Greek period is a head which seems to me not to belong to the archaistic style, but to be a genuine work of the period of transition from the archaic (Pl. IV., *left*). Much defaced and much restored as it is, enough is preserved to judge of its style. In the contour of the face, and in the arrangement of the hair, which is drawn from beneath the fillet over the forehead, there is much that recalls the head of the Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo. But the features are nearer to the archaic, the expression more lifeless and much more sombre. The chin is large, the cheeks very broad, and the depth of the skull is considerable; the line of the lips is almost straight, with very slight curvature in the middle; the eyelids are full and pronounced—a peculiarity which is noticeable also on the Parthenon heads at Copenhagen. Neither in form nor expression does the head show much kinship with the Attic work of this period.

There is nothing in Stockholm of the Pheidian or of the early style of the fourth century; but there is a work which may have some not very remote connection with the younger Attic school: it is a large female head uninjured by restoration, but unfortunately so defaced that one must look long before one can discover the traces—which are nevertheless there—of the warm and true Greek workmanship. A veil covers the back part of the head and neck, and the sideways droop of the head gives an impression of sorrow

[1] *Vide* Zoega, Bassir. 40, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1835, p. 104: 1837, 2, p. 256, 264 (where the figure is explained as an Etruscan demon)

which is shadowed also in the features. For these reasons and because of the ideal character of the head we might suppose it to be Demeter's, and the high triangular forehead which is remarkable in the Cnidian statue is seen here also. But the interpretation of the head would depend upon the right interpretation of certain mysterious marks on her right cheek of something that was represented as touching or attached to it. It certainly was not part of her veil or her hair that descended upon it: possibly a hand was pressed against the cheek, and the marks we see are those of two of the fingers; and if the fingers, as has been suggested, are not her own, but those of a child

HEAD AT STOCKHOLM.

borne in her arms, we might regard her as Demeter Kourotrophos, or the goddess carrying the infant Iacchos; but then we should expect to see the head not, like this, thrown back, but inclined forwards towards the child. The traces however are perhaps too faint either to raise or to solve any difficulty.

Whatever meaning may be discovered for the work, the style is noteworthy, and has affinity with the style of certain heads from the Mausoleum. Between the eyes the forehead is broad and protruding, and the eyebrow is drawn with a high spring and a straight line towards the forehead's centre. The pupils of the eyes are somewhat rounded: the mouth, which is much defaced, shows a certain fulness of the lower lip, and the lips are wide apart

at the corners. The hair is simply treated with shallow rippling lines, drawn downwards so as to cover half of the left ear. The cheek is very broad, and the depth of the head is as great as the height. If the 'provenance' of the work and the report that it came from Smyrna were sure, it might be classed among the sculpture of Asia Minor that bears the impress of the Attic style of the later part of the fourth century.

Perhaps in this age may be placed the mutilated fragment of a head that has been supposed to belong to the Parthenon sculpture, and to have been detached from one of the metopes. This view is impossible for many reasons: though the head had been certainly attached to some background, it is worked on a far larger scale than the figures of the Parthenon metopes; and as far as the defacement of the surface allows us to judge, it shows the forms of the later generation, offering a certain resemblance with the Tegean heads of Scopas in the strong marking of the forehead above the eyes and in the rendering of the eye-sockets.

Near this are two heads almost identical in style, both female, but the one wearing a veil that covers most of her hair: both are of a full oval, and show round cheeks, full straight lips, rather narrow eyes in shallow eye-sockets, and generally in the emphasis laid on the flesh and in the laxity of the forms, the style that seems to be a tradition of certain sculpture of Asia Minor.

Near to the beginning of the third century may perhaps be assigned the head that is called Sappho (Pl. IV., *right*). All is modern restoration except most of the left side of the face and hair; and the ancient surface has been fearfully defaced. Though the depth of the whole head is considerable, the breadth of the cheeks is not great, for they fall away rather suddenly towards the centre, as is the case in many of the later Alexandrine heads. But the head, in spite of its mutilation and certain marks of a later style, possesses some nobility and is not without some spiritual effect—an effect which is achieved by the expression given to the half-parted lips and by the rendering of the eye-sockets, the eyelids being carved in true Greek fashion. And the finish and warmth of the Greek style are seen at least in the parts about the nose and mouth. There is no certain clue by which we can discover the person represented. The hair is gathered together behind in a net or coif which is plastically indicated, and about the middle of the left side of the head are certain holes which may be the traces of a metal crown. The crown, the arrangement of the hair, and the expression may be supposed to justify the name which has been given. But the only attested representations of Sappho are found on certain coins of Mitylene, some vases, and a terra-cotta relief,[1] and there is no one essential point in which these all agree which might serve as a trustworthy criterion: for instance even the head-dress differs in the different instances, and that which is seen on the Stockholm head is seen on the maiden—certainly not Sappho—carved in relief on an Attic marble slab published by Michaelis (*Ancient Marbles*, p. 730, *Woburn Abbey*, p. 100). The marble works that

[1] *Vide* O. Jahn, *Ueber Darstellungen Griechischer Dichter auf Vasenbildern*, Taf. II. and VIII., and Millingen, *Un. Mon.* 33

have been called Sappho[1] show no strong family likeness; and, even if this were so, the designation would still be insecure, for none of them agree so strikingly with the Sappho heads on the coins as to compel us to give the same name, and no one of them is vouched for by any genuine inscription. We cannot compare the written record of Silanion's masterpiece with any existing monument, for too little is told us of that: the late epigram quoted by Jahn, descriptive of a painting of Sappho in whose face τὸ ἱλαρόν and τὸ νοερόν were combined, Κύπρις blending with Μοῦσα, is too shadowy a clue to help us in the search. The marble heads which have been called Sappho do not unmistakably show the presence of these two qualities. All that can be said of the Stockholm head, so far as its mutilated state allows us to speak of its spirit and character, is that the treatment of eye and mouth accords with the rendering of the idea of poetic power.

The most conspicuous work of the early Greco-Roman period is the sleeping Endymion, which has been published by Clarac and described by Heydemann in the *Archäologische Anzeigen*, 1865 (p. 147), who notices the restorations of the various parts, and the incorrect disposition—due to the modern restorer—of the right arm. The work has considerable merit in spite of the polish, which has ruined much of the surface, and which it received from the sculptor Grossi. The warmest and freshest part of the whole is the lower torso. The hair shows something of the Pergamene manner, which appears also in the full surfaces of the body and in the rendering of the eyebrow. It would be interesting to discover by what age and by what art the type of the sleeping Endymion was created. There are no absolute proofs, but good reasons, for the theory that it was a creation of the Alexandrine age, and that form was first given it by painting rather than by sculpture. No free statue of Endymion is recorded by any ancient writer: but we hear of him carved in relief on the treasury of the Metapontines at Olympia. Pausanias[2] declares that the whole figure was of ivory, except the garment, which probably only covered a slight portion of the body. The work then is evidently not a chryselephantine work, or Pausanias would have so described it: other use of ivory for plastic work is common enough in the luxurious art of the Diadochi, but prevailed in the archaic period also; and the discovery of the site of the treasure-house of the Metapontines at Olympia, even if it could fix the date of the erection, would be no indubitable proof of the date of the Endymion figure. Pausanias's statement therefore scarcely helps the present question. The theme is of common occurrence in the Greco-Roman sarcophagi representations, and occurs in more than one Pompeian wall-painting; in the former the frequent personifications of natural objects and the frequent allusions to landscape suggest that painting rather than sculpture was the art from which the subject was drawn, and Helbig has succeeded in showing by a number of instances that the Pompeian wall-paintings are in the main reproductions of Alexandrine pictures.

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[1] *Arch. Zeit.*, 1871, Taf. 37 (a Cypriote statue for which the name Sappho suggested by Stark is not even probable *a priori*); *Arch. Zeit.*, 1872 p. 83.

[2] Paus. vi. 19.

Moreover the description in Lucian,[1] who makes Selene describe Endymion thus to Aphrodite: *πανὺ καλὸς δοκεῖ εἶναι ὅταν καθέυδῃ τῇ λαιᾷ ἔχων τὰ ἀκόντια ἤδη ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς ὑποῤῥέοντα, ἡ δεξιὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς τὰ ἄνω ἐπικεκλασμένη ἐπιπρέπῃ τῷ προσώπῳ περικειμένη*, suggests that some well-known painting was before the imagination of the writer, and also that in the standard representation of the theme the right arm was flung round the head, as we see in many sarcophagi reliefs and in the Pompeian picture.[2] This trait does not appear in the Stockholm work, for though most of the right forearm and the right hand have been restored, and probably wrongly, yet the lines of the upper part of the right arm show that this could not have been lifted towards the head. Thus the figure just lacks the perfect expression of repose which appears in the sleeping Ariadne—a work kindred in idea and originating probably in the same period—and lacking this the Endymion of Stockholm cannot claim to stand in the closest relation to the prototype, that showed Endymion, if we may trust the hint of Philostratus, as the very embodiment of sleep.

There is a rather large but very inferior collection of portrait-heads of the Roman period, among which are some modern forgeries with the false inscriptions, ΔΗΜΟCΘΕΝΕC ΠΛΑΤΩΝ ΖΗΝΩΝ.

The only two other works of the Roman period that may claim mention are (*a*) a head of Zeus Ammon with ram's horns, belonging to that later and degraded type of which the chief characteristic is the half-animal expression of sensual desire that blends with the human features. As Overbeck in his *Kunst-Mythologie* has pointed out, there are certain instances preserved of an earlier treatment of this type, which are purely Hellenic in expression, showing nothing but the oracular god, perhaps still influenced by the religious sculpture of Calamis. On the other hand a distinct group of Ammon heads which work up the animal character into the mental expression, and show often a bizarre and incongruous fusion of the higher and lower natures, belong probably to the later Alexandrine period, and are one illustration of the evil effect upon Greek religious sculpture of the *θεοκρασία*—the confusion of Greek and foreign religious ideas. The Stockholm head—a Roman work—lacks altogether the powerful characterization of the Munich head, the salient instance of the later group, published in the Atlas of Overbeck's *Kunst-Mythologie:* it bears only a faded impress of the same conception. (*b*) A relief with a very curious representation in Greco-Roman style: on the left of the slab is a *cippus* with a tripod on it round which a snake coils: on the right is a winged boy, in face not unlike Eros, wearing a Phrygian cap and boots and a heavy mantle, and discharging an arrow at the serpent. The enigmatic subject is made the more mysterious by the inscription, MALVS GENIVS BRVTI. The monument is noticed by Heydemann and Wieseler, but they contribute nothing to the interpretation of it. It may at once be suspected that the inscription

[1] *Θεῶν Διάλογοι*, ii.

[2] For Endymion representations *vide* Jahn, *Arch. Beitr.* pp. 50–72, and Gerhard, *Ant. Bild.* 36-40.

is a forgery, but the epigraphy shows nothing suspicious, and there is certainly nothing in the representation to suggest such a title to a modern forger. Whether genuine or not, the words must be an echo of the memorable phrase in Plutarch: *ὁ σὸς, Βροῦτε, δαίμων κακός.*

Assuming the appropriateness of the inscription, then the scene must have some symbolical reference to the battle of Philippi: and until we are certain that the representation means something quite different, we cannot prove on extrinsic grounds the spuriousness of the inscription. Now it is hard to discover any mythological meaning in the action presented, though it must be admitted that the forms have a general resemblance to the well-known representation of Apollo Pythoctonos on the coins of Rhegium, which show the serpent and the tripod and the young god bending the bow. Could some allegory of Love and Death be intended here, so that the slab might be an appropriate grave-monument? But the peculiar costume of the winged archer seems to show that he has a special significance, and is not one of the vague figures of allegory: nor among sepulchral symbols does anything like this representation occur. The very few archaeologists who have noticed the monument handle the subject with great reserve, and one may well be shy of positive opinion about it. But it does not seem to be altogether incredible that the interpretation which the inscription gives of the scene is the true one. In the first place the more far-fetched the inscription is, the less is the likelihood that it would have occurred to the modern forger: the usual forged title inscribed on an ancient monument is either one that lies ready to hand or one that appears to possess an obvious appropriateness: and neither of these reasons can explain this. In the next place there are two or three coincidences that are worth mentioning. The resemblance of the motive of the slab to one type of Apollo Pythoctonos has been mentioned: and that this myth should be used as a symbol of the triumph of the Caesarians at Philippi is quite in accord with the spirit of Alexandrine and Greco-Roman sculpture, in which we find other instances of such complimentary allegory. In his elegy on the battle of Actium, Propertius brings Apollo to the aid of Augustus, and conceives the god for the moment as Apollo Pythoctonos. Again, the tripod is a common symbol on the coins of Philippi, and on them also the *cippus* and the Phrygian cap are found. Familiarity with such local emblems may have suggested to the sculptor such a handling of the subject. It was of course inadmissible for him to represent the conqueror under the repellent form of a *δαίμων κακός*, and unadvisable to represent him as an Apollo, lest the allegorical sense should be lost: to preserve this sense he may have chosen the forms of an *ἀγαθὸς δαίμων*, and such a name may be judged to be appropriate to the present figure, though we do not know very much of the usual rendering of this personification.[1] It is not unnatural that Augustus should have been given this divine title, as we know that Nero afterwards was. The strange inscription may have been added later by one who knew that the

[1] A genius holding a torch with a similar cap is seen on a late bas-relief published by Clarac, *Musée de Sculpt.* pl. 184, no. 43.

scene had reference to the defeat of the republican party at Philippi. But until one can learn the 'provenance' of the stone, one can only at most form a probable hypothesis about its meaning.

Of the St. Petersburg antiquities, so far as the sculpture of the Hermitage is concerned, there is even less information than of the Copenhagen and Stockholm collections. While we have an excellent catalogue of the Hermitage vases by Stephani, and a brilliant publication of the Kertsch antiquities in the *Compte rendu* and in the *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, there is no general survey of its monuments of sculpture, and only very few of them have received any special mention or discussion. About eight statues are published by Clarac: but he gives no first-hand description of them, and misrepresents the value of some of these. But some light is thrown on the source from which some part of the collection was constituted by Stephani in the *Bulletin de l'Académie de Science de St. Pétersbourg*, 1872 (p. 501), who mentions that many of the statues came to the Hermitage from the collection of Mr. Lyde Brown at Wimbledon, and that of this latter there are two Catalogues in the British Museum, whence he quotes certain accounts which can be recognized as describing certain works now in the Hermitage. These accounts are on the whole of little value, being written in the usual extravagant style of the Italian antique-monger of the last century. Apart from the priceless treasures of the vases and gems and the products of the excavations at Kertsch, the museum is certainly of inferior value: but there are still many things among the sculpture of some importance for classical archaeology and some few for the history of Greek art. Of the archaic period of sculpture there is very little: a relief of the later archaic style is of some interest, on which Hermes appears with chlamys and herald's staff leading Athene and Artemis: the first goddess wears a long chiton and aegis, carries her spear over her shoulder and her helmet in her left hand. Artemis has the quiver on her shoulders and the torch in her right hand, while she holds a fold of her chiton in her left. The face of Hermes is well preserved, but the features of the goddesses are very mutilated. Whether the relief is only a fragment of a larger composition I could not note; if there were signs of this, it would be natural to suppose that the figures are part of a larger group of divinities assisting perhaps at the apotheosis of Heracles. Otherwise I cannot suggest any explanation, for I do not know of any local cult or any monument that brings Hermes into separate connection with these two divinities.[1]

A curious well-preserved bronze tripod deserves mention, as I cannot find any published notice of it. It is about four feet high, and on the top of the supports, just beneath the basin, are wrought in metope fashion various figures in relief: Eurystheus is represented in the well or amphora, and Heracles with the boar on his shoulders, and also the combats of Heracles with the bull and the lion. The work may belong to the close of the sixth century, and is one of the earliest representations of the incident of Erechtheus's

[1] The presence of Hermes and the torch of Artemis may suggest a reference to the lower world: but Athene has no relation with the Chthonian deities except as Athene Itonia.

concealment, which is frequently seen on archaic vases, especially those found in Italy.

The next works of sculpture in order of time that are of importance are two marble heads that belong probably to the latter part of the last half of the fifth century. The first, which is rather the older in point of style, has been foolishly restored as Hermes, and a pair of small bronze wings have been inserted into the head. The cheeks are comparatively broad, and the face shows a touch of that sombre expression that we see in many of the best heads of the transitional period.

The second head, which is the more important, and might be roughly assigned to about 400 B.C., shows some of the forms of the Doryphorus type, and the expression, which again is almost sombre, is rather Peloponnesian than Attic. The cheeks are broad and the chin rather large; the lower part of the nose is restored. The ears are free of the hair, which falls down along the line of the forehead in very small curls, some of these spreading on to the cheek.

Belonging almost to the same period as these is a small relief on the left side of which is a seated female figure holding a spindle and thread, and on the right is another female standing, holding some object of the same kind. It might be supposed that this was a representation of the Fates, but on the left of the field above the seated person there appears a head, apparently of a male figure. We have therefore probably an ordinary family scene. The treatment of the drapery and the features is on the whole that which we see on the Parthenon frieze.

The great periods of Greek art are very richly represented by the smaller objects brought from Kertsch, most of which have already been published, and some of extraordinary beauty will appear in the next number of the *Compte rendu*. But the museum is singularly barren of sculpture of this age. But it possesses one work, on the verge of the Greco-Roman age, that is of considerable interest: a head which has many features that belong to the type of Alexander, but which is certainly not an ordinary portrait-head, as it expresses a peculiar and pathetic situation. The forehead is high and rather leonine; above it the hair is raised in separate strips, two of which descend upon the cheeks. The eyes are narrow and the lids are as it were compressed. The bones of the eyebrow are very strongly marked, and the flesh about the eye is very naturalistically rendered. The greater part of the nose is restored. The mouth is partially open and the teeth are shown. The features are strained with an expression of passion, but are not so relaxed and violently wrought as in the 'dying Alexander's' or dying giant's head at Florence. The forms of the mouth and the cheek do not show the usual Pergamene rendering, although one is led to think of this school, partly on account of the peculiar mental expression, partly on account of the pathetic pose of the head, which droops over to the left. Seen from the right side the head has very much the character of an Alexander's head, and if this designation could be proved, we might be justified in styling it the dying Alexander, although we have no literary and no direct monumental evidence that such a type ever

existed:[1] we have however no right to say that it would be alien to the spirit of Alexandrine sculpture. Speaking from memory I am inclined to affirm a marked likeness between this head and that which belongs to the collection of Margam Abbey,[2] and it would be an advantage if one could test the comparison by means of photographs. Both show an expression of highly-wrought excitement, although in the St. Petersburg head it is an expression of pain, in the other of anger mixed with fear. They agree in pose, more or less in execution and in many of the forms, and both reveal a general resemblance to the Laocoon and to some of the newly-discovered Pergamene works; and although one cannot say with certainty of either that it issues from a Pergamene workshop, yet one is inclined to bring both within the radius of the influence of the Rhodian and Pergamene schools. The head of the Hermitage appears to be the same as that described in Lyde Brown's Catalogue, No. 12: 'Testa grande d' Efestione moribondo . . . e di scultura greca e trovata vicino al monte Citorio.'

There are two heads of the earlier Roman period that show an exaggeration of the same manner: a head of Laocoon, over-violent both in form and expression, with extraordinarily deep eye-sockets, the face being well modulated but with hard execution of the surface: the other a strange head, difficult to interpret, apparently of a female figure. The hair, which is very wavy and rises erect over a swollen forehead, is bound with a broad band into which some growth of a tree, possibly pine-cones, is worked. The mouth is small and slightly opened, the eyes rather almond-shaped and deep-set: the expression is over-intense. It may be a personification of some locality, or perhaps a river divinity.

Another head belonging to the early Roman period shows something of the same spirit in the handling as the last. The sex is again rather doubtful, but probably female. The features are very large and relaxed, and about the mouth and nose there are soft and deep indentations in the cheeks. The chin slightly protrudes, the flesh about the eyes is slightly swollen, the head inclines a little to one side. It is not an iconic but an ideal representation, but it is difficult to assign any name to it.

The few works just described may serve to illustrate the connection between the Greco-Roman period and the latest centres of Greek sculpture, Rhodes and Pergamon. The style of the older and severer age is seen in a head of Athene which may be ascribed to the middle of the first century before Christ. It is the one mentioned in Lyde Brown's Catalogue, No. 176, as a Minerva, once in the Villa Albani and 'the most beautiful ever discovered.' This of course is merely the interested enthusiasm of the Italian dealer, but it is not so false as many of his comments. It shows, as the finer Pallas heads among the Pergamene discoveries also show, that the traditions of the great age of Greek religious sculpture lingered long about this particular type.

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[1] The passage in Trebellius Pollio, *Trig. Tyr.* 13, gives no real ground for such an assumption.

[2] *Vide* Michaelis's *Ancient Marbles*, p. 521, No. 14.

The earnestness, the purity and reserve, are well expressed in the St. Petersburg head. The cheeks are very broad and the middle line of the face is sharply marked. The eye-sockets are large and open, the eyeballs were of metal and are lost. A small circlet presses the hair, which is drawn in simple parallel curving lines, half concealing the ears, in which are holes bored for ear-rings.

We can trace back this rendering, not indeed to the Pheidian type of Athene, but to a legitimate Hellenic type, later than the Pheidian,[1] but still maintaining a high level of spiritual conception; in fact there is no proof at all that any Greek period of sculpture is answerable for the false stamp given to the representations of the goddess by the intrusion of the voluptuous quality and of the sentimental self-consciousness that we see in some Athene statues.[2]

That the decay which is so marked in the religious effect of the Alexandrine sculpture is not so noticeable in the series of Greek monuments of Athene may be partly due to this, that the new cities of Asia Minor, if we may judge from the example of Pergamon and Antioch,[3] clave reverently to the older Attic type.

Among the works of some interest that belong to the religious or quasi-religious sculpture of the early Greco-Roman period are:—(*a*) A statuette, a copy of the Farnese Heracles: the surface is warm and rather fresh; the muscles of the torso display something of the large Pergamene rendering. (Lyde Brown's Catal. No. 3.). (*b*) A colossal Heracles restored, probably with fair certainty, after the Farnese type, holding his club and the apple of the Hesperides. The head is crowned with oak-leaves, the eyes are very deep-set, and there is great weariness in the face. (*c*) A small statuette of Eros, about three and a half feet high, is a travesty of the Farnese Heracles, wearing the lion's skin and showing the same pose. (*d*) An Aphrodite very like the 'Venus Genetrix' of the Louvre,[4] but showing later style and rather a dry surface: though Greco Roman work, it gives something of the later ideal. The features are noble and the expression is spiritual and pure: the hair is simply arranged: the drapery, in parts diaphanous and disposed in Greek fashion, consists of a double chiton, one corner of which she raises with her left hand. (*e*) A colossal Athene, resembling in the disposition of the drapery the Pallas Velletri: nothing is borrowed from the Parthenos type except the helmet with the sphinx and winged horse. The left hand rests above the hip. The face with its flat surface and broad centre recalls the rather archaic scheme of features. (*f*) A Venus, loftily styled the Venus of the Hermitage, a worthless replica of the well-known Capitoline or Medicean type.[5] (*g*) A life-size figure of Venus, reproducing to

[1] *Vide* Schreiber, *Athene Parthenos: sub fin.*

[2] *E.g.* 'Athene Agoraia' and the Chiaramonti figure, Müller, *D. A. K.* ii. 217, 218.

[3] Malalas, Bk. VIII. p. 201. To attract Athenian settlers to his new city, Antiochus caused a statue of the Athenian goddess to be erected there.

[4] The same as No. 20, page 88, Bernouilli, *Aphrodite*, published by D'Escamps, *Gall. d. Marbres Antiques du Musée Campana.*

[5] Bernouilli, *Aphrodite*, p. 232, No. 44, mentions this with more praise than it deserves: he judges from the largeness of the forms; he did not know how dry and dull is the execution.

some extent the Cnidian motive, a more valuable work than the last, for the execution of the torso is rather warm and good. The arms are missing: at her right side is the vase with the drapery. The right knee is curved inward, and the statue is perhaps more naturally referred to the type of the Cnidian than, as Bernouilli refers it, to that of the Capitoline Aphrodite.[1] (*h*) A small Hermes resting, rather in the pose of the Udolino figure. (*i*) A Zeus-Ammon with the lips open, but altogether lacking characteristic expression.[2] (*k*) The colossal statue of Zeus seated on his throne, with a

HEAD OF ZEUS.

himation of gilded bronze (of recent work), holding in his left hand his sceptre upright before him (according to a recent restoration), and on his right, which is restored, a Victory posed on an orb and carrying a crown. There is little expression in his face, and he wears no wreath: his hair is arranged after the style of the Otricoli head. The work may be regarded as a late reminiscence of the Olympian Zeus. It is described at length by Overbeck (*Kunst-*

[1] Bernouilli, *Aphrodite*, p. 229, No. 16.

[2] Mentioned in Overbeck, *Kunst-Mythologie*, vol. i. p. 283.

Mythologie, i. p. 119), who, judging it merely by a photograph, forms far too high an estimate of its merits. (*l*) A head of Zeus to which Stephani assigns the highest importance, regarding it as the best evidence for the head of the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias.[1] The modern parts are few, most of the nose, the right eyebrow and a small part of the left being restored. He wears a crown that appeared to me to be of laurel and laurel-berries, but it suits Stephani's theory to call it an olive crown, though he admits the doubt. He makes his notice of the work an occasion for a long and violent polemic, which does not much concern us here and has not produced much effect on archaeological theory, against Overbeck's views concerning the Olympian Zeus and the Elean coins of Hadrian. In Stephani's statement there are perhaps not more than two points that one may allow. The head is undoubtedly recognizable at the first glance as a Zeus, and it is inconceivable how the photograph which Overbeck had before him could have been so bad as to suggest to him that it is a 'portrait-head.' Secondly, one may allow that Stephani is right in insisting that we must presuppose in the original Pheidian work a certain rich flow of hair and an emphatic marking of the eyebrows, or rather the upper bone of the eye-socket, if we are to explain how the legend arose that Pheidias was inspired by the famous lines of Homer—

> ἦ καὶ κυανέῃσιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων,
> ἀμβρόσιαι δ' ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος
> κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο—

and he is right also in noting that these traits are not seen in the later Elean coins. But this element of truth in his exposition does not much assist the very bold claims he puts forward for the St. Petersburg head, and his acrimonious account of the artistic and historical value of those coins is nothing to the present purpose. But he takes another Elean coin,[2] of about the middle of the fourth century B.C., and declares that the head of Zeus upon it is the nearest monumental evidence of the forms of the Pheidian head; and he then discovers a very close resemblance between the representation on the coin and the head of the Hermitage. But as nearly a century may have elapsed between the date of Pheidias's creation and the date of the coin, and as coin-stampers were notably free in their handling of great originals, the Elean coin, which has not, like the coins of Hadrian, a proved close relation to the statue, becomes no sure guide, although we may recognize in its features a certain general resemblance to the prevalent type of the Pheidian age.

But apart from all this Stephani exaggerates the affinity between the coin-representation and this head of Zeus.[3] The breadth of the head is really much less in proportion than the breadth of that on the coin, the eyes are much deeper set, the forehead higher, and the hair does not flow so freely

[1] *Compte rendu*, 1875, p. 160.

[2] Well published in the *Compte rendu*, 1876, p. 224 (Nachtrag).

[3] Also, as far as I can judge, he exaggerates the likeness between the St. Petersburg head and the head of Zeus in the Louvre, published in Overbeck's *Atlas*, Tf. ii. Nos. 15, 16; and the resemblance if great would prove nothing.

down from the temples. A surer method of argument would be to establish that this marble head has forms which belong to the Pheidian style, so far as we can judge of this from works like the Parthenon sculpture, and also that its forms and expression are in harmony with the records given us of Pheidias's masterpiece. And Stephani vouches for the head on both grounds: it is in accord with the style found in the Parthenon sculpture, and the spiritual qualities of the original are satisfactorily presented in this copy: he praises enthusiastically the nobility of the forms, the dignity, energy, and worth, the benevolent mildness, and he speaks also of the 'ausserordentliche Lebensfrische' which proves to him that the work has been produced immediately under the influence of the original. Yet he ascribes it to about the middle of the second century A.D., and in this he is probably right; but sculpture of 'extraordinary freshness' in the middle of the second century is extraordinary indeed for those who are familiar with late Greco-Roman work. But Stephani's whole account both of the formal and spiritual character of the work is very questionable. As regards the mere forms the head reminds us rather of the period of the Laocoon than of the Parthenon. It lacks one essential characteristic of the Parthenon heads, the great breadth of cheek and depth of head: what a part this feature plays in the spiritual expression of the religious sculpture of that age we can gather from the forms of the deities on the Parthenon, or on the Eleusis relief, or from the Melian head of Zeus or Asclepios.

In the head of the Hermitage the height of the forehead is much more noticeable than the breadth of the cheek. Again, the eyebrows are very protruding and swollen, and the eye-sockets very deep. Now though there is much reason in Stephani's claim that a certain emphatic treatment of eyebrow and a corresponding depth of eye-socket must have been seen in the head of the Pheidian Zeus, and a deep eye-socket is not necessarily a mark of late work, for it is seen in the head of Zeus on the Bologna relief of Zeus and Hebe,—yet the rendering here belongs to a more disturbed and restless style. The second generation after Pheidias, Scopas and his contemporaries, striving to give a more pathetic expression of the mental affection or excitement, and to diversify the features with the moving play of light and shade, made an advance in the treatment of forms, and the deepened eye-socket and swollen forehead express the change in the idea. In the later Alexandrine sculpture, especially the Pergamene, we find often the excess of this use of forms, and a caricature of it in many Greco-Roman works that wish to give the impression of fear, anguish, or excitement. It is more probably this tradition rather than the direct impression of the great original that appears in the Hermitage head. And the expression seems to me to be in conflict rather than in accord with the ancient record. Is this the face of the god *εἰρηνικὸς καὶ παντα χοῦ πρᾶος*? Instead of the 'Milde' and 'Huld' which Stephani discerns in it, I can only see—as one can see in many Greco-Roman heads of Zeus—a false expression of restless, over-anxious thought. I can believe it to be only remotely influenced, as many other works have been, by the Pheidian work.

A curious *genre* group deserves mention—of Pan and a youthful Faun who sits on a rock supporting his weight with both hands and throwing back his head with an expression of pain, while Pan is extracting a thorn from his foot: probably a motive of Alexandrine sculpture, which appears also on a relief in *Museo Pio-Clementino* 24.[1]

Not far from the colossal Heracles mentioned above is a small fragment of some interest, showing the heads and necks of two horses which are biting a prostrate man, whose torso and upper thighs are seen. It may refer to the myth of Glaucos and Abderos.[2]

Lastly, the representations of two sarcophagi and one relief work may be noticed, which so far as I can find have not yet been published.

On the upper field of the front side of the one sarcophagus is seen an assemblage of some of the gods—Zeus, Hera and Athene being in the centre; at their right three maidenly figures not easy to name; then Helios rising in his chariot over a bearded recumbent figure who is probably a personification of a mountain; at their left is the corresponding figure of night descending in her car. Young Loves are hovering above both chariots. Below is a marriage scene and offering, the bridegroom and the bride standing by a fire which is kindled on a tripod, and into which he pours a libation. Between them is Peitho (?), behind him a Victory with a palm-branch; after her a figure leading a bull, then maidens with torches and bridal caskets.

The slaughter of Aegisthus and Clytemnestra appears as two scenes on the other sarcophagus, which is not mentioned among Overbeck's enumeration of the Orestes representations in the *Gallerie heroischer Bildwerke*, or in Robert's *Bild und Lied*, though it is closely akin to another representation of the same subject on a sarcophagus mentioned p. 185, note 34,[3] of the latter book. Orestes is pressing his foot against Aegisthus's knee, and is dragging down his head. Behind him is Electra with a weapon: on the other side of him Clytemnestra (?) is hurling a stool. Following close at the right of the scene is the death of Clytemnestra at her son's hands. A youth is hurling a pitcher at him from behind, perhaps one of the sons of Palamedes, *e.g.* Oiax, as in Euripides's play. Near Orestes is a female figure that may be a Fury: at the extreme right, showing the divine mission of Orestes and his future pilgrimage, is Hermes with winged cap and kerykeion.

L. R. Farnell.

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[1] Clarac, Pl. 276, No. 1742.

[2] *Vide* Philostratus, *Imag.* ii.; O. Jahn, *Bilderchroniken*, S. 36.

[3] Published *M. d. I.* taf. XV.

Heliog. Dujardin.

SILVER STATUETTES OF CITIES

COUNTRIES AND CITIES IN ANCIENT ART.

[PLATE V.]

CITIES may be regarded in two lights. Firstly, they may be considered as collections of houses, with public buildings, market-places, and walls; as features of the natural landscape; as definite localities, with form, arrangement, and parts. Secondly, they may be regarded as bodies politic; as masses of inhabitants rather than groups of buildings; as personal rather than local. And it is obvious that by far the greatest interest attaches to them in the second aspect. In the first, however beautiful, they are but material, outward and visible; in the second they are living, spiritual, and immortal, with beliefs and customs, with heart and conscience. It is the people who make their city in its physical aspect, and it is only interesting as incorporating their history, and representing their character.

This is of course true always and everywhere. But no nation has been more fully alive to the truth than the Greeks. Among them the city was more homogeneous, more fully organized, more unified than among us, was more of a person and less of a place. If we further consider how strongly Greek art tended to avoid natural scenes of any complication, and to clothe all kinds of powers and abstractions in human form, we shall see how natural it is that the national painting and sculpture of the Hellenic race are scarcely ever occupied in bringing before us the external view of cities, but devote their energies to the portrayal of bodies politic in their human and moral aspects with the best resources at their disposal.

The arts which preceded that of Greece, those of Egypt and Assyria, frequently depict cities in as naturalistic a manner as was possible in the undeveloped state of art. Indeed the sieges of cities, with all their exciting passages, are a subject specially affected in Oriental art from very early times; and the authors of the wall-paintings of Egypt and Assyria spend all the resources at their disposal in bringing before us the exact details of attack and defence of city walls, of assault and repulse, storm and plunder. Even to the semi-Greek art of Lycia such subjects were attractive. On the monument of Pericles from Xanthus we find the incidents of the attack and defence of a city portrayed with all the resources of Greek art of the best period. The walls and towers and buildings of the besieged city are rendered

as exactly as the artist could render them. Such material representations of cities are of course common on Roman arches and pillars. Nor are they quite unknown to the best art of Greece. Pausanias in describing the painting of the Iliupersis at Delphi by Polygnotus writes of it[1]: *γέγραπται δὲ καὶ Ἐπειὸς γυμνὸς καταβάλλων ἐς ἔδαφος τῶν Τρώων τὸ τεῖχος· ἀνέχει δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸ ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ ἵππου μόνη τοῦ δουρείου.* But in this great painting the walls of Troy seem but an episode, they are brought in not as the main features of the scene, but that their destruction may add a touch of pathos to the picture. Similarly the walls of Troy are depicted on a red-figured kylix,[2] but only as a background to the true subject of the vase, the flight of Hector before Achilles.

But naturalistic representations of cities as places, though not unknown to good Greek art, are but little in accordance with its instincts. As we approach the culminating point of Greek art, it centres more and more in the representation of human beings. The tendency to represent every force of nature and every material scene in human guise grows stronger and stronger. And we can easily understand that cities regarded in their higher and more human aspect lent themselves very naturally to this tendency. It is scarcely a metaphor to speak of a city as a personality, and to ascribe to it in its corporate capacity the qualities which appear in its history and make it a factor in politics or commerce or religion.

The text on which the present paper is a commentary is a group of four silver statuettes of the greatest cities of the Roman world, Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch (Pl. V.), which were found at Rome in 1793[3] and now are among the treasures of the British Museum. But it seems best, instead of describing at this point these interesting statuettes, to leave them until we naturally come to them, following an historical order, in the last pages of the present paper.

Countries and cities (countries as the abodes of races of men, and cities as the abodes of bodies of citizens) are represented in four ways in the art of the Greeks and Romans. I will first enumerate these ways, and then examine in succession the instances of each offered us in works of ancient art. Afterwards I will quickly run over the representations in historical order, to show the order of their development and to exhibit the light which they throw on the history of art. The four methods of representation are these: —

I. By the guardian deity.

II. By eponymous hero or founder.

III. By allegorical figure.

IV. By a Tyche or Fortuna.

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[1] Paus. x. 26, 2.

[2] Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.* iii. pl. 203.

[3] Visconti, *Una antica supelletile &c.* Pls. xix., xx. : D'Agincourt, *Scultura*, Pl. ix.

I.

First then come representations of cities and countries by the persons of their guardian deities. It may perhaps be thought that this is no true case of personification; that the guardian deity of a city stands rather in the place of a personification of it, and shows that the Greeks usually avoided such personifications. To which the reply is that the guardian deities of cities are in Greek belief so closely united to the communities over which they preside that it is almost impossible to distinguish one from the other, and in fact that often one passes into the other.

The first set of monuments which comes before us for consideration is the Athenian reliefs published by Schöne.[1] These are small reliefs in marble placed at the head of various decrees of the people, to which decrees they form an illustration or a sort of frontispiece. They may be compared with the Athenian sepulchral reliefs alike as to period and as to style. A few of them belong to the fifth century, the most to the fourth and third. As works of art they are by no means impressive; their scale is small and they are not the work of great masters. In fact Schöne points out the curious fact that they were not charged for by the workmen who executed them. We have plenty of records of sums voted by the Athenians for engraving treaties and decrees on stelae, sums of ten, twenty, even thirty drachms, according to the length of the decree; but no word is in any case said as to payment for a relief to accompany it. But whatever was done at Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries partakes of the wonderful skill and taste so rife there at the period. These decorated reliefs are well composed, and executed with dignity and sobriety. And besides being pleasing they give us useful information; they furnish the archaeologist with valuable materials for interpreting some of the feelings of the Athenians of the day.

On Schöne's seventh plate is a relief (No. 48) which contains two figures. One is clearly Athene, the virgin-goddess of Athens. She gives her hand to a small and stiff archaic figure who wears a modius, and over whose head is the inscription ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ. Below the relief is an inscription which seems to have recorded the conclusion of a treaty between Athens and Neapolis, or Neopolis, which had sent to the metropolis two envoys, Demosthenes and Dioscurides. The date of the inscription is fixed to the year B.C. 356. It is evident from the analogy of this whole class of reliefs that Athene here stands for the city of Athens and that the goddess Parthenos appears as representative of Neapolis, whichever Neapolis it be. Artemis had a cultus as Parthenos in Chersonesus Taurica, as well as in the islands of Leros and Patmos; and it was on the coasts of the Aegean Sea that Athens at the time of the second Athenian maritime league had most influence. Looking in this direction Schöne lights on Neapolis on the Macedonian coast,

[1] *Griechische Reliefs.*

which was a colony of Athens, and which the Athenians would be just then thinking of protecting against the ambitious designs of Philip. And it turns out that there is at Berlin a coin of the Macedonian Neapolis, having on one side a female figure wearing a modius and not unlike the figure of our relief. It therefore seems certain that this city among all those called Neapolis is the one intended on our relief. The unimportance of the town is gently indicated by the small stature of its protecting deity in comparison with Athene.

It is noteworthy at first sight that while Athene is represented by the sculptor in the best way he could, though he probably had in his mind the colossus of Pheidias, yet Parthenos is represented as an archaic statue; not the goddess is portrayed, but the image of her which was worshipped at Neapolis. This is a rare instance, but the reason is obvious. The goddess Parthenos was purely local; probably she did not exist in poetic legend, and was not portrayed in other or later statues. She could not be thought of apart from the particular statue of her cultus, and if the sculptor had tried to modernize or improve her he would have made her unrecognizable. In fact in the case of all these deities of non-Hellenic origin there was no way of improving or adapting the artistic type, which was stereotyped by the cultus-statue; unless indeed they could be identified with personages of the Greek Pantheon, and so brought into the stream of Greek artistic progress. The many-breasted goddess of Ephesus could only gain a more satisfactory artistic form by being identified with the Greek Artemis; and Sarapis could only become a fit subject for the Hellenic sculptor when he was recognized as a form of Zeus.

Relief No. 52 belongs to the fourth century. It heads a decree in honour of one Sotimus of Heracleia. The relief represents Sotimus being brought into the presence of the seated goddess of Athens by the guardian deity of Heracleia, Heracles himself. Only the feet and club of Heracles are visible; but he too is represented like Athene in the style of contemporary art.

One more relief (No. 54), which is detached from its inscription, represents an alliance between Athene and a draped goddess who wears a small stephane and holds a long sceptre. She would seem to be Hera, and to present in bodily form either Samos, or perhaps Argos, her chief seat in Hellas.

There is at Palermo another Athenian relief, of the same class but an interesting variety.[1] It is at the head of a very important document recording the alliance of B.C. 362 between Athens and several of the Peloponnesian states, the Arcadians, the Achaeans, and the people of Elis and Phlius, the alliance which led up to the battle of Mantineia and the death of Epaminondas. The deities who are in the inscription invoked as protectors of the alliance are Zeus Olympius, Athene Polias, Demeter and

[1] *Athenaion* v 101, Kumanudes. Engraved *Bull. Cor. Hell.* ii. Pl. xi.: cf. Hicks, *Histor. Inscr.* No. 94.

Cora, the twelve gods and the Severe Goddesses—Σεμναί. On the right of the relief is Zeus seated, headless but identified by the symbol of the thunderbolt; over against him is a standing headless goddess clad in chiton and diplois, bearing a sceptre; and further to left Athene, part of whose head remains. Here the Olympian statue of Zeus seems to represent not only the Eleians but also the Arcadians, and in fact all Peloponnesus. The figure of Athene stands for Athens; but what can be the meaning of the third figure, the goddess holding a sceptre? Köhler[1] suggests that she may be an impersonation of Peloponnesus. This is possible, but it seems more likely that the person intended is she who is combined in the oath with Zeus and Athene, Demeter, the goddess of Eleusis, who stands beside Athene with strong religious meaning, to offer a further guarantee of the good faith of the Athenian republic.

The character and meaning of these reliefs may best be elucidated by the comparison of a series of monuments of a considerably later date, indeed of Roman age, but of a not dissimilar character, the so-called alliance-coins issued by several great cities of Asia Minor in imperial times. They reach us especially from Ephesus and Smyrna and Miletus, the great Ionian cities of the Asiatic coast; and in spite of their late date they are full of the spirit of Greek art and religion. They too record alliances, but not such as could leave a trace in history; for the *pax Romana* only allowed religious and commercial conventions between the subject cities, and not any real political alliances.

The first set of coins[2] which we shall examine records an alliance of the reign of Commodus between Athens and Smyrna. This alliance is celebrated by three distinct coin-types. In all, Athens is represented as of old by her guardian deity Athene; but Smyrna, as not entirely given to any one cultus, is represented in three distinct ways;—first, by a winged Nemesis who holds in her hand a noose while a wheel is at her feet; second, by Cybele or Mater Sipylene who is seated on a throne, with the Phrygian tympanum under her arm; third, by Zeus Nicephorus who is also seated in state. And these same three deities occur one by one in conjunction with Asclepius on coins which record an alliance between Smyrna and Pergamon, and one by one in conjunction with the Zeus of Laodiceia on coins commemorating an alliance with Laodiceia. For Pergamon and Laodiceia were respectively devoted to the worship of Asclepius and Zeus as much as Athens to that of Athene.

Turning next to a group of coins of the same period which record the alliances of Ephesus we find, just as we should expect to find, the city of Ephesus in these records represented by Artemis. On two alliance-coins of Ephesus and Miletus, Ephesus is in both cases represented by the διπετὲς ἄγαλμα, the image which fell from heaven, or rather the origin of which was lost in the mists of time. Miletus is in one case represented by the archaic statue of Apollo which stood in the Didymaeum, the celebrated work of

[1] *Mittheil. d. deut. Inst. in Athen*, i. 197.

[2] These coins and those which follow will be found described in Mionnet, under the cities where they were struck.

Canachus; on the other occasion by a more ordinary type of Apollo playing on his lyre. Ephesus and Laodiceia on an alliance-coin are represented each by an image of their deities. In the coins recording an alliance of Ephesus and Alexandria in the time of Gordianus Pius we have greater variety. On one specimen we find the archaic figure of the Ephesian Artemis placed between Sarapis and Isis, the consort whom Sarapis stole from Osiris. On a second, we see Sarapis enthroned holding in his hand a small simulacrum of Artemis Ephesia. On a third we have Sarapis in his customary attitude, with hand raised, and Artemis of the Hellenic type standing with bow and arrow. On a fourth are two heads jugate, of Sarapis and of Artemis who is identified by the symbol of a torch.

We might cite many more coins of this class, but enough have been mentioned to establish its general character. It is not a little interesting to observe that in idea there is scarcely any difference between Athenian reliefs of the fourth century before our aera, and reliefs from Ionia of the second and third centuries after our aera. Of course the character of the alliances commemorated in the two cases was different. In the one case they were weighty political contracts with a bearing on history; in the other mere conventions for agonistic, religious, or commercial purposes.[1] But at the later as at the earlier period, the city was deemed to be most fitly represented by the guardian deity who was its protector. And we find in the later class of monuments precisely the same fluctuation between deity and statue which we noted in the earlier. In the early Athenian reliefs we found Athene and Heracles represented not by any archaic simulacrum but by an impersonation in the style of contemporary art; but on the other hand the city of Neapolis was represented by the very image of the local goddess Parthenos, an archaic figure far below the powers of contemporary art. The same thing holds in the alliance-coins, in which Miletus is represented sometimes by an archaic statue of Apollo and sometimes by a type of developed art, and Ephesus as well by the running huntress Artemis as by the rude oriental simulacrum. But of course in execution the earlier series of reliefs is far superior; and it is superior in the way in which the two divinities represented are (usually) united into a single group; whereas on the coins we have usually merely two detached figures side by side. Placing the image of one of the deities in the hand of the other seems but a clumsy attempt to unite the two into a single group. The idea of the jugate heads is far more ingenious and successful; but it is one which does not belong to early art.

It is unnecessary at any length to show how natural it was for Greeks, whether in early or late times, to put forward in art the guardian deity of a city as its representative. That deity really admirably embodied the higher personality of the state. When colonies set forth from a Greek city they bore with them a copy of the image of the chief deity of the metropolis,[2] and by worshipping it kept ever fresh the tradition of their origin. When

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[1] Cf. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. lxxvii.

[2] A good instance on the coins of the Samian colony of Perinthus. See Gardner's *Samos*, Pl. v. 14.

one city conquered another it bore off to its own temples the image of the presiding deity of the vanquished city, and by so doing imagined that it incorporated that city with itself. Thus the Argives carried off to their own Heraeum the statue of Hera from Tiryns, when they had conquered the people of Tiryns,[1] and from that moment Tiryns ceased to be. Thus Antiphemus, founder of Gela, after destroying Omphace,[2] a Sicanian town, carried off to Gela the Daedalian statue of their god; and thus the Cyzicenes wrested from the conquered people of Proconnesus their statue of Mater Dindymene. In the same way Zeus Homagyrius represented the personality of the race of the Achaeans, Zeus Dodonaeus that of the Epirotes, Apollo that of the Delians.

II.

The second mode in which the Greeks embodied country and city was in the person of eponymus hero, or founder—κτίστης. This method also is thoroughly consistent with what we know of Greek belief and Greek art. The Greeks almost always had in their cities temples dedicated to the founder; if they could they placed his bones underneath their market-place. They looked for his aid in war, especially in case of an invasion; and he came, as the hero Echetlus appeared to defend with his plough-share the Athenian army at Marathon. If they knew the historical origin of their city they raised the historical founder to the rank of a hero or demi-god. If they had no historical founder, sometimes even if they had, they imagined an eponymous hero for their city who was simply the people in person and in venerating whom the citizens exalted themselves. The hero thus exalted or thus invented became the spiritual ancestor of each inhabitant; as related to him all alike, they were also related one to the other, and no figure so well as his could represent the city in its dealings with foreign states, or with strangers whom the city wished to honour with crowns or immunities or proedriae.

It is difficult to draw any line between the cases of embodiment of a city in the person of the founder and mere allegorical renderings; for when a Greek artist wished to form a concrete image of any city, he naturally thought at once of the hero or heroine, usually of the same name, who was regarded as its actual or virtual founder; he at all events gave to his artistic creation the attributes most suited to such founder. When we find a statue of Cyrene it is really impossible to say whether it is intended to represent the nymph Cyrene or the city Cyrene; probably the sculptor had both in his mind. Yet there are some cases—and with such alone we will deal in this section—in which a hero or heroine is clearly put forth as the representative in art of a city or a district.

The first instance is again one of the alliance-reliefs published by

[1] Pausanias, ii. 17, 5. [2] Pausanias, viii. 46, 2.

Schöne.[1] It represents Athene seated, giving her hand to a male figure clad in a short chiton who stands before her. Behind him is a dog and some rocks. The inscriptions which the relief accompanies record honours voted by the people of Athens to those of Methone, a city of the Macedonian coast, supposed to be a colony of Eretria in Euboea. The date of the relief is soon after B.C. 424. Schöne seems undoubtedly right in recognizing in the male figure a local hero of the people of Methone. And as Plutarch states[2] that Methone was in ancient days inhabited by a man named Methon, an ancestor of Orpheus, we may feel justified in giving the name Methon to the figure of our relief. That he is represented as a hunter who pursues game on the mountains is not unnatural, for the inner lands of Macedon were mountainous and uncultivated and the abode of hunters and shepherds. The early date is very noteworthy; the relief is almost contemporary with the Parthenon sculptures; and it seems likely that we may expect hereafter to find still earlier representations of the same class.

On a coin of Cyzicus of Antoninus Pius, at a period almost six centuries later, we find a relief of very similar character. It commemorates an alliance between Ephesus and Cyzicus; and comprizes two male figures who stand hand in hand, and are proved by the inscriptions behind them to stand for Ephesus and Cyzicus. We have record of a hero named Ephesus who is said to have been a son of Caÿster and to have aided Croesus in building the archaic temple of Artemis; and we hear of a hero named Cyzicus who in the time of the Argonauts was ruler of a district of the Propontis and was slain by accident by them in a night-alarm. And that these heroes are intended to be represented in the coin-type rather than impersonations of the cities of the same name seems certain, for in the age of the Antonines, as will appear later, cities in Asia Minor were, when personified, represented by female figures, usually wearing turreted crowns. They would scarcely take the forms of young hunters. Yet though Ephesus and Cyzicus are heroes and not cities, each stands for and represents the personality of the city he founded. On another coin which records an alliance between Ephesus and Pergamon, Ephesus is represented similarly by its eponymous hero, who carries in his hand the statue of the Ephesian Artemis, for which according to the legend he found a resting-place.

But perhaps the best of all instances in which a founder is set forth as a complete embodiment of the personality of a city is to be found at Tarentum. Early in the fifth century the Tarentines dedicated at Delphi statues, by Onatas, of Taras and Phalanthus, the one the mythical and eponymous, the other the historical founder of the city. And throughout the long series of the splendid coins of Tarentum, from the time of Onatas onwards, these two heroes, more especially Taras, represent in the most complete and lively manner all the activities and successes of the Tarentines. The Tarentine cavalry was excellent, so their heroes appear constantly on horseback

[1] viii. 50. [2] *Quaest. Graecae.* 11.

performing military evolutions and crowned for success in the games. The Tarentine wine was good, so Taras on the coins bears a bunch of grapes or carries a thyrsus. The Tarentines were skilful fishers, so Taras as he rides on his dolphin's back spears the fish of the sea through which he passes. Tarentum was a city of shipping and of cavalry; so on one side of her coins Taras rides his dolphin, on the other Phalanthus mounts his steed, repeating age after age the exploits by which they were supposed to have won fame, and furnishing a constant model to the ambitious youth of Tarentum.

Cities are sometimes embodied also in the person of the mother of their founder, some local nymph who has been the object of a passion of Zeus, or Poseidon, or Apollo, and has become the foundress of a race, and mother of an eponymous hero. We may mention one or two of these in passing, though they are not for our present purpose important. For mostly they appear only in connexion with the deity who was their lover, and lose their local and distinctive character.

One of the most celebrated of the amours of Zeus was that carried on with the nymph Aegina, daughter of Asopus, who became mother of Aeacus and the local nymph of the island which bore her name. In the best illustration of this episode on a vase,[1] Zeus appears taking Aegina from the midst of her sisters, laying a hand on her and barring her flight with his sceptre: her sisters fly in terror to their father Asopus. The whole scene forcibly reminds us of many vase-paintings representing the seizure of Thetis by Peleus; and the Naiad daughters of the river are not to be distinguished from the Nereid sisters of Thetis. The subject of this vase is precisely like that of a votive group, dedicated by Phliasians at Olympia, of uncertain period[2]—'Nemea is the first of the daughters, next Aegina, on whom Zeus is laying hands, then Harpina, then Corcyra, then Thebe, and last Asopus.' In a variant form of the legend, Zeus is said, in the form of an eagle, to have carried off Aegina, and late works of art adopt that view; but our vase adheres to the more artistic and nobler tradition.

It is remarkable that all these nymph-daughters of Asopus bear the names of celebrated cities, with which legend connected them as foundresses. Some writers have supposed that Corcyra, Harpina, Thebe, and the other cities were all founded from the banks of the Asopus, and that the legends thus arose. But history will not bear out this view. The fact is that there were several rivers called Asopus in Greece, one in Boeotia, one in Argolis, one in Aegina. Thebe must have been the daughter of the Boeotian Asopus; and the other eponymous nymphs the daughters of the various Asopi in various neighbourhoods. But the general fact remains interesting. It is almost always the daughter of a river who gives her name to cities, as the spring with which she is ultimately identified made the city inhabitable.

There are many other local nymphs who are associated with Poseidon.

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[1] *Mus. Gregor.* ii. 20: Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* pl. vi. 1.

[2] Paus. v. 22, 6.

Beroe appears on coins of Berytus; and seems to have been, like Amymone, surprised while drawing water.[1] Salamis was by Poseidon mother of Cychreus, autochthonous hero of Salamis. On a Brygos vase[2] we find a nymph pursued by Poseidon who seems to be determined as Salamis by the picture of the inside of the same vase, which represents the snake slain by Cychreus, and the picture of the other side, which represents Cychreus as attendant on Demeter. Almost all these local or foundress nymphs seem when traced to their source to be the daughters of rivers, and to belong to the class of naiads.

In one part of the Greek world, in the neighbourhood of Mount Sipylus on the Ionian coast, the foundress-nymphs bore a peculiar character, appearing as Amazons. Smyrna appears on coins of her city in Amazonian dress, turreted, with bipennis over her shoulder and a prow at her feet; sometimes also bearing a sceptre; Cyme holds on coins a dolphin and trident; each foundress thus adopting attributes from the city she founded. But all are alike reflections of the great deity of Sipylus, the Phrygian Cybele. In one instance we have Smyrna seated on a throne exactly in the attitude of Cybele, only clad in short Amazonian dress and having under her arm a lunated shield in place of the usual tympanum.

It may perhaps arouse surprise that I speak of these Amazonian foundresses in the same connection in which I speak of the daughters of Asopus and other river nymphs like Salamis and Beroe. But I think the distinction between the two classes of foundresses rather apparent than real. Cyme for example, one of the Amazonian foundresses, is spoken of as a nymph who was connected with Poseidon, and as such she is supposed to appear in unwarlike guise on one or two ancient monuments. The two perfectly similar cults, that of Hera at Samos and that of Artemis at Ephesus, were founded the one by nymphs the other by Amazons. The Amazons, in connection with the Ionian cities at least, were in fact mere nymphs of Sipylus and were represented as armed merely in virtue of ancient religious traditions of the district.

These Amazonian foundresses of cities often embody upon coins the cities which owed to them their origin. Amazons were said to have built many of the cities of the Ionian coast, and Smyrna, Ephesus, Teos, Magnesia, Myrina, and Cyme, all claimed to have been founded by Amazonian chiefs of the same name with themselves. We have an alliance-coin of Ephesus and Smyrna of which the type represents two Amazons armed and wearing turreted crowns grasping one another's hands. In the case of other alliance-coins, nearly or quite all the cities above-named are represented by Amazonian foundresses wearing the same turreted crowns, as to which there will be something to say when we reach the subject of civic Tychae or Fortunae. But at each city the foundress has a distinct and individual character. At Smyrna she sometimes holds a long sceptre and a bipennis, sometimes a Victory and a bipennis; some-

[1] Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* Poseidon, pl. vi. 30.

[2] *Ann. d. Inst.* 1850, pl. G.

times she is seated in the attitude of Cybele; and often there is at her feet a prow, whereby is indicated the naval prowess of the Smyrnaeans. At Teos, a city renowned for vines, the Amazonian eponymous heroine carries a thyrsus in place of the usual bipennis. At Cyme she holds a dolphin, a somewhat inappropriate attribute. But in all cases these Amazons represent the personality of the cities named after them and replace them in art.

III.

It is sometimes said that allegorical figures do not belong to early and good Greek art, but are introduced into art late and by Roman influence. This however is quite erroneous. There is no period of Greek art in which we do not find a considerable admixture of figurative and allegorical personages. And indeed such are especially common in very early times. On the chest of Cypselus, dating from the seventh century, we have many instances. Night for instance appears bearing two boys, one white and one black, both with distorted feet, who are Death and Sleep respectively. Justice as a beautiful woman scourges Injustice who appears as an ugly one. Eris interferes in the combat of Achilles and Memnon, *αἰσχίστῃ τὸ εἶδος ἐοικνῖα*, and Ker with teeth like a wild beast and claws for nails stands near Polynices. In the period of developed art figures of this class become rarer; but they are never wanting. On one of the Attic reliefs published by Schöne[1] we have a figure of Eutaxia. Euphranor made a statue of Arete, and Agoracritus one of Nemesis, while the Kairos of Lysippus appears, if we may consider recently published reliefs with the subject of Kairos to fairly represent it, to have been even of an extravagantly allegorical character. When we pass the age of Alexander, these symbolical figures become more frequent. In the celebrated Pomp of Ptolemy II. of Egypt[2] we have figures of Eniautos and of Penteteris, and the four Seasons bearing their proper fruits. And in the Pomp of Antiochus IV.[3] we hear of a series of statues of Night, Day, Earth, Heaven, Morning, and Noon. On the coins of Alexandria we have an extraordinary number of fanciful figures; Euthenia (Felicitas), Keleusmos (Sign of attack), and so forth; indeed one may suspect that it was not the Greeks who borrowed from the Romans in this matter, but the Romans from the Greeks, more particularly the Greeks of Alexandria, whose shadowy philosophical tendencies set up a host of imaginary personalities, virtues and vices, habits and actions, and clothed them in artistic form.

Of course there are differences in character between late and early allegorical figures; or rather between the allegorical figures of mature art on the one hand and those of early and late art on the other. In the best period allegorical figures are marked by dignity and simplicity, and the emblems are fused with and incorporated into the figure itself. In early times the skill

[1] Pl. xiii. [2] Athen. v. p. 196.
[3] Polybius, xxxi. 3, in Athenaeus, v. p. 194.

to accomplish this was wanting; and late art rejoiced in multiplying external and easily intelligible symbols.

These general remarks will become, I hope, more intelligible in the course of our examination of one class of allegorical figures;—the impersonations in art of countries and of cities.

In forming out of cities imaginary personalities, as in so many other matters, the Egyptians showed the way to the Greeks. In Egypt cities and districts are usually represented by their deity. But in a celebrated painting of the time of Rameses II. are a set of male deities each of them followed by a female deity.[1] The forms are of course conventional, but the hieroglyphic text accompanying explains that each of the male figures represents a branch of the Nile, each of the females a district or city on its banks. At a later period these pairs become curiously amalgamated; and we find in a temple at Abydos in wall-sculptures of the time of Rameses III. several series of androgynous figures bearing on their head each the hieroglyphic cartouche of a nome or a city of Egypt, which seem to be considered partly as places and partly as aspects of the Nile. But more pleasing representations are not unknown; nomes and cities[2] alike appear as female forms, holding in one hand the Egyptian sign of life, in the other a sceptre made of lotus-stalk, and bearing on their heads the hieroglyphic sign of the city or nome which they represent, Thebes, Tentyra, &c. Most of these monuments are of Ptolemaic and Roman times; but that the idea was not first invented at so late an epoch is proved by the fact that, on a monument of Shishak, we find standing beside the king an impersonation in female form of the Theban nome[3]: on her head is the symbol of cultivated lands, she is armed with bow, arrow, and mace.

In Greek poetry countries and cities take on themselves more and more of human personality as time goes on. In the Delian hymn to Apollo, though the island is said to speak and to smile, yet it is spoken of as a place rather than as a person. But when Atossa in the *Persae*[4] speaks of two women as appearing to her in a dream, clad the one in Persian the other in Dorian dress, these ladies are certainly allegorical personifications of the peoples of Asia and Hellas respectively. Still more human and concrete is Hellas in Euripides's *Helena*,[5] crying out and tearing her flesh in wild passion. And in the plastic and pictorial arts of Greece we may discover a similar progress in personification from the vague to the definite and from the abstract to the concrete.

In the earlier period of Greek art our materials for tracing the history of these civic impersonations cannot be said to be abundant, but they exist. Perhaps the earliest of such impersonations is that spoken of in Aristotle's

[1] Brugsch, *Geograph. Inschriften* i. 80, ii. 58, iii. 2. I have to thank Mr. R. S. Poole of the British Museum for information embodied in this paragraph.

[2] Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* v. p. 62.

[3] Roselini, *Mon. Stor.* pl. cxlviii.

[4] Line 181 *sqq.*

[5] Line 370 &c.

βοὰν βοὰν δ' Ἑλλὰς
κελάδησε κἀνωτότυξεν,
ἐπὶ δὲ κρατὶ χέρας ἔθηκεν, κ.τ.λ.

description of the robe of Alcimenes of Sybaris.[1] As Sybaris was destroyed soon after the middle of the sixth century, this robe must belong to a time before that; and the description itself indicates a very early period of Greek art. On the robe were embroidered lines of animals, just such lines probably as are usual on early Rhodian and Corinthian vases, together with figures of Zeus, Hera, Themis, Athene, Apollo and Aphrodite; and at each side Alcimenes himself was represented as well as the city of Sybaris in person. But of the details of the personification of the city we have no account.

An early work of the class was the statue of Salamis made by the Greeks out of the acroteria of Persian ships—a statue of bronze twelve cubits high, dedicated by the Greeks at Delphi in memory of the great battle of Salamis and the repulse of the Persians. The date of this would be about B.C. 478. Herodotus[2] does not describe the statue further than by saying that it held in its hand an acroterium. This is the regular symbol of naval victory, which we find often in the hands of Nike, on early coins of Camarina for instance and therefore it well beseemed Salamis, especially considering whereof the statue was composed. This statue was the sculptural hymn of victory over the Persians, and its form was copied by the painter Panaenus, the contemporary of Pheidias, in his paintings on the barrier of the statue of Zeus at Olympia. The group painted by Panaenus consisted of Hellas and Salamis holding in her hand *τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἄκραις ποιούμενον κόσμον.* Hellas was probably placing a wreath on the head of Salamis, an action very common in works of this class.

Beside these instances quoted from literature we may set a few gathered from extant monuments of the fifth century B.C. The chief source of them is the Athenian reliefs of the class already mentioned which are collected in the work of Schöne. On them we find cities not only embodied in the persons of their guardian deities, but also sometimes in allegorical figures, who however usually borrow some of the attributes of the *πολιοῦχοι θεοί.*

The earliest and most important of these reliefs is not in Schöne's work, but is published by Michaelis in the *Archaeologische Zeitung.*[3] It is unfortunately fragmentary; all that remains is part of a somewhat archaic female figure standing to the right with arms outstretched, on her head a lofty crown or polos. The date, as indicated by a few letters of the inscription which remain, is the middle of the fifth century B.C. We should naturally have supposed the lady to be a deity, probably Demeter, but for the inscription which is inserted beside her for the express purpose of preventing this mistake, and which consists of the letters ΜΕΣΣ[. Michaelis can scarcely be wrong in supposing that she is in fact an allegorical impersonation of the city of the Messenians, with whom the Athenians had about the middle of the fifth century close relations. This impersonation is the more remarkable because after B.C. 454 the Messenians were wanderers, and their city in the power of Sparta. So it is the people rather than the city who is embodied in the lady

[1] Ed. Didot, iv. 90. [2] Hdt. viii. 121.

[3] For 1875, p. 104. The relief is at Leyden.

of the relief. Her likeness to Demeter may arise from the fact that Demeter was, as we know from Messenian coins, regarded as the representative deity of the race.

A relief on Schöne's seventh plate (No. 49) is at the head of a decree passed by the Athenians in B.C. 393, in honour of the cruel tyrant Dionysius of Syracuse, and his brothers Leptines and Thearides. In it Athene again appears, accompanied by her serpent, giving her hand to a draped female figure who holds a long torch. Athene is of course Athens, but who is the other? Schöne supposes her to be an allegorical representation of Sikelia. And this interpretation is by no means unlikely. The head of Sikelia, with her name, appears on bronze coins of Sicily of the period of Timoleon.[1] And as Demeter and Persephone were the chief deities of Sicily, it is not unnatural that the impersonation of the island should hold a torch. Of such transference of an attribute from a *πολιοῦχος* or *γαιήοχος θεά* to the land which she protects we shall find several instances hereafter. Nevertheless some might be inclined to see in the present figure rather Demeter as the representative of Sicily than an impersonation of the country, and though the question cannot be settled because only the lower part of the figure is visible, this is certainly a not unreasonable hypothesis.

Relief No. 51 on plate VIII. offers us three figures instead of two. Unluckily we can see only the lower parts of these figures, yet enough to enable us to discern their import. The decree below is in honour of the Samians, praising them, or rather the Atticizing section of them, for some signal service performed against the Laconian party. Schöne conjectures the date to be B.C. 412, when the Athenian dominion was rudely shaken by the calamity at Syracuse, and even Chios revolted, Samos alone remaining a firm ally. We have Athene as usual. In front of her is a smaller female figure, rising on tiptoe to place a wreath on the head of a draped goddess. Schöne suggests that the crowning figure is Boulê, and the crowned figure Samos is in female form. But it seems to me more probable that the crowning agent either Nike or else Pistis or some other allegorical attendant of Athene.

Another relief[2] of the class, over a decree of alliance between Athens and Corcyra, also has three figures. These are explained by M. Dumont as being Athene representing Athens, Demos, and an embodiment of Corcyra. The figure taken for Corcyra is a veiled lady in aspect not unlike Hera, and very different from the Corcyra whose head appears on coins of the island,[3] who is crowned with ivy and has the aspect of a Dionysiac nymph or maenad. The head of Hera occurs conspicuously on early coins of Corcyra,[4] and it is not impossible that it is that deity who figures in our relief.

Somewhat later, as we approach the fourth century, instances become more frequent. Aristander of Paros, the supposed father of Scopas, sculptured a statue preserved at Amyclae of a woman holding a lyre, and representing

[1] Head, *Coinage of Syracuse*, p. 37.
[2] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* ii. pl. 12.
[3] *Br. Mus. Coin Cat. Thessaly to Aetolia*, p. 132.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 120.

Sparta. After Alexander we can scarcely imagine Sparta in art otherwise than as armed, but there is better taste in this earlier image. Euphranor made a colossal group of Arete and Hellas, Hellas, no doubt, receiving a wreath from Arete. Cephisodotus, father of Praxiteles, set up at Megalopolis a statue of that city, ἡ Μεγάλη πόλις, immediately after its foundation. As Megalopolis was a brand-new city, there could in this case be no question of foundress or eponymous heroine; the sculptor must have set himself deliberately to incorporate the city, as yet scarcely built, in human form; the purely allegorical nature of the image is very clear. In the time of Philip of Macedon the people of Byzantium and Perinthus set up, as we learn from the *De Corona* of Demosthenes,[1] a group representing the Athenian Demos being crowned by the cities of Byzantium and Perinthus, each figure sixteen cubits high. A part of one of these figures is supposed to have been recently discovered.

One class of places would be especially likely to be embodied by the Greeks in art at an early time, and that is the seats of the great games of Greece, Olympia, Nemea and the rest. The head of Olympia, with an identifying inscription, occurs on coins of Elis. Similarly we hear of painted tablets by Aglaophon representing Alcibiades seated in the lap of Nemea, and crowned by Olympia and Pythia.[2] On a beautiful red-figured kylix[3] of the potter Hieron we find, at the scene of the outsending of Triptolemus, an impersonation of Eleusis. Here she stands behind Persephone, in nymph-like form. In her hand is a twig, which seems to stand for the sacred grove of Eleusis; with the other hand she raises her dress, an attitude common to many goddesses in early days. She is veiled, a most unusual thing in a local nymph—a fact which can best be explained by considering that the local personification takes her attributes from the great local goddess: because Demeter is essentially a veiled goddess, her Eleusis is also veiled. Possibly also there may be in the veil an allusion to hidden mysteries. We might be tempted, on the analogy of this vase, to call the subordinate figure so often present in this scene Eleusis; but Kekulé remarks that as no nymph Eleusis is mentioned in the old literature, it is not likely that she would be introduced save as an exception. And his argument is the more interesting to us as it shows that we have here to do with a clear and distinct personification of a town, and not with a mere foundress.

We should however be able to form but a vague idea of the representations of places in the good time of Greek art were it not for a very interesting bronze mirror discovered at Corinth and published by M. Dumont in the *Monuments*[4] of the French Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. This mirror is of an excellent time of art, early in the fourth century. It is engraved with a tool by a very skilful hand, the background being gilt and the figures silvered. On it are represented two figures—Corinthus, a bearded,

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[1] P. 256.

[2] Athen. xii. 534 d. from Satyrus: these writers give the impersonations as Ὀλυμπιὰς and Πυθιάς.

[3] *Mon. dell' Inst.* ix. 43. Overbeck, *K.M.* iii. pp. 543, 4, Atlas xv. 22.

[4] For 1873.

Zeus-like figure seated to the left, holding a sceptre, and Leucas, a young female figure standing behind his throne and placing a wreath on his head.

CORINTHUS AND LEUCAS.

In every way this group is important and admirable. M. Dumont can scarcely praise it highly enough from the point of view of art. He calls attention to the majestic pose and noble countenance of Corinthus, to the way in which the muscles of the body are depicted with perfect truth by a few strokes of the tool of which not one is false or superfluous. He remarks the beauty of the drapery of Leucas, and the simple and noble manner in which the two figures are grouped. A less admirable peculiarity is the realism with which the hair on the breast of Corinthus is portrayed.

But the meaning of the group is even more important than its style of execution. To begin with, there can be little doubt that it is a copy or a reminiscence of a more important work in sculpture or painting, designed and executed at a time when Leucas wished to testify in the usual Hellenic

fashion her gratitude to Corinth for favours bestowed on her, perhaps protection granted against the jealousy of the neighbouring Corcyra. It would be easy to cite from Greek writers a dozen instances of works of sculpture with a similar motive. I need however mention but two: the already cited group representing the Demos of Athens crowned by Byzantium and Perinthus, and a group mentioned by Polybius[1] in which the Demos of Rhodes was represented as crowning that of Syracuse. But the thing for special notice is the choice made by the artist who made our group of types for the two cities. We do not find here, as so often at Athens during this period, the guardian deities of each. The guardian deity of Corinth was notoriously Aphrodite, and that of Leucas Artemis, whose archaic statue is the regular type of the Leucadian coins. But the figure which here represents Corinth is a mature man, of stately and Zeus-like aspect, holding a sceptre. There was an eponymous hero of Corinth, Corinthus, said to have been a son of Zeus, and his existence in the legend probably gave our artist the idea of expressing the city of Corinth by a figure of Zeus-like type. In the same way, as I have elsewhere pointed out,[2] the Demos of Rhegium appears as a Zeus-like figure, also holding a sceptre, because Zeus was the civic deity of Messene, one of the mother-cities of Rhegium. The city, even when not represented by its deity, borrows to some extent the form and attributes of that deity. And by making Corinth like Zeus, and Leucas like a youthful goddess, the whole group could look like father and daughter, and Leucas could in the expressive language of art be brought into tender and filial relation to the mother-city, whom, unlike Corcyra she respected and loved. Next take the figure of Leucas. Here again the question arises whether we have a goddess, a foundress, or an allegorical figure. If a goddess, she must be either Artemis or Aphrodite. There is no attribute to indicate either goddess, though it must be confessed that the head of our figure strikingly resembles the head of Aphrodite on coins of Leucas. But probably the intention is, as in the case of Corinth, to embody the city in the person of an eponymous heroine, and then to mould the type of that heroine in the form of a goddess of the island. Thus, whether we say that our group represents Zeus crowned by Artemis, the hero Corinthus by the nymph Leucas, or City by City, we shall in each case express a part of the truth. But the absence of attributes, the freedom of grouping, and the inscriptions alike tend to show that political rather than religious meaning here predominates.

On Sicilian coins of the time of Timoleon[3] we find at various places, probably Adranum and Alaesa, a head indicated by the inscription round it to be intended for Sicilia. This is a beautiful nymph-like head, sometimes crowned with myrtle—a charming creation. Timoleon first made the Greeks of Sicily feel their common interests and nationality; he made a Hellenic Sicily and the idea which the statesman embodied in laws and alliances the artist in his turn embodied in outward form.

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[1] v. 88.

[2] *Types of Greek Coins*, p. 101.

[3] Head, *Coinage of Syracuse*, p. 37.

In the period which followed Alexander the Great, allegorical representations of cities and countries became far more common. This was but natural. The Greeks became intimately acquainted with many new cities and fresh regions, and began to see that each had an aspect and character of its own. Their art too became wider and of more varied effort, and the spread of philosophy made all abstractions and ideas more suited to their minds. And in addition to these general causes, there was the particular one that the Greek kings wished in their triumphal processions to carry images of districts or of cities which they had liberated or which they had enslaved. For even in their triumphal processions and their triumphal arches and columns, if the truth were known, the Romans would perhaps be found to be little but imitators of the Greeks, and their works to differ from those of Hellenistic times mainly in their greater formality.

So in the wonderful procession of Ptolemy II., the description of which in Athenaeus[1] is quite a *locus classicus* for Hellenistic art, we find many representations of places. Corinthus, this time represented in female form, and wearing a golden diadema, stood near the statue of Ptolemy himself. There was also a statue of Nysa, the description of which is well worth citing, for even if we must consider Nysa here rather as a Dionysiac nymph than as a place impersonated, yet the description will help us to judge how actual cities were depicted. 'There was,' the description runs, 'a seated statue of Nysa eight cubits high, clad in a saffron chiton flaked with gold over which was a Laconian himation. And she stood up mechanically, without any application of force, and poured out a libation of milk from a golden bowl, and then sat down again. And in her left hand she held a thyrsus bound with fillets. Her wreath was of ivy leaves formed of gold and grapes of precious stones.' Also there followed in the pomp figures of all the Greek cities of Asia and the islands which were under Persian rule. So again in the temple erected by Ptolemy IV. to Homer there were around the statue of the poet figures of all the cities which claimed him as their scion.

Descriptions like these make us feel how infinitesimal is the portion which we possess of the great works of ancient art. It is however possible to produce a few interesting examples of personifications of places in extant works of the age of Alexander. The first is from the very celebrated vase called the Darius-vase,[2] the subject of which is the state and power of Darius before he set about the invasion of Greece. In the lowest of the three lines which make up the design there is represented the bringing in of tribute, in the middle line the King is seated and a Persian noble is standing on a dais and making a speech to him. In the group in the upper line Asia is seated as a draped female figure holding a sceptre. She is sending forth a female daemon who is shown by the inscriptions to be meant for Ara, the dire companion of the Erinnyes, and who stands with a torch in each hand ready to do her bidding. The object whom Asia points out for her attack is Hellas, who stands further to left, but who is placed between two trusty guardians,

[1] Athen. v. 197.

[2] *Mon. d. Inst.* ix. 50, 51.

Zeus and Athene, of whom the latter lays a caressing hand on her shoulder. It is evident that so protected Hellas has nothing to fear. The vase is a red-figured one of good style but not of the early class; there is no severity about it: we cannot be far wrong if we assign it to about the time of Alexander. The design seems too elaborate and tasteful for the invention of a mere vase-painter; we cannot help supposing that it is suggested by the picture of some great master. The critics remark on its similarity of subject with the *Persae* of Aeschylus; they might say, with the history of Herodotus, of which it seems like an epitome. But it is in itself a poem, and a delightful one. The figures of Asia and Hellas are more like the imaginations of a poet than the work of a painter, particularly of a vase-painter. Asia is the proud queenly goddess accustomed to command; Hellas a younger and less dignified personality, safe not in herself but only in the protection of divine beings.

The whole design of the group reminds us at once of earlier and contemporary poetry. First of the dream of Atossa in the *Persae*:[1] 'There seemed to me to come before me two well-clad women, one clad in Persian garments and one in Dorian, most distinguished among living women for stature, blameless in beauty, and sisters of the same race, one having allotted to her the land of Hellas, and one barbarian lands.'—And then of the dream of Europa in Moschus: 'She thought that two continents were fighting about her, the Asian and the opposite one, and in fashion they were like women. Of them one had the appearance of a foreigner, the other was like a native and rather defended her daughter, and claimed to have given her birth and nursed her. But the other by force with violent hands began to draw her away not unwilling, saying that Europa was her destined prize by decree of aegis-bearing Zeus.' The second of these scenes is nearer the time of our vase-picture, and nearer it in feeling; we have not the distinction of Persian and Dorian robes mentioned by Aeschylus. Nevertheless in some respects, as in its religious tone and in the prominent position assigned to the Persians, our vase-picture bears traces of a design anterior to the time of Alexander the Great, though it was probably painted later.

In still later Hellenistic times we find a similar idea embodied in a more conventional group. There exists a relief of palombino marble representing Europe and Asia supporting a shield on which is a representation of the battle of Arbela, accompanied by an epigram. Jahn in speaking of this relief[2] shews that it belongs to a large class of Alexandrian inventions which were made for the use of schools. We need not therefore be surprised at its conventional character. Europe and Asia both appear as figures with turreted crowns clad in long archaistic drapery. Only in one detail are they distinguished, Europe is barefoot while Asia wears sandals, perhaps in remembrance of Persian slippers.

Coins struck in the fourth and third centuries B.C. furnish us with a few interesting cases of personification.[3] We have on them characteristic heads

[1] Line 181.

[2] *Bilderchron.* vi. M.

[3] For these coins see Head, *Hist. Num.* s.vv.

of Corcyra, Libya, and Cyrene. Corcyra is crowned with ivy, as befitted the Dionysiac character of the island. Libya wears long straight curls of a Moorish or Libyan type when she appears on coins of Ptolemy II. of Egypt, or bears the scalp of an elephant on her head at a later time. Cyrene appears as a nymph. On the coins of Nicomedes I. of Bithynia, Bithynia appears seated on a throne, an Amazonian figure, holding in one hand two spears and in the other a sword, a shield at her feet, and a tree behind her. A curious variant exhibits in the place of the female impersonation of the country a male figure armed in the same manner, whom we must suppose to represent the race of the Bithynians.

Still more important are two other coins, important not only in themselves, but as giving us an idea of sculptural and monumental works of the period which have entirely perished. Among the statues noticed by Pausanias at Delphi[1] was one dedicated by the Aetolians after their repulse of the Gauls in B.C. 278. It represented an armed woman, intended as a personification of Aetolia. Of this statue we have copies on coins of the same age, which give us a fairly accurate idea of it. The representation is of a female figure clad in Amazonian chiton, leaving one breast free, and in the flat causia which was the usual head-covering of Thessalians and Aetolians and other northern Greeks. Her military character is denoted by the spear and sword which she holds as well as by the pile of shields on which she is seated. In the arrangement of the shields we see traces of the growing symbolism of art. Some are of round Macedonian and some of oblong Gaulish pattern, implying that Aetolia was as proud of her repulse of the Macedonian forces of Cassander and Antigonus as of the destruction of the Gauls. The pose and attributes of Aetolia are just such as are natural to the third century B.C.; but it is interesting to find that there was at that period an enterprising and original school of art in Greece proper as well as at Rhodes and Pergamum.

Another group from coins is very pleasing. It is from a coin of Locri[2] in Italy, of the time of Pyrrhus, and represents Roma being crowned by Pistis, Good-faith, who stands before her. The figure of Roma, who is seated, is evidently the work of an artist of the same kind as he who designed the figures of Aetolia and Bithynia. Roma wears no helmet, but is armed with a sword and clad in long drapery.

The most celebrated heads of Roma in marble are closely like the head of Pallas, and even of Pallas at a somewhat early period, with severe features. And in the Roma Aeterna of coins of the second century of our aera we have a type of Roma which can be scarcely distinguished from that of Pallas. Indeed we may say that at that time Pallas is adopted from Athens by Rome, and becomes as it were identified with the conquering city. But it is doubtful whether we can prove this identification to have taken place at an earlier time. The Roma of coins of the Caesars wears an Amazonian chiton. The

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[1] Pausan. x. 18, 7. *Types of Greek coins*, p. 202.

[2] *Types of Greek Coins*, p. 199.

head of Roma on coins of the third century B.C. is in a Phrygian helmet; an allusion probably to the Trojan origin of the Romans. The type of the Locrian coin is probably taken from a work of Greek sculpture of the time, which set itself to render the City of Rome in allegoric form, and not under the guise of Pallas.

Passing to somewhat later times, to the monuments of Graeco-Roman art, the paintings of Pompeii, the pictures described by Philostratus and so forth, we find frequent impersonations of places. And as coins are of all monuments the safest and most serious, we may begin with a coin,[1] one of the alliance-series of which I have before spoken. This coin is of the time of Nero, and is thus decidedly earlier than others of the class. The cities whose alliance is recorded by it are Smyrna and Laodiceia. These two cities are represented by two queenly female figures, each wearing a stephane and holding a sceptre, and grasping each other's hands. These are not the guardian deities of the two cities, nor are they of the class of Tyches of whom I shall speak hereafter, but purely allegorical impersonations of two of the queenly cities of Asia. The simplicity of the figures and the absence of attributes and allusive emblems are things worthy of a better time of art, and shew that traditions of good art still lingered in Asia in the first century after Christ.

Less simplicity, though still trace of a good time, is to be noticed in some Pompeian paintings. In one of these from the Casa di Meleagro[2] we find excellent impersonations of Europe, Asia, and Africa, which are good specimens of late Hellenistic art. 'The personifications of the three continents,' writes Helbig, 'are admirably characterized according to the nature of their inhabitants. In the midst sits Europe with fair hair, in yellowish grey chiton girt-in, with a green-lined grey mantle over her knees, seated on a throne with green seat, the arms of which are supported by sphinxes. Her sandalled feet rest on a footstool. A maiden standing behind the throne in grey chiton holds over her head a rose-red sun-shade. To right stands Africa, with dark skin and woolly black hair, wearing white shoes and red chiton with diplois, an elephant's tusk in her hand. To left is Asia, brown-haired, in sandals, and yellow chiton girt-in, with diplois and red border, the scalp of an elephant on her head. She lays her left arm on a pillar and her head on her left hand, and holds with her right hand her garment, which falls from the pillar down her back. In the background is a sea and ship on it.'

On another picture[3] occurs a figure of Arcadia, in a scene where Herakles and Telephus are introduced. 'Before Herakles sits on the rocks a majestic female figure, probably an impersonation of Arcadia, in yellow chiton and mantle, a wreath of white and red roses on her head. Holding a leafless branch in her left hand and laying her extended right hand on her head she looks straight before her, without taking immediate part in the scene before her.' And this scene with Herakles naturally leads us to the

[1] In the British Museum.

[2] *Museo Borbonico*, ix. 4: Helbig, *Wandgemälde Campaniens*, No. 1113.

[3] *Museo Borbonico*, ix. 5: Helbig, No. 1143.

celebrated Albani vase,[1] which contains representations of the same class and is one of the most remarkable series of representations of personified places which exists. Several of these representations are of local nymphs, and of them, as well as of the general composition of the vase, it is unnecessary to speak, but a few of the impersonations of places may be taken apart from the context. In the scene where Herakles strangles the lion, Nemea stands by, her foot on a rock and in her hand a long palm. In the next scene, that of the horses of Diomedes, Thracia appears as a female figure seated on a rock bearing the sign of her personality in a long sceptre, one of the earliest and most usual indications that a place is intended. So in the scene of Geryon there is seated behind that worthy an armed female figure holding a shield, who seems to be intended for Spain.

Among vases of the later Italian style it will be sufficient to cite a single specimen, a vase by the artist Asteas. The scene painted on it is the destruction of the serpent at Thebes by Cadmus. He is supported by Athene. In the line of background are three interesting impersonations; first, Thebe veiled and wearing turreted crown, who is seated with her elbow resting on the acropolis-rock of Thebes, under which was the grotto of the serpent. Near her is a female figure, visible down to waist, who is termed in the inscription ΚΡΗΝΑΙΗ. Millingen[2] supposes her to be an impersonation of the Crenaean gate, that near the spring, but Brunn more correctly supposes that she is the spring itself, the mis-spelling not being anything unusual. Beside her, also visible down to the waist, is the hoary river-god Ismenus, who holds a sceptre. The whole background contains a regular geographical picture, the city seated on her rock; the spring beside her, and the river which flows near; and all characterize perfectly the locality where the conflict took place. These latter impersonations, however, spring-nymph and river-god,[3] belong to another branch of the subject, into which we cannot at present enter.

We notice one decidedly new feature in some of the impersonations of countries and cities of the Roman age. They not only appear as witnesses of mythical and heroic scenes, but they actually take part in the action which is going forward. Even in the case of the Albani vase some of the localities introduced are not indifferent to the success or failure of Herakles. And this mingling with action may be noted in a yet higher degree in case of the pictures in the gallery of Philostratus. The pictures described by that writer, whether imaginary or not, certainly are full of instruction for us and shew forth fully all the tendencies of painting in the Alexandrine age. In the picture representing the death of Pantheia,[4] Lydia was introduced receiving the blood of the heroine in a golden garment. In the picture representing a flood in Thessaly,[5] we find Thessaly herself emerging from the waters, crowned with olive and corn and holding a horse. These impersonations are

[1] Millin, *Gall. Mythol.* pl. cxii. xiii.

[2] Millingen, *Mon. Ined.* i. 27.

[3] See the article on Greek river-worship contributed by the present writer to the *Transactions* of the *Royal Society of Literature* in 1876.

[4] ii. 9, *ad fin.*

[5] ii. 14.

however subordinate to the design of the groups, and are rather to be considered as local nymphs than as the embodiment of countries. One however of Philostratus' impersonations of places may be specially mentioned because it closely tallies with existing monuments. In the picture of Palaemon 'there is present,' says Philostratus, 'Isthmus in form of a deity, reclining on the ground. On his right hand is a lad, Lechaeum I think. And the maidens on his left are Cenchreae.' Now Isthmus is represented not unfrequently on the coins of Corinth[1] as a young male figure standing, holding in each hand a rudder, which rudders signify the two harbours of Lechaeum and Cenchreae, one on each sea. But Aphrodite,[2] the representative of Corinth, also appears on a coin of late date on the acropolis-rock between two reclining male figures, each of whom holds an oar. Over one is the inscription LECH, over the other CENCH, and it would seem that the two are personifications of Lechaeum and Cenchreae, perhaps in the persons of Leches and Cenchrias, two sons of Poseidon,[3] who were eponymous heroes of the harbours. On a third coin,[4] issued in the reign of Hadrian, the same two harbours appear in the form of two draped female figures standing together with arms entwined, and each holding a rudder. Putting the three coins together we obtain something nearly like the group described by Philostratus.

As we advance in Roman times the material abounds. The sculptures and reliefs set up by Roman Emperors in memory of their warlike achievements simply abound in personifications of countries, provinces and cities. I will cite a few instances out of many. The figure of Germania Devicta, formerly called Thusnelda, at Florence is one of the first of the class. And it is a work shewing real imagination, for the national characteristics are developed, so to speak, from within the statue, and not merely laid upon it from without; the artist has seized the spirit of the German people with the same skill with which the artists of Pergamon seized the real type of the Gauls. The great mass of personifications of Roman times are of a more outward and superficial character. The identity of the place portrayed is indicated by some outward symbol, or by an inscription.

The monument known as the Puteoline basis was found at Puteoli in 1693. It is the oblong basis of a colossal statue of Tiberius, erected by the Augustales of Puteoli in A.D. 30. It is however only a copy of a very celebrated work of early imperial times, the great monument to Tiberius erected a few years earlier at Rome by twelve of the great cities of Asia, which had been in great part destroyed by an earthquake in A.D. 17 and had been restored mainly by the wise liberality of Tiberius. In return they erected a colossal statue to the Emperor and placed around it the statues of their twelve cities. Afterwards two more cities, Cibyra and Ephesus, having been destroyed by a later earthquake and also restored by Tiberius, statues of those cities were added to the group, making fourteen in all. The Puteoline

[1] See this *Journal* vi. 63.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 75.
[3] Paus. ii. 2, 3.
[4] See this *Journal* vi. 64.

monument is interesting as a record of this very celebrated work, but it is the more interesting as presenting copies in relief from statues which we have reason to suppose were in the round. There are remains of good art in the work; and it has not the vulgar and conventional character which is so common in Roman public monuments; no doubt it represents the best that the cities of Asia could do in the way of art at the beginning of the Christian era. It is admirably discussed in a paper by Otto Jahn,[1] whom I here follow.

On the front of the basis are two figures which seem, though the inscriptions are very much defaced, to stand for Magnesia and Sardes, the two cities which most suffered from the earthquake. Sardes veiled and draped lays her hand on the head of a naked youth. Jahn thinks that the fertility of the land of Sardis caused the artist to represent her as a sort of Kourotrophos with a child.

The figure of Magnesia is obscure, and she holds an uncertain attribute. Philadelpheia holds a long staff and has a hieratic appearance; on which Jahn remarks that Johannes Lydus[2] says that Philadelpheia used to be called 'little Athens' because of its many temples and statues and feasts. Tmolus is very distinctive, a young male figure naked but for the nebris over his shoulder, and his cothurni. On his head is the mural crown which seems very inappropriate and as to which we shall speak in the next section. He raises his right hand to grasp a branch of a tall vine which grows beside him; in his other hand was perhaps a patera. In all but the mural crown which marks him out as a city he is a representative of the vine-growing mountain of Tmolus; his male form, the nebris and the boots are all appropriate to mountain gods. There occurs on coins a bearded male head with the inscription ΤΜΩΛΟΣ. Cyme is not as on late coins of that city an Amazonian figure with a short chiton and holding a trident, but a fully draped female figure; the personality of the state carries it against that of the foundress. Temnus is not unlike Tmolus, a young male figure holding a thyrsus. Here again the cause of the peculiar character of the impersonation may be the confusion with a mountain, the Temnian range: but a Dionysiac figure is quite natural in the case of a city so productive of wine and so given over to the worship of Dionysus. Cibyra appears as an armed female figure holding spear and shield. The shield however is round and neither that nor the form of her chiton corresponds to the habit of Amazons, though an Amazonian figure does occur on coins of Cibyra. Rather, like the later Roma herself, she is a free copy of Pallas, and the type of a warlike city in which the making and the use of arms are alike understood. Myrina comes next in close and full drapery, veiled and leaning on a sacred tripod; in her hand is a laurel bough. She has the appearance of a priestess and we cannot doubt to which shrine her duty is paid. It is to

[1] *Berichte der Kön. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften. Philol.-Hist. Classe*, 1851, p. 119. A rough engraving in Overbeck's *Griech. Plastik* ii. p. 435.

[2] *De Mens.* iv. 43.

that at Gryneium in Aeolis; and the tripod seems to contain allusion to the oracle of Apollo which existed at Gryneium.

Ephesus is not here represented by her founder Androclus, nor by her guardian goddess Artemis, but by one of those Amazons who founded the Ephesian shrine. The cut of her chiton shews her Amazonian nature; in her right hand are poppies and ears of corn, symbols of the fruitfulness of her soil, and her foot rests on a bearded mask of a river-god, the Cayster. Behind on a pillar is the well-known figure of the Ephesian Artemis. The pillar is of course the temple, the Artemisium, and it is curious to note that that temple is not in the limits of ancient Ephesus; but stands to the left behind it as one approaches from the sea. The flames which seem to rise from the turreted head of the city are unexplained. Apollonidea follows, also Amazonian, but of less hard and martial character. In her hand is an object which has not been identified but which looks like the bottom of a lyre. Next comes Hyrcania, whose short chiton and chlamys remind us of the dress worn by Macedonia on coins of Hadrian. The inhabitants of Hyrcania were of Macedonian stock settled there probably in Gaulish times, as an outpost against invasion.

Mostene bears in hand and bosom flowers and fruit and is a soft maidenly form. The trident and dolphin of Aegae refer to the worship of Poseidon which flourished in the city although it was not on the coast. Hierocaesarea, the guardian deity of which city is Artemis, is represented by a turreted Amazonian figure. It is worthy of remark how well the artist has understood how to vary the types of Amazonian founders who frequently appear in this relief. No two are like, but each has some small difference appropriate to the city whose personality she embodies.

Beside these cities of Asia we may place some reliefs found at Cervetri in 1840 representing three cities of Etruria. Canina at once called attention to the fact that a statue of Claudius is recorded to have been placed on a four-sided pedestal, on each side of which were three figures of principal towns of Etruria. The three cities here represented may well be works of the time of Claudius. They are: (1) VETVLONENSES a male figure, facing, naked, raising his right hand to grasp a pine-tree, and holding in his left an oar. He is as Braun[1] remarks altogether Poseidonian, which is the more remarkable as Vetulonia was not on the coast. It was however celebrated for its springs, in which, in spite of the warmth of the water, fish were found, and the reference must be to these. (2) VVLCENTANI a veiled female figure seated on a throne holding a flower. We can scarcely hesitate to see in this figure a seated Juno or Venus. In that case both Vetulonia and Vulci will be represented not by allegorical figures, but by local deities, even local statues of deities, which is a remarkable instance of Greek influence in Etruria. (3) TARQVINIENSES, a veiled and togate male figure, right hand holding a scroll. This figure looks like that of a priest or augur and Tarquinii was a noted home of Etruscan religious rites. Whether he represented the city or rather the Demos it is not easy to say.

[1] *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1842, p. 37.

The Puteoline and Cervetrian reliefs shew us what the later Greeks could do in representing cities as persons. With them we may compare an important series of monuments which belong to Rome alike in design and execution, the series of coins issued by Hadrian and recording his reception in various districts of the Roman world. These have been known from the beginning of the renaissance and greatly influenced sculptors, painters, and medallists in modern times. They are artistically as well as archaeologically interesting and convey to us in a series of pictures what the Romans thought at the time of the various provinces which they ruled. Out of many it is necessary to take a few as specimens. We take first Achaia and Asia, in order to contrast them with the Hellas and Asia of the Darius vase. Achaia kneels before the Emperor clad in drapery the lightness and elegance of which are clearly intentional; in front of her are prize-vase and palm. The last shred of reputation which clings to her in the days of her degradation, is that for the beauty of men and women, for being the nurse of athletes and the scene of agonistic contests. The legend of the coin is *Restitutori Achaiae*, and how well Hadrian deserved the title is known to every archaeologist. Asia wears a turreted crown, as the district full of great cities, and holds the same long sceptre which she bore on the Darius vase.

Of Africa we have two representations. In the first she stands greeting the Emperor, wearing on her head an elephant's scalp, and holding ears of corn in her hand. The elephant's scalp comes down to her from a string of predecessors, Alexander the Great, and Libya on coins of Egypt and Cyrene. The ears of corn contain transparent allusion to the fruitfulness of North Africa, one of the granaries of the Roman Empire. In the second representation she reclines, holding in one hand a scorpion, in the other a cornucopiae. The scorpion furnishes us with a good instance of a purely allegorical attribute, for obviously it is not a thing that any one would hold in his hand. We see how art at this time gives no life and reality to its creations, but makes of them often mere bundles of attributes, speaking to the intelligence but not to the heart or the aesthetic faculty. Similarly the figure of Sicily in this class of coins wears on her head the three-legged symbol of the island, making her figure not merely unreal but actually hideous. Britannia also appears twice and in interesting guise. In the first case she stands as a turreted figure holding in one hand a rudder, shewing that thus early the destiny of Britain to rule the waves was not unsuspected by the Roman conquerors. Here we have a type of the Roman cities of Britain, with their wealth and their commerce. But the second figure represents the ruder and more unconquered parts of the country. Roman Britain welcomes her master, but the island itself seemed in the imagination of some artists to be best represented by a barbarian woman clad in long tunic and cloak seated amid the hills with spear and shield. It is a tribute to the noted valour and independence of the Britons that there is more of distinct barbarous individuality in this figure than in any other of the series. Gallia is a more simple figure wearing the Gaulish cloak. Macedonia wears a short chiton and a hat, and holds a

whip. From earliest to latest times Macedon was a land of cavalry. Closely like Macedonia is Mauretania, another horse-loving region, who carries two spears like the Macedonian heroes on early coins of that district and leads a horse. The figure of Judaea is remarkable. She holds in one hand a cista, she is veiled and before and behind her walk children holding palms. Cappadocia wears a lion's skin and holds in one hand Mount Argaeus the chief deity of the Cappadocians, in the other a standard. Dacia, seated on a rock, holds shepherd's staff and standard.

It may be judged how entirely at home the artists of Hadrian's age were with these personifications, if we turn to the coin which bears a figure of the Circus Maximus; a young male figure reclining, holding wheel and meta, both symbols of chariot-races.

IV.

There is one class of late representations of cities which claims a somewhat special attention. We have already spoken of several figures which bear a turreted crown and of some which bear a cornucopiae. Now turreted crown and cornucopiae, separately or together, are the special marks of Τύχη or Fortuna. There is a large class of representations in late art of Tyche as the goddess of this or that city, who is in fact the embodiment and representation of the city, and is modified in different places to suit her to the situation, the character, and the inhabitants of each.

It is often supposed that the localization of Tyche to a place or her appropriation to a person is a result of Roman influence. The Romans and Etruscans believed in genii, who accompanied all living things from birth to death, and formed for each man a sort of second ego. The genius was the indwelling spiritual and divine element, whether of place person or thing, and led the subject to which it was attached to good or evil. Some spoke of two genii as belonging to each man, one good who led him aright and rejoiced in his happiness, and one evil who led him astray and met him in misfortune. The genius of the Roman people occurs often on coins as a youth holding a cornucopiae, and the genius of a Roman general or emperor was his representative in the veneration of the people.

Nevertheless it is easy to prove that Tyche not only in her general aspect but also in her application to persons and places is a thoroughly Greek idea. Τύχη or Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη possessed temples in nearly all the great Greek cities, and received constant worship as the giver of good and ill fortune to men. At Argos, according to Pausanias,[1] there was a very ancient temple of Tyche, which was the place, according to Pausanias' guides, where Palamedes dedicated the dice of which he was the inventor. At Syracuse there was an ancient temple of Tyche which gave its name to a quarter of the city, the Tychaeum; and at Pharae a temple of Tyche contained an ancient statue of

[1] Pausan. ii. 20, 3.

the goddess. More recent was the statue of Tyche by Praxiteles at Megara, and the statue at Elis made of gilt wood, but with head hands and feet of marble. Beside this latter was a figure of Sosipolis, a youth with star-spangled chlamys holding cornucopiae, whose form was copied from an image of a dream, and who seems to have been almost exactly the Roman genius, or the Greek Ἀγαθὸς δαίμων. Also of good Greek time was the statue at Thebes by Xenophon representing young Plutus in the arms of Tyche as his mother or nurse. At Aegira too there was a statue of Tyche holding a cornucopiae, beside whom was a winged youth whom Pausanias took to be Eros, and drew the moral of a close connection between good fortune and love. The moral is a good one, but Jahn is disposed to cut away the whole ground of it by maintaining that the winged figure which Pausanias supposed to be Eros was really a winged Plutus, a form of that deity by no means unknown in antiquity. It is also recorded that Damophon of Messene made for the Messenians a statue of Tyche which they placed in the temple of Asclepius beside an allegorical figure by the same sculptor representing Thebes.

We are not without actually existing representations of Tyche, dating from a good period. In the reliefs published by Schöne from Athens of the pre-Macedonian period[1] she appears once without attributes standing beside Agathos Daimon who is represented as a draped and bearded man holding a cornucopiae. In another representation she is seated, holding in one hand a patera in the other a cornucopiae. She needs but the addition of a mural crown to be exactly like one of the city-Tyches at a later period.

It is however superfluous to heap up proof of the recognition of Tyche by the Greeks; it will be more to the point to shew how she became specialized to individuals and to cities. There is nothing of this specialization in Homer and Hesiod, but it already begins in Pindar. His twelfth Olympian Ode begins with the praise of Tyche, whom he hails as the daughter of Zeus Eleutherius, and as the goddess who guides the swift ships on the sea, and on land rules swift wars and public councils.—Here Tyche is merely Fortune, but yet the way in which the goddess is besought to watch over Himera suggests that cities were her special care. According to Pausanias[2] and Plutarch, Pindar speaks of Tyche as φερέπολις.—In an inscription from Mylasa[3] of Persian times we find the phrase Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ ΤΥΧΗΙ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, which shews that the Greek cities of Asia supposed a special Tyche to be attached to and to watch over the great King of Persia. And the same deity was attached to the Seleucid Kings who succeeded the Persian. The people of Magnesia, in an Oxford marble,[4] take an oath by Zeus, Gê, Helios and other deities, and the Tyche of King Seleucus, Seleucus II., that is, of Syria.

The earliest instance which we hear of in art of a specialized goddess Tyche, is to be found in the statue made by Bupalus for the people of Smyrna about the 50th Olympiad. Pausanias[5] says of Bupalus: "He made for the

[1] *Gr. Reliefs*, pl. xxvi.
[2] iv. 30, 6; Pindar, Frag. 14.
[3] *C.I.G.* 2693b.
[4] *C.I.G.* 3137, l. 61.
[5] iv. 30, 6.

Smyrnaeans a statue of Tyche and was so far as we know the first artist who represented her with a polus on her head, and in one hand the horn called by the Greeks the horn of Amaltheia," *i.e.* a cornucopiae. Modern archaeologists suppose that this was a civic statue, that is, not a representation of Fortune in general but of the Fortune of the particular city of Smyrna. And they seem to be right, for these attributes are precisely those which adhere to the City-Tyches in the Alexandrine age, and were no doubt adopted by them on good authority. From the time of Bupalus however, we have to come down a long way before we again reach a statue of Tyche which seems clearly meant to be the impersonation of a city.

The city of Antioch was founded by Seleucus I., the General of Alexander, and named by him after his father Antiochus; and soon after the building of the city a commission was given to Eutychides, a pupil of Lysippus, to execute a statue of Tyche for the rising city. He executed the commission in such a way as to make an epoch in art. It is evident that his intention was not merely to make a statue of the goddess of Fortune, but to embody in that statue the complete personality of the new city. It is clear that he was very much at liberty in his task. A city built yesterday could have no sacred traditions; there was no πολιοῦχος θεὸς or θεὰ in possession who might fitly represent the place, not even a mythical ancestor or eponymous hero whose form it might assume. He had but to seek out the form which seemed to him most appropriate for the embodiment of the city, and to select attributes and attitude with a view to the satisfaction of the intellect and the aesthetic faculties of the people of Antioch.

So to represent the position of the city he placed the Tyche on a rock, and let her feet rest on the river Orontes which passes the foot of the rock; he placed in her hand ears of corn to signify the fertility of the surrounding country, he draped her closely as beseemed the wealthy heiress of the Persian empire. He placed on her head a line of towers to signify the fortifications of the city. All this is mere symbolism. But in the attitude and bearing of the figure the sculptor reaches a higher kind of symbolism. He produces on us the impression which the city produced on visitors, a stately city full of wealth, pleasant to dwell in, a queen enthroned giving law to Asia, and yet persuading rather than commanding. Of this statue we probably possess a copy in the well-known statue of Antioch in the Vatican.[1]

Some of the first archaeologists have of late years written about this statue. Prof. Michaelis spoke of it in the *Archäologische Zeitung* of 1866,[2] and expressed a serious doubt whether the statue of the Vatican was really a copy of the work of Eutychides. He maintained that it was more probable that Eutychides made a Tyche of more usual type, holding rudder and cornucopiae, and remarks that such a figure is found on coins of Antioch and in numberless bronze and other figures. But archaeologists have not followed

[1] This statue is figured in Wieseler's *Denkmaeler* xlix. 220, and in the histories of sculpture. An inferior copy appears in our plate.

[2] P. 255.

Michaelis in this view; and we cannot call his conjecture happy. No doubt the type of Tyche holding rudder and cornucopiae is common at Antioch as elsewhere; but there is nothing to connect it with Eutychides, or with Antioch in particular. It was one of those fixed conventional allegorical types, like Spes and Virtus and Annona, which became common everywhere in Roman times. It is doubtful if an instance of it can be found at so early a period as B.C. 300. But the figure of which the Vatican statue gives the type appears at Antioch alone, and is evidently there in high honour, as we are told the statue of Eutychides was. It is in every way worthy of a disciple of Lysippus; it recalls the best time of art and yet has something in it of Alexandrine style; it is in short the very thing we should expect. And from the time of Tigranes onwards this figure occurs as a frequent type of coins struck at Antioch.

We are however not left to mere probabilities, for there is a passage in Malala which may be considered decisive of the question. Malala is a writer of small authority, but in a matter of this kind his voice is to be trusted, since he wrote when Antioch was still in Christian hands. He says[1] that there was set up in the theatre of Antioch a statue of gilded brass representing a seated figure placed above the river Orontes, and that this was the attitude of the Tyche of Antioch εἰς λόγον Τύχης τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως whence it seems clearly to follow that the figure reproduced in the Vatican statue, the coins of Tigranes &c., was at all events about the 6th century A.D. called the Tyche of Antioch; and it seems very unlikely that it can have been called otherwise at an earlier time. And as the Tyche of Antioch was according to Pausanias' express statement[2] the work of Eutychides, we can scarcely hesitate to see in the Vatican statue a replica of that sculptor's masterpiece.

More happy is Brunn's criticism[3]: "The movement of the goddess is so managed that the whole right side of the body is turned towards the left. The right foot is crossed over the left and on it rests the elbow of the right arm, while the left to correspond with this attitude is drawn back to give support to the body which presses in this direction." "Through the movement of the figure, especially the drawing back of the one arm, is developed an abundance of most charming motives for the drapery. Few works survive from antiquity which can be compared with this in the grace of the whole composition. Scarcely can any one escape the fascination which it exercises, and I am far from wishing to mar any one's enjoyment of it and delight in it. Nevertheless I must distinctly call attention to the distance to which this cultus-statue is removed from those of earlier days. Of the religious seriousness and the solemn dignity which were proper and even essential in earlier times to statues of the Gods, there is here in this Tyche scarcely a trace; not even the severe decorousness of older days can be spoken of as a marked feature of this statue. Rather it is in general design nearer to the statues of genre; its essential feature is that of general human

[1] *Chronogr.* xi. p. 276.
[2] vi. 2, 7.
[3] *Griech. Künstler* i. 412.

grace. Well may a city which rises on a pleasing hill from a lovely valley cause such an impression. Yet this impression is quite different from the feeling of elevation which a work inspired by a lofty idea must produce in us. This judgment, as already stated, is no detraction from the merit of Eutychides; but it had to be spoken, in order to mark the changed times and the complete alteration in methods of representation, which even in cases where opportunity offered to produce a lofty ideal gave preference rather to what was pleasing and graceful. We can the less omit to note this because precisely this work, though we possess only copies of it, seems specially apt to throw clearer light on the time immediately preceding it, and in particular to set before our eyes the elegance, the *jucundum genus* of Lysippus in its more concrete form, as adapted to flatter the outward sense."

I confess to being under the charm which in attitude and drapery this statue so conspicuously possesses. Perhaps when one came from the dreary inlands of Syria and saw a city like Antioch embowered amid its groves, full of stately streets, theatres, and palaces, one would rejoice with a delight which was to a great extent of the senses. Perhaps also if in the desert one wished to recall the memory of the beautiful city, scarcely any image which the heart of man could conceive would seem so appropriate as the Tyche of Eutychides.

What is certain is that the statue of Eutychides vastly pleased those for whom it was made. Pausanias says of it: *μεγάλας παρὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἔχον τιμάς*. And it unquestionably also made a marked impression on the art of the period. Many of the cities of Asia followed the example thus set, and caused their portraits, so to speak, to be taken in the attitude and style of the Tyche of Antioch. A survey of the coins of Asia at the beginning of the Roman age would shew that the fashion thus set spread not only over Syria, but as far as the banks of the Tigris, where the Partho-Greek city of Seleucia[1] is represented on coins as seated in the same way on a rock with a river at her feet.

Some of the most interesting evidence of the wide currency of the scheme is furnished by a splendid hoard discovered in Rome in the year 1793,[2] consisting of several objects in silver, notably a splendid casket of a bridal character, and four silver statuettes of the greatest cities of the Roman world at the time when it was buried, not earlier than the fourth century, A.D. The clothing, hair, and attributes have been gilt, and the patterns on the dresses are produced by a graving-tool.

These figures, which have hitherto been very imperfectly figured, are represented by a photographic process on our plate, No. V. Their style, as might be expected from the age of their production, is but poor, yet there are about them traditions of beauty.

Beneath the feet of each statue is a leaf; and fitting into the back of each is a square socket, adapted to receiving the head of a pole, which was

[1] Head, *Hist. Numorum*, p. 690.

[2] Visconti, *Una antica supellettile &c.* Pl. xix. xx.: D'Agincourt, *Scultura*, pl. ix.

held in place by a silver pin attached to a chain. Probably the statuettes formed the decoration of the poles of a litter, or the cross-pieces of a chair. Of these figures one is a copy of the statue of Eutychides and stands for Antioch. A second figure seated wearing helmet, and holding sceptre and round shield is evidently the deified Roma who is familiar to us from coins and reliefs. A third figure is helmeted like Roma, but there is more profusion of ornament in her attire, and she holds patera and cornucopiae. She is evidently the new Rome, Constantinopolis, who appears helmeted on coins of her founder Constantine. The fourth figure wears like Antioch a turreted crown; she holds in each hand ears of corn and her feet rest on the prow of a ship. She must be the fourth great city of the Roman world Alexandria. To her ears of corn and prow would be alike appropriate, as a great mercantile city and the capital of a region of corn. She holds ears of corn and rests on a corn-basket on coins of Hadrian struck at Rome, and on an Egyptian coin of Antoninus Pius holds rudder and ears of corn, while a prow appears on either side of her to symbolize her two harbours. All these figures save Antioch are alike in dress and attitude; and if we compare their jejuneness and conventionality with the splendid freshness of the statuette of Antioch we shall see how different the genius of Eutychides was from that of his followers and copyists.

We have however taken these late Tyches of Constantinople and Alexandria somewhat out of turn. We return to the time of Alexander and find that in Alexandria from the first as in Antioch there was a temple of Tyche. In the midst of it was a statue of the goddess holding a wreath, as Libanius[1] says, to symbolize the victories of Alexander. This figure crowned the Earth, Gê, who in turn crowned her conqueror, *τὸν νικήσαντα*, who must no doubt be Alexander. The group sounds as if somewhat clumsily composed, but this clumsiness may be in the description by Libanius. Of it we have I think no remains.

Noteworthy examples exist of other civic Tyches of Alexandrine and Roman times. In a relief[2] in the Louvre we have a very pleasing group of three of these figures engaged in sacrifice. They all wear turreted crowns and wreaths, and seem to be occupied in sacrifice. One holds the twig or lustral bough: the composition of the group though not early is very pleasing.

A figure of Syrian origin, which we may well compare with the statue of Eutychides, represents the Fortune not of a city but of a monarch. It is to be found on the coins of Demetrius I., the Syrian King;[3] and represents a goddess seated on a throne, holding in one hand a short sceptre, in the other a cornucopiae. As the Tyche Antiocheia represents the glory of a city so this other type represents the majesty of a monarch, the one attribute indicating his sovereignty, the other his wealth. We have proof that the subjects of the Syrian Kings recognised a royal Tyche in the celebrated

[1] Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, p. 378.
[2] Clarac, pl. 222, No. 301.
[3] Figured in *Types of Greek coins*, pl. xiv, No. 15.

Oxford inscription which records an alliance between Smyrna and Magnesia, wherein an oath is taken by the Fortune of King Seleucus.[1] Whether the coin-type be taken from a work of sculpture or not we have no means of deciding: but nothing can be more probable.

Among those coins of the Antonine age which record the alliances of the cities of Asia Minor we frequently find Tyche representing one of the cities concerned. In such cases she wears a turreted crown; but the attributes which she bears are not constant. Sometimes, as on coins of Pergamon and Laodiceia, she holds a sceptre; sometimes, as at Nicomedia and Perinthus, she grasps an oar. Not unfrequently she holds in her hand the chief deity of the town she represents. Thus on the coins of Mytilene, Tyche carries a simulacrum of Dionysus, on those of Laodiceia she carries the figure of the Laodicean Zeus. Frequently of course she carries her conventional Roman attributes of rudder and cornucopiae; and even in that case seems on coins of this class to stand rather for the fortune of a city than for the goddess Fortuna herself.

There is another class of impersonations, not quite strictly of places, but of groups of people, which may best be mentioned here, the figures of Demos which are with the kindred figures of Boulê common in later Greek art, and which have at least in part a local significance. The Athenian Demos appeared at not a very late period in local art. Leochares, one of the sculptors of the Mausoleum, set up in Piraeus a statue of Demos, and we hear of a more inexplicable and complicated painting of the Athenian Demos by Parrhasius, which is said to have combined the most dissimilar attributes, passionate, unjust, inconstant, placable, humane, piteous, boastful, puffed up, humble, haughty, and so forth. Such at least is the account of Pliny. We have a representation of Demos from Athens of the very period of Parrhasius; but far from being a great work of imagination it is of the simplest description. It is in one of the reliefs collected by Schöne,[2] which represents a man being crowned in the presence of Athene by Demos, who appears in the guise of a bearded citizen, and Boulê who is female. Similar figures of Demos in late art are very usual. And on the late alliance-coins Demos sometimes appears carrying the figure of the deity of a city and representing it just as Tyche represents cities. For instance on an alliance-coin of Pergamon and Ephesus each city is represented by a draped male figure who carries the simulacra of Asclepius and of Artemis respectively. But Demi on these late coins are not always nor even usually bearded: they are often youthful, representing the eternal succession and constant self-renewal of a body politic.

It may be well here shortly to sum up the results we have reached. It was the custom of the best age of Greek art on official documents such as

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[1] *C.I.G.* 3137, line 61.

[2] Pl. xvi. No. 75.

treaties and public decrees to represent the city or cities which took part in them in the person of a guardian deity or an eponymous hero. And this custom even persisted to the latest days of Greek and Graeco-Roman art; even on alliance-coins of the times of Philippus and Gallienus it is the rule and other methods of representing cities are the exception.

Meantime beginning in the stirring times which followed the Persian wars another method of representing cities and countries was slowly making way. This was the method of embodying their personality in allegorical female figures. This was a method of inventive genius, and the first works in which it was used bore a decidedly poetical character, were the original designs of great artists and present to us in plastic form the same ideas which we find in the poetry and drama of the same age. Beside the *Persae* of Aeschylus we may put the group representing Hellas as crowning Salamis. By the side of the *History* of Herodotus we may set the original painting which suggested the design of the beautiful vase with the representation of Hellas and Asia. But impersonations are in this age marked by a severe dignity and noble simplicity, and their meaning is embodied in their very forms rather than merely laid on them in the shape of external attributes.

When we come down below the age of Alexander we find this simplicity disappearing. In future not a change of form or a hint conveyed by attitude or expression distinguishes the persons of various cities and districts, but an external overlaying of attribute. And the types differ widely from one another, some are even of the male sex. No longer simple they borrow attributes, sometimes from the situation and nature of the city or district represented, sometimes from the quality or nationality of its people, sometimes from the culture or natural productions of its neighbourhood. More often still they borrow form and attribute from the chief deity of the place, becoming either Apolline or Dionysiac or Palladian as the case may be; or sometimes becoming assimilated to the supposed nature of some hero or founder. As we approach Roman times the class of personifications is greatly enlarged, for the idea that races of men with varying characters exist in countries within and without the borders of civilization has been expanded. The embodiment of nations and provinces in national dress and with national peculiarities of physique becomes thus possible.

The introduction of the class of City-Tyches, which takes place in the age of Alexander, is noteworthy in relation to cultus as well as to art. It was a distinctly religious idea, but the religion which dictated it was of the last age of Greek independence. The goddess Tyche or Fortune was far more usually worshipped in the later than in the earlier days of Greece; as respect for the Olympian deities decreased, respect for her increased, and her temples arose in every city. And in the time of Alexander, when might was right, and every energetic officer and stalwart soldier dreamed of carving out a kingdom for himself, the worship of Fortune was the one remaining superstition in the breast of mankind. So it was in the case of cities. The old city deities gradually lost their hold on the civic mind. And as human beings, kings

and generals, occupied the position formerly held by the gods, so the city became an object of cultus to the citizens. They believed in her destiny, her star, her future, and regarded her as better able to watch over and protect them than the invisible deities. As the degenerate Athenians sang to Demetrius Poliorcetes, 'Other deities are far away, or hear not; they either are not or care nought for us; but thee we see present neither of stone nor wood, but real. To thee then we pray.' After all the Fortune of the City was a less ignoble object of devotion than a libertine like Demetrius.

PERCY GARDNER.

DISCOVERIES IN ASIA MINOR.

At the commencement of our cruise along the south coast of Asia Minor we first touched at Capo Krio and examined closely the tombs in the neighbourhood of Cnidos, which were constructed on rising ground about two miles to the east of the ancient town. Most of them were about 20 ft. square; some built entirely of polygonal masonry, others with the sides in polygonal masonry and the fronts in square-cut stones. Along this front ran a narrow line of square-cut stones on which in most cases traces of inscriptions appeared, but owing to the nature of the stone almost all the letters were defaced with the exception of the following:

. . . . ΤΑΣΣΑΣΕΡΜ . ΑΣ . . . .

In the upper chambers were many grave altars and memorial tablets; in two graves we found altars with snakes represented as coiled around them, and in another an altar with the ordinary bull's head and garland decoration, bearing the inscription ΟΔΑΜΟΣ (*ἀνέθηκεν*).

Proceeding along Capo Krio to the point where the land contracts into a narrow isthmus we found traces of other tombs which have lately been exposed to view by the washing away of the soil by a winter's flood. In these tombs have been found many small marble figures similar to those I found at Antiparos and described in this *Journal* (vol. v. p. 50). One represents a figure seated in a chair playing a harp similar to that in the Museum at Athens, which was found at Amorgos, another is of a female figure with a crescent on her head similar to one which I have seen, and which was discovered in the island of Tenos. These figures all bear a close resemblance to those found in the islands and serve as a further proof that the earlier inhabitants of the islands before the Hellenic occupation were, as Thucydides states, of Carian origin.

On leaving Capo Krio we visited the next promontory to the south, now known as Cape Alopeka. At the western extremity of this, round the bay of Aplotheka, are the ruins of the old town of Loryma, identified by an inscription and described by Schmidt in his *Neue Lykische Studien*. On hearing of extensive ruins three hours distant by land and one by sea, we rowed to the spot and entered a curiously hidden harbour across the entrance to which a stone could easily be thrown; about an hour's walk from this harbour are extensive ruins in a basin surrounded by lofty hills, and from

a tombstone of the same character as those of Loryma, namely, massive monolithic pedestals cut in grades diminishing towards the summit, the highest of which was six feet, and all having a small hole or holes on the top as if they had carried a statue, we found that the place was in ancient times known as Kasarea, and taking Ptolemy as our guide we find that in his catalogue of Carian towns between Loryma and Phoenike he places Κρῆσα λιμήν (Lib. v. ch. 2). Now the modern village of Phoenike is about an hour's walk from here in an eastward direction and is built on the site of the old town: consequently the spot we were at coincided exactly with Ptolemy's Κρῆσα λιμήν and from the curious little harbour it appears obvious why it was thus designated. Pliny also mentions Portus Cressa as being just opposite Rhodes twenty miles distant (Lib. v. 29), hence there can be little doubt that this is the spot they allude to and was the ancient town and harbour of Kasarea. Round the base of a column built into a Byzantine church we found an inscription, which pointed to the fact that there had existed a temple of Apollo here.

Going eastwards in our ship we entered the Gulf of Makri and anchored amongst some islands to the north of the gulf, now known as Tarsinà, containing many traces of being extensively inhabited during the Byzantine period. The inhabitants told us of extensive ruins on the mainland opposite, and led us to a spot where the rock is honeycombed with tombs, most of them small irregular holes with slabs before them, but inaccessible unless one could have been let down by a rope from above. There were however some well executed rock-cut tombs similar to those found at Telmessus on the opposite side of the Gulf of Makri; three of which I managed to reach.

One had an Ionic façade representing the front of a temple in Antis, with an inscription in red incised letters over the entrance: these letters appear to belong to no known alphabet, being a mixture of Lycian, Pamphylian and Greek characters. Other tombs represented the usual form of the Lycian cottage with projecting beams.

At a little distance from this spot we again landed and were conducted through a forest and over the brow of a hill and found ourselves amongst the ruins of an extensive city similarly situated to Kasarea, namely in a basin surrounded by hills; it would appear never to have had walls, but to have been protected by forts, and on the side where the isthmus on which it is built joins the mainland by a wall running from the shore on one side to an inaccessible cliff on the other, one of these forts which commands the approach from the Gulf of Makri had before it two large domed tombs cut in the rock.

About two miles before reaching the ruins on a plateau overlooking the sea we found three large tombs, the foundation of a temple and other remains, and from two inscriptions here we gathered that the town in question was Lydae, the capital of a district called the Lydatis, and that the spot we were on was a deme of Lydae, called Arymaxis. The names given on the tombs were Roman, Caius Julius, and Heliodorus, members of the Diophantus family—names which occurred over and over again amongst the inscriptions

we found at Lydae, as well as Boultinia, corresponding to the Roman gentile name Vultinia.

Amongst the most conspicuous of the remains in Lydae were two well-preserved ruins of heroa, built above the town. One appears of a much earlier date than the other, and was built of very large well-cut stones. It had a domed roof and must have stood 50 feet high; it was approached by a flight of steps 22 feet long, and had columns of the Corinthian order on either side of this flight of steps and before the entrance. The width at the back was 27 feet 9 inches on the main wall, and 29 feet 7 inches at the base. The entrance at the front had been decorated with a deep cornice and the jambs also were richly carved; this fine doorway led into an upper chamber, 26 feet 7 inches long; running round three sides of it was a raised platform, on which apparently had stood sarcophagi—the fragments of one we found represented the labours of Hercules and was of good workmanship. Below this chamber and entered from below were four small chambers for tombs and the openings which led to them had been closed by sliding doors, 5 inches thick; the size of one chamber was 11 feet 9 inches by 7 feet, and each chamber contained the raised platform for sarcophagi as in the upper chamber.

The other heroon was of much inferior workmanship and obviously a Roman construction. In it we found fragments of several sarcophagi: one had on it three heads—evidently portraits—surrounded by garlands, supported by naked female figures at the centre, standing on small altars, and at the corners by draped female figures standing on the shoulders of kneeling old men; the back of this sarcophagus had bulls' heads below the garland, and on the sides heads of Medusa. From an inscription on this we gathered that it was the tomb of Caius Julius, the son of the man who built the tomb in the deme of Arymaxis. Another sarcophagus belonging to Coccias Sarpedonides was decorated by cupids holding bunches of grapes at which partridges were pecking. Outside this heroon on a frieze ran a long inscription, only the end of which was left: this frieze was supported by Corinthian capitals built into the wall; below, as in the other heroon, were four smaller chambers for tombs.

Down in the centre of the town we found many inscriptions all close together, on pedestals which had carried statues. This spot appears to have been the agora of Lydae, where complimentary monuments were erected. It will perhaps be as well to leave the inscriptions to tell their own story, but I will allude to a few which give us satisfactory dates concerning the proconsuls and praetors who ruled this district in the first century of our era.

One was erected to Sextus Marcius Priscus "praetor of the emperor Vespasian and of all the emperors from the time of Tiberius;" his name we again found two weeks later as having built a large bath at Patara. Two side by side were erected respectively to Mettius Modestus and C. Antius Quadratus, both mentioned by Waddington in his *Fastes Asiatiques* as proconsols in the time of Trajan. Quadratus appears to have been a native of Pergamos and to have held many posts in Asia Minor; he is alluded to in

an inscription from the neighbouring Lycian town of Tlos with the title Boultinia added.

In the centre of the town we saw also three large heroa side by side similar in character to those above mentioned. Fragments of statuary lay around in every direction, and a hollow depression completely full of brambles was an obvious theatre, and on the hill-side opposite was another rock-cut tomb with an imitation beamed roof but having no inscription.

From the inscriptions we learnt that Lydae formed one of a decapolis of Lycian towns, that men of Lydae held from time to time places of high honour in the assemblies of the Lycian nation and in one or two cases where it was stated that the person in question had been citizen of these ten cities the δέκα was carefully erased, pointing to the fact that harmony did not always exist in this decapolis. Inhabitants of Lydae took their wives from neighbouring cities Pinara, Telmessus, &c., which cities are mentioned on their tombs. Also a doctor of Lydae, Aristobulus by name, would appear from the eulogistic inscription raised to his honour to have attained considerable renown in his profession.

The only allusion to this important Lycian city that I can find is in Ptolemaius who mentions it in his list of Lycian towns in correct order, (Lib. 5, 28). "After Kaunos" he says "come Lydae, Carya, Daedala, Telmessus," taking the towns around the gulf of Makri in their correct order; by some curious mistake later geographers have placed Lydae on their maps as Chlydae, but the inscriptions which I have found now thoroughly establish both the name and the position.

Before leaving the Gulf of Makri we visited the site of other ruins, about five miles inland, and about double that distance from Lydæ. They consisted of an old Hellenic acropolis built on a rocky eminence overlooking a small lake, and now almost entirely surrounded by forest and brushwood, which made it impossible to ascertain the extent of the ruins, so that beside the fortress we were only able to find a few graves of simple construction formed out of huge blocks of stone; in these we found a few bronze remains, glass, and a small silver coin of Kaunos of the date of Lysimachus similar to a small copper one in the British Museum with the exception that that has not got the *crux ansata*.

On the wall of the acropolis were two much defaced inscriptions on stones side by side, of the Ptolemaic age, and leading us to suppose that the name of the place was Lissa, or Lissae, though from Ptolemy's account it would appear as if this place was known in his time as Karya: there were traces of inscriptions on several other stones in the same line but too defaced to make out even a single word. It was with extreme difficulty that we

obtained squeezes of the two partially legible ones owing to their height and the want of appliances in this wild spot.

Inasmuch as Pliny tells us that there were once seventy cities in Lycia, and in his time thirty-six, of which we only know the names of twenty-five, there is room for much more geographical discovery in this interesting district.

On our return voyage we stopped for a few days to examine the ruins of Patara, and were enabled to supplement the discoveries of former travellers by the addition of several inscriptions. The ruins of Patara will always present serious difficulties to the excavator, as the mouth of the old harbour, around which the principal buildings stood, has been silted up with sand, and the harbour is now represented by a large stagnant lake, and the ruins are principally situated in a spongy marsh; the theatre too, a magnificent structure of Roman date, is now nearly buried in sand. Close to the entrance to this, with considerable labour we turned over a huge stone 12½ feet long by 4 feet 10 inches, which had on it a large inscription in ten lines, in honour of one Polysperchon who had officiated as priest of the Patarean Apollo in the reign of Germanicus and held many important offices of state.

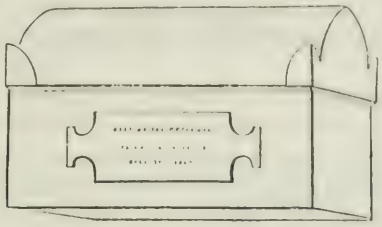
Several inscriptions allude to Patara as "the metropolis of Lycia" at that period, and to the west of the harbour is a fine Roman palace, which appears to have been the residence of the Roman proconsul. Along the front of it runs an inscription which relates how it was built in the reign of an emperor whose name is obliterated, and on one side there is a stone let into the wall, having in relief upon it a fish holding a garland in its mouth and behind a trident.

At Patara there are two baths in excellent preservation, one of which from an inscription we learnt was built by the above-mentioned Sextus Marcius Priscus in the reign of Vespasian. The western side was 50 feet long, and the length must have been more than double; it had been richly decorated with columns and other ornamentations and was divided into five chambers opening into one another: over the entrance into the second was the inscription; the central chamber was rounded at each end, and each room was studded with holes in the wall, as if it had been covered with tiles or plaques, but from the fact that the inscription was itself studded with holes and partially covered with cement, it would appear that it had been used in Byzantine times on a new system. There were two vestibules to the east with wide spanning arches full of debris, and a careful excavation of this building would doubtless bring to light interesting facts concerning the construction of ancient bath-buildings.

Along the narrow end of the harbour, which runs about a mile and a half inland, the chief tombs of Patara were built; many of them handsome heroa, and many of a more humble structure. On one of these latter amongst some brambles we found an inscription which begins τὴν χελώνην κατεσκεύασεν, etc., proving that these tombs with rounded lids were called "tortoises" by the ancients.

In a wood about a mile from Patara was a rock-cut tomb entered

originally by two stone panels: one of these was removed, but on the other were three coarsely draped figures and a late inscription, and on an adjoining pilaster cut in the stone were two hands outspread with the thumbs joining and on the palms distinctly-marked triangles; beneath these were the letters ΩΔΙΚΑΙ . .



Our ship lay at anchor in the harbour of Phournoi some six miles from Patara, and almost the whole length of this walk we performed each day on the remains of the Roman aqueduct, the ruins of which at the entrance to the town is one of the most conspicuous objects in the place. About five miles from Patara this aqueduct crosses a *col* with a structure a quarter of a mile long built of large polygonal stones, and below it is pierced by two gateways of irregular form.

J. Theodore Bent.

DECREES FROM LISSE OR LISSAE, IN LYCIA.

In the preceding pages Mr. Bent has given a brief account of his recent tour. The chief interest of it centres in the discovery of the sites of several Carian and Lycian cities, some of them hitherto unknown even by name. Mr. Bent has placed in my hands, for publication in this *Journal*, a number of impressions and copies of inscriptions from these sites and from other localities. Unfortunately they arrived in England just too late for them to be made ready for these pages. But the following are inserted by way of an instalment. The first two documents discover to us an unknown Lycian town. The third adds one more name to our list of Greek artists.

1.

'Wall-stone of a building inland from Lydae, about five miles.' It is the next stone in the same course with the following. From Mr. Bent's impression.

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ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥΤΟ . ΓΤΟΛ . . Α . ϹΥLΤΟΥ⊿
ΟΓΔΟΟΥΜΗΝΟΣΑΡΤΕΜΙΣΙΟΥΕΔΟΞΕΛΙΣΣΑΤΛΝΤ . . Λ . ΜΛ . ΚΥΡΙ
ΑΣΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗΣΕΠΕΙΔΗΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤ . ΣΘ . . Ϛ ΔΟΥΣ
ΛΙΣΣΑΤΗΣΑΝΗΡΑΓΑΘΟΣΛΝΔΙΑΤΕΛΕΙΕΙΣΤΟΝΔΗ ΙΟΝΤΟΝΛΙΣΣΑΤΛΝ
ΣΤΕΦΑΝΛΣΑΙΑΥΤΟΝΘΑΛΛΟΥΣΤΕΦΑΝΛΙΑΝΔ . . . . ΟΙΑΣΕΝΕΚΕΝΚΑΙ
ΕΥΝΟΙΑΣΗΣ Ϛ ΕΙΣΤΟΝΔΗ ΑΤΛΝΚΑΙ
ΕΙΝΑΙΑΥΤΟ . ΕΤ ΤΟΥ ΕΤΟΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ
ΛΙΣΣ Ν ΗΙΣΥΝΤ
ΑΙ ΕΤΑ
```

Βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου το[ῦ] Πτολ[εμ]α[ί]ου ἔτους
ὀγδόου μηνὸς Ἀρτεμισίου ἔδοξε Λισσατῶν τ[ῷ] δ[ήμ]ῳ κυρί-
ας ἐκκλησίας γενομένης· Ἐπειδὴ Μενεκράτης Θ . . ω . . δους
Λισσάτης ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ὢν διατελεῖ εἰς τὸν δῆ(μ)ον τὸν Λισσατῶν
στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ ἀνδ[ραγα]θίας ἕνεκεν καὶ
εὐνοίας ἧς [ἔχ]ω[ν διατελεῖ] εἰς τὸν δῆ[μον τὸν Λισσ]ατῶν καὶ
εἶναι αὐτὸ[ν εὐεργ]έτ[ην] τοῦ [δήμου, ἀναγράψαι δ]ὲ τὸ ψήφισμα
Λισσ.....

Many portions of the marble were very difficult to decipher, owing to injury to the surface. Apparently the wall was the wall of a temple, which was

employed for the inscribing of honorary decrees and grants of citizenship, as at Ephesus and elsewhere.

The king in line 1 is probably Ptolemy Euergetes, who began to reign in B.C. 247. If so, the date of our decree is B.C. 240, the eighth of his reign (line 2).

The adjective *Λισσάτης* (line 5) may be either from a name *Λίσση* or *Λίσσαι*. Doubtless the name is derived from the epithet *λισσός*, 'smooth' or 'steep.' The town and its name remained wholly unknown until the discovery of this inscription.

2.

'Wall-stone of a building inland from Lydae, about five miles.' It stood next to the preceding inscription. From Mr. Bent's impression.

ΝΤΟ ΥΓΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥΕΤΟΥΣΕΝΔΕΚΑΤΟΥ
ΙΙΙΙ ∠ ΣΚΥΡΙΑΣΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗΣΕΔΟΞΕ
ΛΙΣΣΑΤΩΝ ΤΩ ΔΗΜΩΙΕΓ ΑΓΕΠΟΛΙΣΛΑΜΠΩΝΟΣΡΟΔΙΟΣ
ΑΝΗΡΚΑΛΟΣΚΑΙ ΑΘΟΣΓΓΓΟΝ . . . . ΣΤΟΝΔΗΜΟΝΤΟΝΛΙΣΣΑΤΩΝ
5 ΑΙΚΟΙΝΗΙΚΑΙΙΔΙΑΙΕΚΑΣΤΩΙΧΟΕΙ ∠ ΡΕΧΟΜΕΝΟΣΕΔΟΞΕΤΩΙΔΗ
ΜΩΙΤΩΙΛΙΣΣΑΤΩΝΣΤΕΦΑΙΙΩΣ ΟΑΛΛΟΥΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΙ
ΑΡΕΤΗΣΕΝΕΚΕΝΚΑΙΕΥΝΟΙΑΣ . . ΕΧ . . ΔΙ . . . . ΕΙΕΙΣΤ ΔΗΜΟΝ
ΟΝΛΙΣΣΑΤΩΝΔΙΔΩΣΙΔΕΓΟ . . ΤΕΙΑΝΛ . ΤΩΙΚΑΙΕΓΓΟΝΟΙΣ
ΑΙΑΤΕΛΕΙΑΝΑΓΑΝΤΩΝΟΓ . . ΛΝΕΙ . . . ΙΙ ΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΑΙ
10 ΕΤΟΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΟΥΤΟΕΙ . ΤΟ . . . . . ΗΤΡΟΣ
ΛΩΝΣΥΝΕΓ Α Ω ΗΚΟΤΟΣ

Βασιλεύο]ντο[ς Πτολεμαίου το]ῦ Πτολεμαίου ἔτους ἑνδεκάτου
μη[νὸ](ς) [τοῦ δεῖνος, ἐκκλησία]ς κυρίας γενομένης, ἔδοξε
Λισσατῶν τῷ δήμῳ· Ἐπ[ειδὴ] Ἀγέπολις Λάμπωνος Ῥόδιος
ἀνὴρ καλὸς κἀγαθὸς γέγον[εν εἰ]ς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Λισσατῶν
5 *κ]αὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἑκάστῳ χρεί[α]ς [πα]ρεχόμενος, ἔδοξε τῷ δή-*
μῳ τῷ Λισσατῶν στεφανῶσ[αι αὐτὸν] θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ
ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας [ἧς] ἔχ[ων] δι[ατελ]εῖ εἰς τ[ὸν] δῆμον
τ]ὸν Λισσατῶν, δίδωσι δὲ πο[λι]τείαν α[ὐ]τῷ καὶ ἐγγόνοις
κ]αὶ ἀτέλειαν ἁπάντων ὅπ[οτ'] ἂν εἰ[σάγῃ], ἀναγράψαι
10 *δὲ] τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο εἰ[ς τὸ ἱερὸν? Δήμ]ητρος·*
ἄλ]λων συνεπ[αινεσ]ά[ντ]ω[ν μετὰ τοῦ εἰρ]ηκότος.

Some portions of the decree are well preserved: the rest was difficult to decipher. I have no doubt about my restorations, except in the last two lines. If, as is most probable, Ptolemy Euergetes is meant, the date of our decree is B.C. 237, the eleventh year of his reign (line 1). The restoration of line 11 is merely tentative: *ὁ εἰρηκώς* would be the proposer of the decree.

E. L. HICKS.

INSCRIPTION WITH A NEW ARTIST'S NAME, FROM ANAPHE.

Marble plinth from the Temple of Apollo at Anaphe. From an excellent impression of Mr. Theodore Bent. Present length of marble 20½ inches; height 5 inches.

ΛΙ' ΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΕΚΑΙΑ
ΑΛΚΙΠΠΟΣ:ΠΑΡΙΟΣ:ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ

[Ὁ δεῖνα]
Ἀπόλλωνι δεκάτα[ν·
Ἄλκιππος Πάριος ἐποίησεν.

I am not aware that this dedication has been previously published. It is inscribed in beautiful letters of the best time, and can hardly be later than the fifth century. The name of the artist is otherwise unknown. The surface is beautifully preserved, and the dots of interpunction are quite clear in line 2: in line 1 there were none. The characters in line 1 are slightly larger than in the second.

E. L. Hicks.

THE LOMBARDS AND VENETIANS IN EUBOIA (1340—1470).

(*Continued from Vol. VIII. page* 213.)

II.

3.

(1340—1385.)

§ 45. *War of Venice and Genoa.*—The relations between Euboia and Attika continued to be peaceful. The Spanish lords of Athens had become less like a horde of robbers and more like a civilized community; they ceased to consort with Turks and infidels. Walter of Brienne indeed did not leave off his agitation against the Company, and he continued to importune Venice to form or join a league to restore him to his ducal seat. Venice however would not listen to him, and in 1344, when she bestowed on him the freedom of the city and allowed him to procure arms at Negroponte, she stipulated that such arms were not to be used against the Catalans. The Turks however continued their depredatory expeditions, and we learn that in 1341 Bartolommeo Ghisi, the Triarch, and the Duke of Naxos conjointly equipped a galley for the defence of the Archipelago and the coast of Euboia. It appears moreover that in 1343 Balzana Gozzadini, the widow of Pietro della Carceri, who acted as guardian for her son Giovanni, equipped another galley, and Negroponte itself was strengthened with new fortifications. These precautions seem to have protected the island efficiently for the next few years.

At peace with her neighbours, Euboia was destined to be seriously affected by hostilities from another quarter, for the war that broke out between the rival republics, Venice and Genoa, was carried on in the eastern as well as in the western waters of the Mediterranean, and seriously affected the island of Euboia, which was the headquarters, the chief *ὁρμητήριον* of Venice in the Aegean.

The Genoese, who had been engaged in hostilities with the Greek emperor Kantakuzenos, threw down the gauntlet to Venice in 1350 by confiscating some Venetian ships in Kaffa, her colony in the Black Sea. Venice sent Marco Ruzzini in command of thirty-five war-ships to the east, and at Negroponte, where he first arrived, he gained a success. A Genoese fleet of fourteen

sail, bound for Constantinople and the Pontos, put in at Alikastron[1] in Euboia. Ruzzini captured ten of the ships, and the remaining four escaped to Chios.[2] The prisoners, consisting of both nobles and commons (*nobiles et plebeii*), were imprisoned in Negroponte, and Ruzzini, encouraged by his success, sailed to the Propontis. He made an unsuccessful attempt on Galata, and then cruised in the Black Sea for plunder. His absence was fatal to Negroponte, which was left with but slender protection, and the enemy did not fail to take advantage of its defencelessness.

Four Genoese galleys, well equipped and armed, were despatched to Euboia. Venetian standards were hoisted, they sailed into the roads unsuspected, and entered Negroponte stealthily. First of all the prisoners were liberated from their captivity, then the town was plundered and set on fire. A large booty was obtained, and having hung up the keys of the town on the gate, the Genoese, well satisfied, sailed away. The capture of the ships by Ruzzini had taken place in September; the misfortune of Negroponte took place in November.

This event is remarkable as having led to a strange historical error on the part of a Greek writer of the following century. George Phrantzes, the historian of the last days of the Eastern Roman Empire, informs his readers that Euboia belonged to the Genoese since the year 1204!

The indignation of Venice was thoroughly roused by this humiliation, and she immediately set to work to form a league against her rival. The Emperor Kantakuzenos, whose relations with Genoa had been recently inimical, seemed an obvious ally; nevertheless he hesitated, but was induced to join in July, 1351, by the appearance of Nicolò Pisani and his fleet. Genoa had another enemy at the other extremity of the Mediterranean, Peter IV. of Aragon, whose sway in Sardinia had been troubled by revolts which Genoa had encouraged and assisted. He readily consented to join the league, and the treaty was arranged at Perpignan (Jan. 16, 1351). It was on this occasion that compensation was given to the heirs of Ramon Muntaner for the damages claimed by him in 1307. On the other hand Genoa took advantage of the fact that Istria was an apple of discord between Venice and the King of Hungary to excite the latter against her foe.

While Pisani plundered Genoese property at Constantinople, the Genoese admiral, Paganino Doria, had arrived off the north coast of Euboia with sixty-two ships. He invested Oreos in the middle of August, and the siege lasted two months, but he failed; for the place was strong, and he was opposed by Catalan auxiliaries from Attika, 300 cavalry as well as infantry, who were soon backed by the arrival of Pisani from the north, and finally by a Catalan fleet under the command of Pons de Santapan. In the meantime the Genoese had not omitted to plunder elsewhere in the neighbourhood, and among other places Ptelion suffered from their hostility.

[1] Perhaps near Aliweri, a place about eleven hours from Chalkis on the road to Karystos. The Greek steamers sailing from Athens to Wolo, *viâ* Chalkis, stop at Aliweri.

[2] So *Hist. Cortus.* p. 935 (Murat, vol. xii.). Matteo Villani wrongly gives the total number of Genoese ships as eleven, and the number of those taken as nine.

At the beginning of 1352 Pisa joined the Venetian alliance, and a month later (in February) an important general engagement took place near Byzantium, which was however indecisive. The Emperor Kantakuzenos, as the Venetians who had sailed westward after the battle were no longer on the spot to support him, made a separate peace with Doria, and agreed to abandon the league (May 6). He consequently refused to aid Pisani, who some months later appeared in the Bosphoros. An opportunity was thereby given to Joannês Palaiologos, son-in-law of the emperor, who looked upon himself as the rightful sovereign, to form an alliance with Venice, and thus take a decided attitude of opposition to his father-in-law. But few more hostilities took place in oriental regions before the peace, which was concluded between the republics in 1355—a peace to which Genoa almost forced Venice by her alliance with the Visconti of Milan. The terms of this peace did not concern Euboia.

§ 46. *Domestic Affairs of Euboia.*—In 1353 some arrangements were made regulating the internal affairs of the island: (1) The arrangement that the duty of keeping in trim the galleys for defending the island devolved on the triarchs and their vassals was confirmed. (2) Venice was henceforth to take upon herself the appointment of the custom officers. (3) The rebuilding of any house destroyed by the Genoese in 1350 was to secure to the builder a remission of half the ground rent for twenty-five years. (4) Venetians who had suffered in 1350 received offices in compensation. (5) Inhabitants of Euboia who had exhibited bravery in the war received Venetian citizenship. In regard to the bestowal of citizenship another regulation was afterwards made in the same year, which applied to Crete, Modone, and Korone, as well as to Negroponte, to wit, that all fit persons might receive the citizenship for ten years, on condition they bore the same burdens as citizens, and renewed the oath every two years. In case they did not emigrate during that time the right would be granted for ever. The Jews were excepted from this grant.

The ceaseless depredations of the Turks, and the war with Genoa which followed, brought considerable confusion into the affairs of Euboia. In 1348 there had been many complaints of the state of the island, especially of depopulation and severe taxation. A considerable number of peasants fled to Crete from the island of Anaphe—a significant indication of the condition of affairs. The island of Anaphe belonged to Giovanni dalle Carceri, the son and heir of Pietro, for whom his mother, Balzana Gozzadini, acted as guardian under the protection of the Venetian Bailo while his years were tender. Domenico Gozzadini, probably his mother's brother, afterwards acted as his general agent, and as the administration of two Thirds of the island was thus in his hands, received the appellation of *tutor* of Euboia. The general outlook appeared so dreary to Giovanni at this time (1348—9) that he conceived the idea of selling a Third to the Duke of Naxos, Giovanni Sanudo. The negotiations however resulted not in the sale, but in the marriage of Giovanni with Sanudo's daughter Fiorenza, a large dowry in Euboian property being bestowed on her.

In 1356 Venice, at length at peace, set to work to alleviate the misfortunes of the island. The Bailo was directed not to interfere in the feudal relations of the lords with their vassals. The triarchs were required to raze some useless edifices. The peasants of Anaphe were to be brought back from Crete. A new quarter was to be built for the Jews at Negroponte. A galley and another vessel were to be maintained at the joint cost of the triarchs and the Republic. The first galley that was provided met with ill luck on its way to Euboia, being captured by a flotilla of Turks, who acted in combination with Peter Fadrique of Salona. This Catalan lord was a notorious corsair, and it may be mentioned that some years before he had come into collision with Euboia by capturing and detaining in his dungeons a gentleman of that island, Cristofora da Medio.

§ 47. *Fiorenza Sanudo.*—Giovanni dalle Carceri died in 1358, leaving one son, Nicolò, heir to his baronies. His widow Fiorenza Sanudo was then a very important person, and a very attractive match. As guardian of her son Nicolò she was mistress of two Thirds of Euboia, and as only daughter of Giovanni Sanudo, she was heiress to the duchy of the Archipelago. But the Republic of St. Mark was determined that her hand was not to be at her own disposal; its interests were so closely bound up with her possessions that the personality of her husband would be a matter of serious consequence. Hence the affair of Fiorenza was a political problem of the Archipelago, which demanded the attention of the Doge and senate in the city on the lagoons; it became of a still more vital importance when her father the Duke of Naxos died in 1362.

The first suitor for her hand was Pietro Giustiniani Recanelli, one of the Maonesi of Chios. It may well be supposed that he was the last person who would find favour in the eyes of Venice. Had she married him the thin end of a Genoese wedge might have entered to cleave Euboia. Very energetic and unscrupulous measures were consequently taken to thwart this alliance. Fiorenza and Maria were warned by an official letter against the match, and it was hinted that a suitable husband could be found in Euboia or Crete. Orders were given to the Bailo Morosini to trepan Fiorenza to Negroponte and detain her there under arrest, in case she were disposed to dissent from the wishes of Venice; and if this could not be managed he was to sequestrate Oreos and the possessions of Nicolò. The orders went so far as to empower him, if the marriage should have already taken place, to seize Fiorenza's person and imprison her in Crete. But these measures of violence proved unnecessary. Before the end of the year Fiorenza declared that she was resolved not to accept a husband who was not also acceptable to Venice, and Recanelli was rejected.

But in the following year, after her father's death, a more celebrated suitor, though of a parvenu family, presented himself in the person of Rainerio, generally called Nerio, Acciajuoli, the nephew and adopted son of Nicolò the Florentine banker, who, rising by the favours of great ladies, had become grand seneschal of Achaia—well known by the spiteful and instructive description of Boccacio. The acquisition of the Duchy of the Archipelago

was a prospect agreeable to the ambition of the Acciajuoli family, and in 1358, after the death of Fiorenza's husband, Nicolò had entertained the project of her marriage with his nephew Angelo, who however chose an ecclesiastical career.

Nerio's brother John, archbishop of Patras, wrote proposing the marriage of Nerio with Fiorenza, but he received a letter from Venice stating the promise of the duchess not to marry in opposition to the will of the Republic, and declining the proposed alliance. Meanwhile the Bailo of Negroponte had been directed to take measures to prevent the marriage, and the Duke of Crete received commands to take possession of the islands of the Duchy of the Archipelago.

The archbishop of Patras then wrote letters to Queen Joanna of Naples and to the titular emperor of Romania, Robert of Tarentum, who was nominally suzerain of the Archipelago in virtue of his title, appealing to them to intervene; and they both wrote protests to Venice, pressing the suit of Nerio and insisting that Fiorenza was the vassal of Robert, and that on receiving the permission of her overlord she was quite at liberty to dispose of her hand without consulting any other power. The senate of Venice (April 8, 1363) wrote a practically unanswerable reply, that Fiorenza was indeed nominally vassal of the emperor, but he had no means to protect her or interfere in her behalf; whereas she was a citizen of the Venetian commonwealth, and Venice had the means and will to protect her; furthermore, if reference be made to relations of past history, it was through Venetian assistance that her ancestors had acquired their duchy in the Aegean, and had been able to retain it; it was therefore fair that Venice should have the chief voice in the arrangement of the matter in question.

It is worth remarking that the position taken up by Venice in this letter, as the virtual protector in contrast with the nominal but powerless overlord, is quite similar to the position it had practically assumed in relation to the Lombard lords of Euboia, who were nominally vassals of the Prince of Achaia, while Venice was their virtual protector.

As the sources for these transactions are official documents, we do not hear what were the sentiments of Fiorenza herself on this matter of such importance to her. Certain relations of the Sanudi of Naxos had taken up their abode in Euboia, namely, Guglielmo Sanudo and his son Nicolò Spezzabanda; they had been recommended by Venice to the favour of the duchess. The Bailo now seized her person and consigned her to a place of security in Crete, while Spezzabanda presented himself at Venice and obtained permission to marry her. The nuptials were consummated at Venice early in 1364,[1] and a mutual engagement was made between Nicolò Spezzabanda and the Republic that the former should assist in putting down a revolt which was threatening the Venetian power in Kandia, while the latter bound itself to defend the islands of the duchy.

§ 48. *Hostilities with the Catalans.*—Venice had not yet succeeded in

[1] Two daughters were the fruit of this marriage, Maria and Elisabetta. The elder received Andros in 1371 after her mother's death, and was bound by the conditions to provide for her sister.

securing, though she had made several attempts, the strong castle of Karystos, which now belonged to the Spaniard Bonifaz Farique. Negotiations for the sale of the place were carried on about 1350, Venice offering 6,000 ducats, and it seems that the bargain was nearly brought to a conclusion, when the Genoese war intervened, and the affair was broken off. Venice again renewed her offers, and in 1359 Bonifaz definitely engaged himself to make over the castle to the Republic for 6,000 ducats, one restriction accompanying the sale—that the peasants transferred from Attika and settled at Karystos were not included in it. But Matteo Moncada,[1] who succeeded Ximenes de Arenos as governor (general vicar) of Attika, protested against the alienation of this strong place, and induced Bonifaz to cancel his engagement. A coolness ensued between Venice and the Company. The successor of Moncada, Roger de Loria, acted in such a way as to render war inevitable. He confiscated property to which Euboians had legal claims, he seized the possessions of one Basadonna, and in 1363 the Bailo declared war. On the other hand, the Bailo appears to have harboured and admitted to citizenship refugees from Attika, and to have prescribed a strict tariff for the sale in Euboia of certain articles of commerce imported from Attika. Both parties thought they had very good causes of complaint.

The Company once more resorted to its old policy and invoked the aid of the Ottoman Sultan Murâd, who was now in the middle of his successful career of conquest in the Balkan peninsula. The Turks, who had already reached Thessaly, entered Boiotia at Loria's invitation, took possession of Thebes, and wasted the land. But fortunately for Euboia, at this juncture Frederick, King of Sicily and Duke of Athens, deposed Loria and made Moncada once more his representative, with injunctions to protect the territories of the Company against the infidels. Moncada received the post for life, but not choosing to live at Athens himself, he entrusted the government to representatives; in 1365 he placed it in the hands of his predecessor, Roger de Loria. Loria was not inclined to coquette again with the Turks; he was inclined, on the contrary, to bring about a peace with Venice. He demanded 6,000 ducats in compensation for injuries of which he complained; but the answer of Venice was a bill of damages which reached a much higher figure. The differences did not immediately receive a final settlement, but the old treaty was renewed for the time. Soon after this Venice obtained at last the coveted castle of Karystos for the sum that she had always offered before—6,000 ducats (Nov. 6, 1365). She placed a garrison in it immediately, but in a few years it was found to cost so much to maintain the place that she would have been glad to let it as a fief, and failing that, she reduced the garrison and the expenses as far as possible. For Venice the chief importance of possessing Karystos seems to have been that others were thereby precluded from holding it.

Negroponte did not come into hostile collision with the Catalan Company

[1] Jacob Fadrique, Count of Sula, was governor 1356–1359, Arenos succeeded in 1359, M. Moncada followed in 1359, and Roger de Loria in 1361 (to 1363).

again, although the nephews of Walter de Brienne, who thought they inherited his pretensions to Attika, did all they could to persuade the Venetian Republic to assist them in wresting the duchy from the Spaniards. These nephews belonged to the house of Enghien—Guy of Argos and John of Enghien-Lecce. They applied to Venice in 1370 to support their operations in the neighbourhood, and on receiving a polite refusal they applied yet more importunately in 1371. But Venice had no intention of supporting their almost obsolete claims, and would not consent to involve herself in war by lending the bridge of Negroponte, as John of Enghien-Lecce proposed, to the passing of a confederate army into the dominions of the Spaniards. In the same year Loria died, and as Moncada, the nominal governor, continued to be an absentee, the post was given to Matteo Peralta, and before the end of the year a peace was arranged between the Enghien family and the Catalan Company by the intervention of the Bailo of Euboia, and sealed by the marriage of Maria, Guy's only daughter, with John de Loria, who was to succeed to the lordship of Argos and Nauplion.

§ 49. *The Navarrese Company.*—In the meantime a man of more energy and ability than the Enghien brothers had likewise conceived the idea of depriving the Catalans of the duchy of Athens and Neopatrai. This was Rainerio Acciajuoli, already mentioned as a suitor of the Duchess Fiorenza. He was now chatelain of Corinth, and had married, with the consent of the Bailo of Negroponte, Agnese, the daughter of an Euboian nobleman, Saracino de' Saracini. Pursuing fugitive subjects of his own who had fled to Athenian territory, he came into collision with the Spaniards. The war began in 1374, and Raineirio succeeded in taking Megara, the halfway house between Corinth and Athens. In the following year Peralta died, and was succeeded by Louis Fadrique, Count of Sula and Zeitun, who however was not appointed by the King of Sicily, but elected by the Catalan subjects in Attika. During the next few years Rainerio appears to have remained quiet; the acquisition of Megara satisfied him for a time.

Meanwhile an event happened which directed the attention of Athens and Thebes to the distant west more than to their neighbours in Greece. This was the death of King Frederick in 1377 without male issue, whereby the Sicilian branch of the Aragon royal family came to a full stop. He had one daughter, Matilda, to whom he bequeathed his kingdom and duchies; but this was not agreeable to most of the nobles both in Sicily and Attika, who looked with favour on the claims of Peter, King of Aragon. In 1381 an envoy from Athens appeared at Saragossa, offering homage to Peter in the name of the Company, on condition of his promising to maintain the usages of the land. And thus Peter became Duke of Athens and Neopatrai, and though the duchy passed out of his hands into those of the Florentine, Nerio Acciajuoli, in the space of four years, he not only retained the title himself, but his successors down to the present century have called themselves, as well as Kings of Aragon and Spain, Dukes of Athens and Neopatrae.

But in the meantime a new enemy had appeared on the scene and created general alarm and dismay. This was the Navarrese Company, an

organization consisting of adventurers of much the same character as the members of the more celebrated Catalan Grand Company. They were mercenary soldiers collected in Navarre by Jacob de Baux, titular Emperor of Romania, and sent to the east to recover his dominions along with Maiotto Coccarelli, whom he named Bailli of Achaia. The most important of their captains was Peter of San Superan. Having taken Corfù, they proceeded to invade Attika (1380), and at first met with a success, which terrified not only the Spaniards but the neighbouring powers. Livadia and other strong places fell into their hands; Galceran Peralta, the captain of Athens, on whom the defence of the duchy mainly devolved, was taken prisoner.

The opportunity was favourable to make an attempt upon Euboia, for Venice, being just at that time engaged in a serious war with Genoa, could not expend much energy in defending the island. Moreover, Nicolò dalle Carceri, the Triarch, took advantage of this state of things to recur to the old examples of his grandfather Pietro, and of Bonifacio da Verona, and treat surreptitiously with the Navarrese against the interests of Venice. It was the last kick of the Triarchs; three years later Venice had it all her own way. The Margrave of Bodonitza, who had shown a rebellious spirit towards the governor of Athens, seems to have acted in the same manner as Nicolò. But the danger that menaced Euboia was averted by the escape of Galceran Peralta, who immediately organised the defence of the Acropolis and constrained the Navarrese Company (we do not clearly know by what steps) to evacuate the land before the end of the year. They then proceeded to the Peloponnesos, where they met with greater success than in Attika. By the year 1383, when their employer, Jacob de Baux, the last titular Emperor of Romania, died, Morea was divided among four powers—the Venetians of Modone and Korone, the Greeks of Misithra, the châtelain of Argos, and the Navarrese under San Superan; we may add a fifth—Nerio Acciajuoli of Corinth.

When Peter of Aragon was recognised as Duke of Athens, he nominated to the post of governor Philip Dalman de Roccaberte, who soon placed the relations of the Company with the surrounding powers on a satisfactory footing—with the châtelain of Corinth and the margrave of Bodonitza, as well as with the Bailo of Euboia. In 1382 he returned to Sicily, and was succeeded by Raimond de Vilanova.

§ 50. *The Turks.*—As the power of the Turks was steadily increasing and their encroachments on the possessions of the Europeans advancing every day—Murâd had taken Hadrianople in 1365—the Greek Emperor Joannes Palaiologos and the Latin powers were endeavouring to get up a general organised resistance. The Greek Emperor was making a begging tour in the west (1369), as the Latin Emperor Baldwin II. had done a hundred years before, and did not scruple to promise to desert the Greek and join the Latin Church on condition that the Pope and the Latin powers of the west assisted him against the formidable enemy of Europe. The depredations of the Ottomans, to which Euboia and the islands of the Archipelago were especially exposed, made life generally so unsafe that men were unwilling to trust their lives in those regions except the risks they ran were well paid. This was the case in

Euboia. No Venetian would accept a civil appointment there save for a salary considerably higher than that usually paid in 1369. Such was the state of things that Venice sent a commission to inquire into the affairs of Euboia, Ptelion, Modone and Korone, in order that those important stations —the right hand and right eye of the Republic—might be made strong to resist the foe. The galley of Euboia was manned anew, the Bailo was admonished to be watchful and report diligently to headquarters, troops were sent from Venice—these preparations spreading over several years, one of which (1374) was marked by a plague which made inroads into the population of the island.[1]

Pope Gregory XI. issued in 1372 (November) a bull summoning notables of Romania to a congress at Thebes, which was to consult on common measures for resisting the progress of the Turks. Among the others who were invited by the Pope to discuss the 'eternal question,' and met at Thebes on the 1st of October, 1373, were Nicolò dalle Carceri, Triarch of Euboia and Duke of Naxos (his mother had died in 1371), Fr. Giorgio, margrave of Bodonitza, Matteo Peralta, governor of Athens, F. Gattilusio of Lesbos, Nerio Acciajuoli of Corinth, &c. The congress, however, like most of the plans of united action against the Turk so often proposed in the 14th and 15th centuries, had no serious results.

§ 51. *Some internal affairs of Euboia.*—In the year 1359 Nicolò Spezzabanda, who afterwards married Fiorenza Sanudo, appeared in Venice as the bearer of certain complaints preferred by the Triarchs of Euboia against the conduct of the Bailo. The complaints were that the Bailo interfered in matters which belonged exclusively to the feudal jurisdiction of the lords of the land (contrary to the express arrangement of 1356); that he was in the habit of reversing sentences which the podestà of the Lombards had enounced; that he persecuted their officials and had imprisoned the châtelain of Larachi, Demetrios of Alessandria. Venice, however, declined to entertain these complaints seriously, knowing that if she did not give general powers to the Bailo and trust a good deal to his judiciousness the island would become a 'den of robbers.'

In 1361 fresh complaints were lodged to the effect that the Baili might be more polite than they were to the Lombard and other lords and ladies, who had for example been on one occasion menaced with fines if they did not appear in the church of San Marco. Bailo Pietro Morosini was especially accused of having misapplied the duties on oil which should have been employed for the maintenance of the Euboian galley. Quarrels further arose in regard to certain land close to Negroponte which lay between the Venetian quarter and the lands of the dalle Carceri. Venice tried to place things on a better footing. Cottages which were built on the disputed land were pulled down, and thereby the territory of the triarchs stretched without question up to what was equally without question Venetian house-property. It was

[1] It may be observed that in 1375 the Bailo Quirini was guilty of misconduct which was punished by a fine. He (1) employed the public galley for private purposes, (2) permitted the export of corn, though the supply was deficient, (3) received presents.

arranged that the civil magistrates of Venice were never to interfere in military matters. Henceforth the symposion which was held at Negroponte in honour of a newly-appointed Bailo was to be held at the sole expense of Venice; the triarchs were no longer expected to contribute.

At this time Venice began to extend her citizenship to Euboian lords: Alessio de' Tiberti received it in 1361, Saracino de' Saracini in 1370. Moreover the position of the Jews was made less intolerable. They were relieved from some land-taxes, and the old custom of shutting them up in the Ghetto on Good Friday was discontinued. A Jew named Moses was state physician.

As for the little settlement at Ptelion in Thessaly, its population was mainly Greek, and the chief danger which threatened it at this time was the hostilities of the Albanese, who were settled in Thessaly, and were soon after this destined to spread southwards, and in the beginning of the next century to repopulate Euboia. Ptelion was governed by a rettore, but it devolved upon the Bailo of Euboia to have an eye to its wellbeing.

The constant raids of the Turks tended to depopulate Euboia, and in the years 1379—1381 Venice was unable to watch as carefully over its interests as usual owing to the great Genoese war, which culminated in the blockade of Venice and the unexpected victory of Chioggia, with which Carlo Zeno, who had been Bailo of Euboia two years before, will always be associated. The apple of discord which led to this war was the small but important island of Tenedos, which commands the entrance to the Dardanelles. Andronikos, the rebellious son of the Emperor Joannes V., handed it over to the Genoese, who supported him in ascending the throne; but the Venetians adhered to the old emperor, and the governor of Tenedos admitted a Venetian garrison. In 1381 the Peace of Turin concluded the war, and one of the provisions was that Tenedos should be surrendered to Genoa. But a Venetian individual, Pantaleone Barbo, who had received the post of Bailo of Constantinople, induced the captain of the garrison to refuse to give up the place. The prompt action of Genoa in confiscating the goods of Florentine citizens who were security for the fulfilment of the terms of the Peace, constrained them to proceed against its captain as an enemy. He was obliged to capitulate (1383); the fortress was raized to the ground, the island became a desert, and the inhabitants were transferred, some to Crete, others to the neighbourhood of Karystos in Euboia, where they were treated with consideration.

After the Peace of Turin the troops in Euboia were disbanded, the salary of the rettore of Ptelion was lowered, and Venice entertained ideas of destroying the castle of Larmena, which she found very expensive. There seemed a prospect that the island would recover its prosperous condition.

§ 52. *Euboia becomes completely Venetian.*—In 1372 Nicolò dalle Carceri married Petronella Tocco, daughter of Leonardo Tocco, Duke of Leukadia Fiorenza, Nicolò's mother, had died in the preceding year, and he had become Duke of Naxos as well as Triarch of Euboia. While he resided in Negroponte and managed his property there himself, he employed his uncle, Januli Gozzadini, as his agent for the administration of the duchy. The marriage of

his stepsister Maria, the daughter of Fiorenza and Nicolò Spezzabanda, was now almost as much a matter of concern to the wideawake Republic of Venice as the marriage of her mother had been fifteen years before. The Bailo of Euboia, Bartolommeo Quirini, wooed her for his son with the consent of Nicolò dalle Carceri, but when the government of Venice heard of the affair the Bailo was punished. The husband whom Venice would have desired for Maria was Giorgio Ghisi, the son and heir of the Triarch Bartolommeo.

In 1383 an event occurred which introduced a change into the condition of Euboia—the death of Nicolò dalle Carceri. He was hunting in the island of Naxos, according to one account, when he was slain by Francesco Crispo, the proprietor of the barony of Astrofidis in Euboia; according to another account the deed was done within the walls of the city of Naxos itself. Crispo had married a niece of Carceri, Fiorenza Sanudo, the daughter of the Duke of Melos, and received that island as her dowry (1376). He reaped good fruit from his deed of violence. The islanders of the Archipelago elected him as their new duke, Nicolò having no legal issue; and Venice, which Nicolò had offended by his collusion with the Navarrese Company three years before, closed her eyes to the manner in which Nicolò had come by his death and supported Francesco, who respectfully asked for her recognition of his new title. Francesco also applied for a galley and provisions from Euboia, and proposed the marriage of his son with a daughter of the Doge, Antonio Venier. The family of the Crispi were Dukes of Naxos for one hundred and eighty years.

The death of the Triarch—who possessed two Thirds of the island—without heirs was a very favourable opportunity for Venice. She took, however, no sudden measure, but proceeded with the greatest caution. The Bailo received orders to sequestrate the Barony of Oreos for Maria Sanudo of Andros, the step-sister of the deceased, whose marriage was now of far greater consequence, and to convey her to Euboia or Crete, lest she should take a step without the concurrence of Venice. The Republic desired to place all the Lombard lords in the position of vassals to herself as mistress of the whole island. To do this without the consent of the Emperor of Romania, Jacob de Baux, would have been theoretically a breach of the feudal organisation, dating from 1204; it would have been an unwarrantable violence. In theory the Triarchs were still vassals of the Prince of Achaia, though the relation had long ceased to have any practical import. Therefore a Venetian noble, Giovanni Sorango, was selected to apply to the Emperor for the grant of the two Thirds of Euboia of the dalle Carceri (formerly of the da Verona) in fief. But just at this juncture the last titular Latin Emperor of Constantinople died, so that no theoretical bond restrained the action of Venice any longer.

Others as well as Venice had their eyes on the Euboian fiefs. The triarch Bartolommeo Ghisi applied for them to the Baili Coccarelli, as the representative of Jacob de Baux; and a relation of the dalle Carceri, one Januli d'Anoe, claimed a share of the spoil. But though Ghisi went in person to Venice, and was treated with friendship, his application was not

entertained. It was not till 1385 that one Third was conceded to Maria Sanudo and the other to Januli d'Anoe—to both as vassals of Venice. We hear that Maria Sanudo granted the castle and village of Larachi to her relation, Filippo Sanudo. The widow of Nicolò dalle Carceri, Petronella Jocco, received Lipsos (Aidepsos) and Litadha in north Euboia; she afterwards married Nicolò Venier, the son of the Doge.

In the following year, 1386, the barony of Karystos was rented to three brothers, Michele, Andrea, and Giovanni Giustiniani. Since its acquisition by Venice in 1365 the fortress had been allowed to fall into decay, as the expenses of maintaining it were found too heavy, and the plan of renting it to private individuals was adopted, but did not benefit the place much, as the Giustiniani did not keep it in better repair.

Thus in 1385 two Thirds of Euboia, as well as the barony of Karystos, had passed into the hands of Venice, and of the old Terzieri there only remained Bartolommeo Ghisi III., who probably died about this time. As he left only a son of minor age, Giorgio, and as Giorgio died in 1390, bequeathing his possessions to Venice—probably under Venetian pressure—we may set down 1385 as the year in which a wholly Venetian sway succeeded to the joint sway of the Venetians and Lombards.

One of the first acts of Venice, now that she had a free hand in Euboian affairs, was to relieve the Greek clergy from a tax which they had been compelled to pay to the Latin patriarch, who was also the Bishop of Negroponte.

At about the same time that Euboia became Venetian, Venice was fortunate enough to make another acquisition also. In 1386 she won Corfù, which was as important to her in the Ionian Sea as Euboia in the Aegean.

III.

(1385—1470.)

§ 53. *The Euboian vassals of Venice*, 1385—1470.—Venice thought it expedient to publish a proclamation that claimants to the Third of Euboia, which Giorgio Ghisi bequeathed, along with Tenos and Mykonos to the Republic in 1390, should apply to the Bailo. No one apparently applied.[1] It was decided in 1392, at the express wish of the inhabitants of Tenos and Mykonos, that those islands should not be sold, but an Euboian governor should be appointed for them annually.[2] It is worth noting that these two islands were the last possessions of Venice in the Aegean, not passing to the Turks until the Treaty of Passarovitz in 1718. 'Many remains,' says Hopf, 'of Venetian dominion and Venetian life have maintained themselves to the present day in Tinos; not only does the whole form (*Typus*) of the town, and even the church of Madonna Panagia, which was built only in our own time, suggest Venice, but still more the remarkable, genuinely Venetian urbanity of

[1] A pretender appeared in 1416, but his claims were rejected.

[2] A different arrangement was made some years later.

the whole population.' In regard to the Third of the Ghisi Venice did not act in the same way as it acted in regard to the other two Thirds. The will of Giorgio and the fact that no claimant pressed his rights seemed to give more unrestricted powers to Venice. No lord or lady with the semblance, though without the real or nominal independence, of a Triarch was invested with this Third. It seems to have been divided into a number of small fiefs, whose holders obtained their investiture directly from the Bailo.

Januli d'Anoe was succeeded in his Third by his son Nicolò in 1394, who was followed in direct line by Januli II., 1426; Gioffredo, 1434; Januli III., 1447—1470.

The Third which had been granted Maria Sanudo, and was at first disputed by Nicolò dalle Carceri's widow, Petronella Tocco, was managed for her by Filippo Sanudo, lord of Larachi, who was made châtelain of Oreos by Venice in 1416. Maria married Gasparo Sommaripa, and her son Crusino Sommaripa succeeded to her Third in 1426. She had transferred to him the islands Paros and Antiparos in 1414. He was not however formally invested with the Euboian fief by Venice until 1433 (Aug. 27). He died in 1462, and was succeeded by his son Nicolò, who retained the Third until the Turkish occupation, 1470.

According to the explanation of the distribution of the Thirds which I put forward in the first part of this paper (vol. vii. p. 323), the two Thirds of Nicolò dalle Carceri must have consisted of the central Third, of one Sixth in the north, and one Sixth in the south. The question arises as to how this property was divided between Januli d'Anoe and Maria Sanudo. In the first place it is clear that Maria Sanudo received the northern Sixth, for the Bailo sequestrated the barony of Oreos after Nicolò's death in her interest, and all the details we have point to this. In the second place we might naturally expect that instead of reverting to the old arrangement that subsisted before Pietro dalle Carceri, by which the barony of Oreos went along with a Sixth in the south, and the central Third remained compact, Venice might divide the central Third and give the northern half, along with the barony of Oreos, to Maria, the southern half, along with the Sixth in south Euboia, to Januli d'Anoe. Thereby the great advantage of a continuous territory would be secured to Maria.

All we can be certain of is that Venice retained Oreos, Vallona, and other places in its own hands; that Larachi in central Euboia, near the Lelantine plain, belonged to the portion of Maria Sanudo, for we hear that she granted it to Filippo Sanudo.[1] Xilili, near Vallona, was also included in her inheritance, as it is mentioned expressly in the grant to Crusino Sommaripa in 1433, as well as Litadha (Lithada) and half of Larachi. One feels inclined to identify Vallona with Avalona, and recognise in it the modern Avlonari (*αὐλωνάριον*, from *αὐλών*, 'defile, glen,' apparently). If this be so Venice, in making the new divisions, does not seem to have followed the old landmarks, but to have treated the two Thirds as a collection of disjointed fiefs, and so

[1] After his death it was granted to Pietro Zeno of Andros.

parcelled them out to Maria and Januli, perhaps in not very equal portions. Lipsos was added to the possessions of Sommaripa in 1442.

As for Karystos, Michele Giustiniani died in 1402, and as his two brothers, the co-tenants, were both dead before 1406, Venice invested with it Nicolò Giorgio, who afterwards became margrave of Bodonitza.[1] In 1436 we learn that his rent was lowered from 1337 to 737 hyperpers, because the plague had devastated his property in 1432. On his part he undertook to keep Pantelene in an efficient state of defence. But he died in the same year, and his son, Jacopo Marchesotto, received the investiture, and held the place until 1447, when he was succeeded by his son Antonio, who was driven out by the Turks in 1470.

There was a village in Euboia called li Zeppi, or Ychiptos, which belonged to Nicolò Venier, who married Petronella Tocco, and in 1403 he received permission to build a tower there. Through his influence Venice forced Maria Sanudo to pay Petronella 6000 ducats as widow's portion, threatening to seize Larachi if she refused. Petronella died before 1411, and in that year Venier married a daughter of Maffeo Premarini—one of the Premarini of Keos—who had been appointed captain of Vallona in 1401, and had that office secured to him for life in 1413.[2]

The usual term of the leases granted by Venice was twenty-nine years. For example in 1408 Guglielmazzo della Gronda received la Vathia on this condition, and in 1437 when the lease expired he met with a refusal when he wished to renew it, because he had been remiss in paying the rent which amounted to 2,000 hyperpers. La Vathia lay about two hours to the south of Eretria on the road to Karystos; a village still remains called Vátheia (see Baedeker's *Griechenland*), and there are remains of medieval chapels in the neighbourhood. Venice granted the place to Nikolaos Plati, in preference to della Gronda, but when the latter strongly protested he was allowed to renew his lease in 1438. This led to a counter protest on the part of Plati; and the consequence was that it was again given to him in 1444. Guglielmazzo was dead, but his son Jacopo protested again, and the Bailo was enjoined to investigate the rights of the case in 1445. As Plati's solvency proved also not altogether satisfactory, the place was finally granted to Jacopo della Gronda in 1450.

Many members of noble Venetian families lived in Euboia at this period. Morosinis, Veniers, Premarinis held fiefs. There were the Giustinianis and the da Canales. Pietro da Canale married Nicoletta Venier and obtained Vumi (? Kumi), in the tenure whereof he was succeeded by his son and his grandson, of whom the latter, Pietro, married Fiorenza Premarini and was made Bailo of Korfù in 1475. Donato Giustiniani (1376—1411) won Stura by marrying a Euboian lady named Cristina; and his son and grandson held it after him. The family of Moro was also Venetian. Jacopo Marchesotto

[1] His father Francesco Giorgio had possessions in Euboia.

[2] Vallona was an important fortress for the defence of the island. The captain of Vallona used to reside in la Kuppa. Maffeo was probably succeeded in the post by his son Tommaso 1436—1460, and his grandson Antonio.

of Karystos, whom we mentioned above, married the daughter of Antonio Moro in 1431.

Nor were all the branches of the Lombard and other Italian families which had come to Euboia in the thirteenth century extinct. There were the Saracini, of whom Nerio Acciajuoli chose a daughter for his bride. There were the Scolos, the Francos, the Bertis, and others. There were Greek families also. A Greek nobleman Agapito had a tower at Lithada. A place called S. Giovanni delle Finice near Vallona was in the hands of Peruli de Lisauria and his son Polimeno.

§ 54. *Venetian Rule in Negroponte.*—Among the Venetian authorities themselves in Euboia things did not always go smoothly. Gabrieli Emo the Bailo of Negroponte from 1391 to 1393 was in constant feud with his councillors, who accused him of designs of making himself lord of Euboia. Both he and they were condemned in 1394. It is remarkable that in 1399 the salary of the Bailo was temporarily raised in order to procure the services of a specially able man, in view of the hostilities which subsisted then with Antonio Duke of Athens.

Many changes and improvements were made about this time. An arsenal was constructed at Negroponte in 1388, so that Euboia had no longer to rely entirely on the arsenal of Crete, from which it had been necessary to procure whatever vessels were required. Joannes Philopagios who could read and write Latin and Greek excellently was appointed interpreter at Negroponte in 1390, as the intercourse with the Greeks had increased.

The Jews had rapidly increased in Euboia, and had gradually acquired a very large portion of landed property, so that Venice felt some alarm at their growth and did not wish to encourage them. Citizenship was not granted to them. In 1399 they were forbidden to exact interest higher than 12 per cent. In 1410 the tax of 500 hyperpers which was levied on them was raised to 1,000. On the other hand, their privileges were renewed in 1440, and in 1452 as Jews of Oreos and Karystos complained of persecution, it was commanded that equal justice should be dealt to Jews as to Christians, and at the same time the custom of selecting the executioner from the Jews was abolished.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century the Albanese colonisation began, for the population had dwindled and demanded to be replenished. Grants of land and freedom from taxes were held out as lures to Albanese immigrants. At the same time the *καπνικὸν* or hearth-tax (50 soldi) was abolished, as it was found so oppressive that more than a hundred families had left or intended to leave the island. The requisition of military service in defence of the island from males over eighteen years was substituted for the tax. It is interesting to note that it was discovered in 1415 that the receipts derived from Negroponte by the Venetian exchequer were nearly 10,000 hyperpers less than the expenditure, and therefore a part of the mercenary forces were dismissed.

Purple fisheries flourished at this time in the neighbourhood of Chalkis (which some have wished to connect with *κάλχη*), and a law was passed in

1410 forbidding stones to be broken in those parts of the Euripos where these fisheries were carried on. In the same year the Euripos was dredged and deepened at the cost of the population of Negroponte.

In 1413 Polimeno de Lisauria presented a petition to Venice on behalf of the Euboian vassals; and she promised to inforce no new burden, to govern justly and provide diligently for the defence of the island.

About the year 1420 a commission of citizens was appointed to examine the Assizes of Romania. It was not until 1451 that two copies were presented to the Venetian Senate, one of which consisted of the original 147 titles, while the other contained also thirty-seven more with special reference to the relations of Euboia. When Archbishop Nicolaos Protimo (the Protimos were a Euboian family) had compared the copies, they were confirmed by the Senate in 1452. It was late in the day to provide an accurate code for the administration of justice: Negroponte was taken by the Turks only eighteen years later.

§ 55. *Hostilities with the Duke of Athens and the Despot of Mistra.*— For nearly a hundred years after it had become part of the dominion of Venice, the island of Euboia remained in her hands before passing to the Ottoman Sultan. The history of this time is only a record of measures taken for defence against the continual menaces or actual depredations of the Turks, and of negotiations with the other Christian powers in Greece to whose system Euboia belonged, namely the Acciajuoli of Athens, the Navarrese and the Greeks of the Peloponnesos.

In the same year in which the new order of things in Euboia began, Rainerio Acciajuoli achieved his project of displacing the Spanish rule in Attika and becoming Duke himself. He had hardly established himself in the duchy when Venice sent a certain Dr. Giovanni Alberti to remonstrate with him for allowing Turkish corsairs which plundered Euboia to find harbourage in Megara.[1] Rainerio had not yet consolidated his dominions, and his temporary weakness, not ill-will to Venice, was the cause of his unresisting reception of the Turkish pirates.

He undertook to maintain a ship for the defence of Euboia as well as of his own property and even offered to place it under the command of a Venetian; and not long afterwards he and the Bailo won a considerable naval victory over the Turks. But a few years later Nerio was again suspected of dealings with the infidels; he did not offer any opposition to the invasion of the Morea[2] by Evrenos Begri, 1388.

A new set of complications now ensued, in which Euboia was entangled. Although Nerio had driven from Athens and Thebes the Catalans who were

[1] In the years 1382—3 the Turks depredated his Corinthian territory and he was led to apply to the Bailo of Euboia for a galley, for which he consented to pay 8,000 ducats a year. This was supplied to him 1383 from the arsenal of Crete. Note that the annual rent of a galley was much larger than the purchase price of a strong castle like Karystos.

[2] In regard of this invasion Venice formed a plan of organising an anti-Turkish coalition. But as the Servians diverted the attention of Murâd from Morea for the time, the project was not prosecuted.

the old enemy of the Navarrese, he did not on that account win the goodwill of the latter, who were now the strongest power in Morea. They had attacked Attika once themselves with intent to enter in and possess, and that fruitless attempt seemed to them a title to the Duchy. Nerio, aware of the unfriendly feelings and designs of Peter of S. Superan, naturally allied himself with Theodoros, the Despot of Mistra, the rival of the Navarrese in the Peloponnesos, to whom he gave his younger daughter Bartolommea in marriage.

This alliance involved Nerio in hotilities with Venice, and drove Venice to the alliance of the Navarrese.

The occasion of this complication was the death of Pietro Comaro, lord of Argos and Nauplion. Neither the lordship of Nerio Acciajuoli, their neighbour on one side, nor that of Theodoros, their neighbour on the other, were acceptable to the people of those places, and they were afraid lest either one or the other should take advantage of the unprotected condition of the land and the young widow of Pietro, Maria d' Enghien. And so, to escape the possibility of Greek or Florentine rule, they placed themselves under the protection of the lion of San Marco. Venice was pleased with the chance of securing Nauplion, a very favourable position for promoting her power in the Morea; and it would be a serious matter if Acciajuoli, more than suspected of unhallowed dealings with the infidels, were allowed to extend his already too large dominion. At the end of 1388 a decree was passed in the Senate, resolving to take possession of Nauplion and buy the barony of Maria d'Enghien, for which she and her heirs should receive 500 ducats a year, she herself moreover in addition to this should receive 200 a year, and should have the right of disposing of 2,000 in her will: on her part she was required to promise to marry none but a Venetian.

In the meantime Theodoros occupied Argos and refused to give it up. Early in 1389 Perazzo Malipiero was sent from Venice to the East in the capacity of proveditore of Argos and Nauplion, with directions to apply for assistance to the Navarrese, to the archbishop of Patras, to the Slavic races of Maina, in case Theodoros should persist in retaining Argos, now the legitimate possession of Venice. Nerio Acciajuoli, though he was an adopted citizen of Venice, supported and encouraged his ally Theodoros; and we have the curious spectacle of the Greek despot refusing to give up the place without the consent of the Ottoman Sultan Murâd. All commercial relations were immediately suspended between the Venetian settlements in the East and the lands of Nerio and Theodoros. The bridge of Chalkis, connecting Attika and Euboia, was closed. Mistra and Athens no longer received iron from Modone and Korone. The figs and raisins of Attika found no market in Euboia.

In the summer a new turn was given to the situation. The wily San Superan beguiled the Duke of Athens into his clutches and placed him in confinement. The next months were occupied with attempts to obtain his release, for which purpose his friends and relatives moved heaven and earth. His wife Agnese Saracino, Cardinal Angelo Acciajuoli, the Despot Theodoros,

his native city Florence, the Pope himself interceded with Venice to induce her to intercede with San Superan. Venice would do nothing until Argos were surrendered; on the other hand (1390) she concluded a treaty with the Navarrese. We need not follow the ins and outs of the negotiations which ended in the release of Nerio on certain conditions; of which the most important were the transference of Megara to Venice and the engagement to try to induce Theodoros to surrender Argos. The first of these was carried out; and the second also was fulfilled but without effect. The bridge of Negroponte was reopened and the trade with Attika renewed.

It was not until 1394 that Theodoros consented to give up the apple of discord to Venice. The position of Theodoros had become precarious on account of the rebellious spirit of the Greek archons, and this induced him to be more yielding. In the meantime Rainerio remained on good terms with Venice until his death which took place in 1394. He died soon after he had formally received the title of Duke, which he had from the first usurped, from King Ladislas of Naples who considered himself the rightful Prince of Achaia. At the same time Ladislas released him from the relation of vassaldom in which the Duchy of Athens and Neopatrai stood to the Principality of Achaia.

In his will Nerio left the city of Athens to the Church of our Lady on the Acropolis—the Parthenon had been turned to this use—and placed the church of Athens under the protection of Venice. It was a very unique testament.

§ 56. *Venetian occupation of Attika.*—Two and a half years before the death of Nerio the Turks again threatened Attika and Euboia. The islands of the Aegean were plundered, and in May 1393 Evrenos Bey entered Attika and forced Nerio to pay tribute to the Sultan. Nerio sent a messenger to Venice, and Venice sent him on to the Pope, and the Pope preached a crusade against the Turks, especially those who had taken up their abode in the dominions of the Duke of Athens. When Nerio died, the Turks seized the opportunity to occupy Athens. Evrenos himself passed southwards into the Peloponnesos to assist his Navarrese allies, but the 'City of the Philosophers,' as it is called by the Turkish writers who inform us of this fact, was taken and plundered by Timur-Tasch, at the instance and under the guidance of the Greek archbishop of Athens, Makarios, who was afterwards punished for his treachery by Venice. The Acropolis was defended by a brave garrison but could not hold out long without assistance. A deputation was sent to the Bailo of Euboia, begging him to occupy Athens on behalf of Venice, to whose protection the late Duke had recommended it. Andrea Bembo, the Bailo, acceded to the entreaty and soon after the beginning of 1395 we find that the Turks were no longer in the city.

Venice organised an administration for Athens under a podestà and a captain. The first podestà was Albano Contarini.[1] Money was provided and

[1] The Venetian podestàs of Athens were—A. Contarini, 1395—1397, Lorenzo Vitturi, 1397—1399, Ermolao Contarini, 1399—1400, Nicolò Vitturi 1400—1402.

men were enlisted for the defence of Attika and Euboia against the Ottoman invasions, which were all the more certain, as the bastard Antonio Acciajuoli who succeeded his father Nerio in Boeotia, and desired to succeed him in Attika also, entered into a league with Evrenos Bey for the purpose of expelling the Venetian protectorate. In 1402 he succeeded in this design. Fifty knights of Euboia had ridden to the rescue, but in vain, and before June the city, all but the Acropolis, was in the hands of Antonio. Venice resorted to the expedient of gaining help from the Turks, but just at that time the attention of Bajesid had been diverted from European affairs by the Mongolian danger in Asia. The battle of Angora in the same year relieved for a while the Latin and Romaic states of Greece from the suspended sword of the unbeliever.

§ 57. *Antonio Acciajuoli.*—The loss of Attika, which it had held for seven years, appeared very serious to the Venetian senate; it trembled for the safety of the beloved Euboia. A resolution was passed to take the most active measures to succour the Podestà Vitturi who still held the Acropolis and pursue Antonio to the death into his own country. It was dangerous that Boeotia should be in the hands of a man as unscrupulous as he in his dealings with the Turks. The sum of 3,000 ducats was given to the Bailo of Euboia to execute these decisions, and a price was set on the head of Antonio. But unfortunately the Bailo hastened to act before he received the commands and assistance of the home government, and with all the forces he could master invaded Attika. He fell into an ambush and was taken prisoner. T. Mocenigo, who was appointed Bailo in his place, was instructed to treat with the Bastard, but he refused all terms and after a siege of seventeen months Vitturi pressed by starvation was constrained to surrender the Acropolis.

In the meantime Pietro Zeno, the lord of Andros, a very dexterous diplomatist, had proceeded on behalf of Venice to the court of Suleiman at Hadrianople to obtain his intervention with Antonio for the restitution of Athens, and also to arrange that the Republic should receive the district of Oropos and Lykonia opposite Negroponte. In spite of opposition on the part of Evrenos Bey, the dexterity of Zeno brought about a peace between the Porte, the Emperor Manuel and Venice; and the Sultan consented to the restitution of Athens and the Venetian tenure of Oropos and Lykonia.

The restitution of Athens, however, was not realised. The Bailo of Euboia continued the hostilities, and at the same time negotiations went on; but an arrangement was finally made that Antonio was to remain in possession of Athens, but as the vassal of Venice, in token of which relation he was to send every Christmas-day a pallium for St. Mark with 100 ducats.

In 1406 complaints were made that the pallium had not been sent and that Lykonia and Oropos had not been surrendered. A new treaty was made in August 1407 to the effect that the fortresses in Lykonia were to remain in Antonio's possession, while the land was to be handed over to Venice.

Euboians who had fiefs in Lykonia were to owe no duties to Antonio; Euboians who had fiefs in other parts of Attika were not to be liable to personal service.

After this peace the Venetians of Euboia had rest as far as their Attic neighbours were concerned for many years, and Athens recovered a portion of its prosperity under the enlightened Florentine sway of Antonio, who was a lover and patron of the fine arts, so that Nicolò Machiavelli who resided there or some time could write of it with enthusiasm as the fairest land in the world. We are involuntarily reminded, by contrast, of the depressing picture that Bishop Synesius of Kyrene drew of its desolate and dreary appearance at the beginning of the fifth century.

§ 58. *Turkish Hostilities.*—The land of Jacopo Giorgio III., Margrave of Bodonitza, was exposed to frequent Turkish inroads, and he obtained leave from Venice in 1408 to transfer his people to Karystos in Southern Euboia, which his brother Nicolò held in fief from the Republic. In 1410 Musa, the successor of Suleiman sent an army against Bodonitza; Jacopo was slain after a brave defence and the castle was dismantled. His son Nicolò was carried off to the Sultan's seraglio, and his brother Nicolò of Karystos, assuming the title of Margrave, crossed from Euboia where he resided and put the dismantled fortress into a tolerable state of defence, the Turks having in the meantime proceeded against the Catalan lord of Salona.

In the following year, 1411, a treaty was struck between Musa and Venice. The terms were that Venice was not to be required to pay tribute to the Porte for Lykonia and Ptelion, while a definite tribute was fixed for Albania, Lepanto and Patras. The boy, Nicolò Giorgio, was liberated; he was afterwards appointed châtelain of Ptelion 1433—41. In the meantime the other Nicolò Giorgio, his uncle, who was not obliged to give up the title of Margrave when his nephew reappeared, was in an unenviable situation at Bodonitza. In 1412 he sent the Bishop of Thermopylai to beg for reinforcements from Euboia, and to allow him to bring back the people who had left Bodonitza for the shelter of Karystos. Venice relieved his distressed circumstances by reducing the rent of Karystos from 350 to 300 ducats. Some years later it was reduced to 250. The baronies and fiefs of Euboia were becoming less valuable every year as the encroachments of the Turks in Europe increased.

Mohammed succeeded Musa in 1413,[1] and the first years of his reign were marked by hostilities to Venice. In 1414 a Turkish fleet plundered Euboia and then proceeded against Bodonitza, which was taken and laid in ruins. The Margrave was carried off to Hadrianople, and 1,800 inhabitants were enslaved. The intervention of Venice secured Nicolò's release in the following year. Again in 1415 Euboia, as well as the Kyklades, was again laid waste, but this time Attika suffered most, as Duke Antonio had neglected to pay his tribute, and the assistance rendered by Negroponte to her

[1] A decree was passed in 1413 forbidding the cultivation of the district of Lykonia, which was to be held purely as a military position.

neighbour did not help much. But the position was changed in 1416 by a great naval victory which the Venetian captain Pietro Loredano gained over the Turks at Kallipolis. This forced Mohammed to yield to the demands of Venice, namely to liberate 1,400 Euboians whom his fleet had carried off, to restore Bodonitza to the Margrave, to evacuate the parts of Athens which he still occupied. As for the restoration of Bodonitza, it was of little consequence to either Mohammed or Nicolò: the latter finding that the rebuilding would cost too much retired to Karystos where he enjoyed his estates and the title of Margrave.

The depredatory expeditions of 1415 inflicted severe blows on several districts of the island. Although only 1,400 persons were demanded from Mohammed, it was said that more than 1,500 souls were carried off from Lipsos, Lithada, and Jalitra alone—Lipsos and Lithada being entirely laid waste. After the peace these two places were strongly fortified, and a short time afterwards Turkish slaves were employed to build a rampart round Oreos. Many Euboians fled to Thessalonika in fear of the Turkish marauders.

The Turk was not the only enemy. A virulent plague, which broke out at the same time, decimated the inhabitants who escaped the sword or the chain of the infidel. Another natural calamity befell the island in 1418, an earthquake which overthrew castles. For some years after this, although the Euboians were in constant apprehension of the Turks and Venice made frequent preparations of defence, no pillaging descents of any gravity seem to have taken place until 1426, in the February of which year 700 islanders were borne away in Turkish vessels. The castles of Euboia were then put in a state of defence, and 200 mercenaries were hired. Styra[1] and la Kuppa seem to have been places on which special reliance was placed. In 1430 Venice lost Thessalonika which she had held for seven years (since 1423), and this seemed to increase the danger of Negroponte. Polimeno de Lisauria (whom we have already met as the bearer of a petition from the islanders to Venice), represented to the Senate how serious the danger really was. In consequence of his explanations, measures were taken to strengthen the walls and forts of Negroponte.

But after the year 1430, although now and then the islanders were seized with a sudden attack of Turkophobia and alarm prevailed for a while, the people on the whole had rest for more than thirty years. The cultivation of corn, which had sunk very low, revived, and we learn that in 1439 a certain Torrandi was commissioned by the Knights of St. John to buy up from ten to twenty thousand bushels of corn in Euboia. At about the same time another earthquake dealt a great misfortune by overthrowing the strong castle of Vallona.

It was only a short and partial revival of prosperity however that was secured to Euboia by immunity from Turkish inroads; and long before the island was again exposed to the hostility of the Sultan its condition began

[1] Styra was called Potiri. It was held at this time by Antonio Giustiniani.

to decline. The want of money, which caused continual applications to the Venetian treasury, is a sure sign of this. In 1452 the archbishop Protimo of Athens implored the Senate to allow the taxes of four years to be paid by the Euboians in ten years, on account of their impoverished condition.

Venice hardly regarded the capture of Constantinople in 1453 as a really critical point in the great contest of the Europeans against the Moslem. For in 1450 she already looked upon the city of the Roman Emperors as doomed, and ceased to concern herself with it. In 1454 a treaty was made between the Republic and Mohammed, but it was plain that there would soon be war to the knife for the Venetian possessions in the Aegean. Of these Euboia was the most important, and the Sultan could not allow that island to remain under any lordship but his own. The struggle was postponed for some years. Mohammed had much to occupy him in Asia, and in Europe George Kastriota, the hero of the Albanians (Skander Beg), opposed the progress of the unbelievers and defended the independence of his countrymen with so much energy,—supported by the Pope, by the king of Naples, and by Venice—that the main strength of the Turks was directed against him. His death in 1468 left the hands of Mohammed free to deal with Negroponte and the other Venetian cities in the lands of Romania, that had not already submitted to his sway.

Lemnos was abandoned to the Turks in 1465, and the islanders were allowed to find a home in Euboia. At the same time the Bailo made a truce with the Sultan, agreeing to pay tribute for Negroponte. Vettore Capello was sent to the Eastern seas in 1466, and he occupied the islands of Imbros, Thasos, and Samothrake. Jacopo Loredano succeeded him as commander of the fleet, and contented himself with remaining in the neighbourhood of Negroponte and Ptelion to protect those places. Nicolò Canale replaced him in 1468, and in the following year, like a presage of the coming storm, the southern parts of Euboia were laid waste by a descent of the Turks.

Venice now began to prepare in earnest for a hard fight over her chief ὁρμητήριον in the East. Rhodes, Chios, Cyprus, Charles of Burgundy were appealed to for assistance, and Canale was bidden to save the island at any cost.

§ 59. *Siege and capture of Negroponte.*—The history of the siege of Negroponte is a study in itself and might well be made the subject of a separate essay. As there are several accounts of it which I have not been able to consult, it appears best to give the narration in the words of one of our sources, and to add notes of comparison with other accounts. For this purpose I have chosen the French relation published by M. P. Paris in his *Les MSS. françois de la bibliothèque du roi*, which is itself a translation from the Latin of Jacopo della Castellana. I subjoin notes indicating points of difference from or agreement with Sanudo (in his *Vite de Duchi di Venezia*), with the continuation of the Bologna Chronicle of the Minorite Bartolommeo della Pugliola, and with Navagero (*Storia Veneziana*).

'On the 5th of June, 1470, the Turks started from Constantinople

against the armament of the Venetians, to wit 300 sail proceeding against Nygrepont, among which there were 100 large galleys as well as light galleys and bombships.[1] But the army of the Venetians was in the place called Tenando.[2] Likewise on the 8th day of the said month, the armament of the aforesaid Turk went to the island of Limbro[3] and made a circuit of it and attacked the castles, and in fact took one of them, whereof a certain Messire Marchis Janny was ruler and governor, who immediately was cruelly tortured and ill treated along with three of his companions by the infidels.

'Moreover on the 10th day of the same month the armament of the Turk proceeded to the island called Distilinium,[4] whereof a certain Messire Antoine de Jacoppe was ruler and governor, and then he besieged a castle named Polycastre and abode there five days and five nights, and nevertheless he could not take it nor gain possession of it.

'Moreover on the 15th day of the same month the armament of the Turk moved to the island of Schiro, and in effect burnt all the burg[5] and set fire thereto; but all the time they could not take the castle.

'Moreover on the 25th day of the same month the armament of the Turk moved and sailed to the columns[6] of the aforesaid place, Nygrepont, and anchored at the Bridge of S. Marc; and the same day the Turk arrived with 300,000 men, not including the men of the armament who numbered 60,000. And finally the Turk caused a bridge[7] to be made from the mainland of his territory to the island of Nygrepont, which bridge was 150 paces long and forty paces broad; over which passed the Turk, along with his son and with Bastian de Romania and all their army and company.[8]

[1] Sanudo gives 108 galleys, 60 *palandarie*, and the rest *fuste*. The *fusta* was a light galley, the *palandaria* or *palandra* a bombship.

[2] Tenedos. The Venetian fleet consisted of thirty-five ships according to Sanudo, thirty-three according to Bologna Chronicle.

[3] Imbros, called by Bologna Chronicle *Mambro*. The initial letter of Limbro is of course the article. Marchis Janny is called by Sanudo Marco Zontani.

[4] That is Lemnos, called by Sanudo *Stalimne*. The corruption seems to have arisen from the Greek ἐς τὴν Λῆμνον. The prefixed syllable *Di* may have come from Italian *di*. The dates of our sources here do not agree. Bologna Chronicle states that the Turks went to Schiro on the 10th, and does not mention the attempt on Lemnos: Sanudo states that thay proceeded to Stalimne ('*antiquitus* Polycastro') on the 8th, and fought there five days in vain. We might attempt to reconcile Sanudo and our French relation by supposing that the former gives the date of departure for a place, the latter the date of the arrival at a place; but this supposition does little good. For while according to Sanudo and the Bologna Chronicle the Turks arrived in Negroponte on the 15th, according to the French narrative they only arrived at Skyros on that day, and did not reach Euboia till the 25th. We must accept the dates of the former authorities. Imbros was attacked on the 5th, Lemnos on the 8th, Skyros on the 10th, and Negroponte reached on the 15th.

[5] Bologna Chronicle 'fecero abbrucciare il Borgo.

[6] Bologna Chronicle 'andarono a Negroponte dal lato delle colonne e scorsero al Ponte di San Marco.' The sailing line of Turkish vessels stretched from six to eight miles (Sanudo).

[7] It was a bridge of *palandarie*. Navagero 'E dopo di avere.....fatte strascinare per terra miglia tre quarantecinque corpi di Palandarie, sopro le quali fu fatto un ponte'...*Strascinare per terra*, means that he had them dragged along the Boeotian coast on the mainland for three miles. (Compare the operation at the siege of Constantinople, 1453.).

[8] Bastian is called Bassà by Sanudo and Bologna Chronicle. Only half the army passed over to the island: 'con la metà del suo esercito' (Bologna Chronicle).

Now this Bastian de Romania was a great captain of the army and company of the Grand Turk. And the pavilion-tent of the Grand Turk was red, of crimson silk; which he caused to be placed and set up under Sainte Clare; and there likewise he caused to be fixed and collocated a great bombard, which hurled and transmitted its bolt against the gate of Nygrepont called de Χρίστο. And he caused another bombard to be fixed and collocated under the forks or gibbet;[1] which likewise hurled its bolts against the same gate. And of a truth these bombards were so great and so huge that a man kneeling down and bent could find room in each. Moreover the aforesaid Captain, Bastian, set and pitched his tent or pavilion in the place of S. François, and it was white. And in the same place there were also three catapults,[2] which machines threw great stones in the air within the city and over its walls, to destroy totally and break in pieces the houses and inhabitants of that city. And the son of the Grand Turk put also his tent or pavilion in that place and in the calongriea;[3] this pavilion was of crimson silk. And in the furnaces were fixed and collocated two huge bombards, which cast their bolts against the gate of the Temple, from the mainland outside the island; and there were fixed and collocated there other bombards which shot their bolts against the Judeaca[4] and against the burg.

'Moreover on the 5th day of July,[5] the Grand Turk commanded that the island should be scoured by 300 horse; and they scoured it and totally destroyed and wasted it, and as many men and women as they found in it they put to death, except little children.[6]

'Moreover on the 7th day of the same month, the Grand Turk caused the ditches of the said city to be filled with faggots and the dead bodies of men and beasts, and after that he set about beginning battle. And then straightway the men of Nygrepont engaged in battle with the Turks and infidels, and set fire to the gunpowder and the sulphur, so that they burned and consumed 16,000 men, if not more,[7] along with forty galleys which had been drawn up on land by engines.

'Moreover on the 8th day of the same month,[8] they fought a second battle, and then the military garrison of the city, in order to deceive the Turks and infidels, made a banner like that of the Turks and set it on the wall of the city. And then the infidels believed they had gained the city and subjected all unto themselves, and so without mandate and in disorder they

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[1] *Gibbet ou forches.*

[2] *Mortez ou trabuchiés.*

[3] That is, the monastery (καλογήρως, a monk) Chronicle Bologna, 'E il suo bassà messe il suo paviglione a San Francesco, e il figliuolo alloggiò alle calonze di San Francesco.' Sanudo, 'il Bassà a san Francesco e il figliuolo del signore alla Callogrea.'

[4] The Jews' quarter (called below Judée, Zoecca or Zuecca in Italian) was on the southern side of the Kastro, to the north of which lay and lies still the rest of the town. Bologna Chronicle gives the number of these last mentioned bombards: 'E in terra firma avea dieci bombarde grosse che continuamente travano al Burchio e alla Zoecca.'

[5] On the 25th of June according to Bologna Chronicle, on which day also the first battle took place (cf. Sanudo).

[6] Bologna Chronicle, 'i giovani da quindici anni in giù.'

[7] 14,000 according to Bologna Chronicle.

[8] On June 30th according to Sanudo and Bologna Chronicle.

began to run, and all of them like beasts without forming in a body were routed, and killed to the number of 17,000 Turks and infidels.[1]

'Moreover on the 9th day of the same month[2] in the third battle 5,000 Turks and infidels were slain.

'Moreover on the 10th day of the same month[3] in the fourth battle 3,000 infidels or Turks were slain, and on the same day was discovered the treason of Messire Thomas Sayano[4] by his wife, and then the bailiff of the city caused him and his followers and assistants to be decapitated.

'Moreover on the 12th day, Thursday,[5] the Grand Turk caused all his army and armament to collect on the side and quarter of the city where the walls were broken by the bombards, to wit against Judée and the burg. And then he commenced the assault on the city about two hours before day, and on the side of the island he caused ditches to be filled with barrels and dead men, and bodies of dead horses,[6] and finally within two hours of the day they took the walls and about noon they took and held the city in their mastery, and put it to the sack.[7] And presently, Christian men and women whom they found therein, from fifteen years up inclusively, they slew,[8] and by various

[1] 16,000 only, Bologna Chronicle; but Sanuod gives only 16,000 as the total of killed in both the first and second battles together. Thirty Turkish galleys were sunk: Sanudo and Bologna Chronicle.

[2] On July 5th; Sanudo and Bologna Chronicle. As to the number slain Sanudo here agrees with the French relation, but Bologna Chronicle makes the number more than 15,000.

[3] The fourth battle took place on 8 July (Sanudo and Bologna Chronicle). 4000 slain (Bologna Chronicle): 15,000 (Sanudo).

[4] Tommaso Schiavo, 'capitano della fanteria de' Veneziani.' The discovery of his treason took place on July 5 according to Sanudo, but Bologna Chronicle agrees with the French relation that it was found out on the day of the fourth battle. It was not 'his wife' that was instrumental in discovering it; it was an old woman—'una femina vecchia' (Sanudo), 'una donna antica' (Bologna Chronicle). The mistake probably lies with the French translator, who interpreted *feminam* to mean 'wife,' when it was intended for 'woman.' As to the fate of the traitor, Bologna Chronicle states, 'il quel Tommaso fu tagliato a pezzi per le mani di Messire Aloisio Dolfino con tutte quelli che si trovarono nel detto trattato, che furono dodici uomini.' Thus his accomplices were twelve. Tommaso was then 'appiccato pe' piedi a' balconi del palazzo del Bailo.'

[5] On the 11th the Turks attacked the broken wall, 'dalla banda del Borgo della Zuecca, e con 10 bombarde tirò contro la terra, facendo empiere le fosse' (Sanudo). Bologna Chronicle fixes the time of the attack to 2 o'clock A.M. ('a ore due innanti dì')—the same time that the French account fixes for the attack on the 12th. The entry of the town on the 12th is fixed by Bologna Chronicle to 2 o'clock P.M., 'e i Turchi entrarono dentro à dì 12 à due ore di dì,' with which the statement of Sanudo sufficiently harmonises, that at 2 o'clock 'i Turchi diedero loro grande battaglia e generale ed entrarono nella terra,' &c. The French account has confused and run into one the events of the 11th and the 12th, as to which Bologna Chronicle and Sanudo are consonant.

[6] This filling up of the ditches took place on the 11th: cf. Bologna Chronicle, 'E fece empiere le fosse di botti con gran quantità di corpi morti e di fassine per tal modo che superchiavano le mura rotte della città.'

[7] Navagero mentions that before the final assault and success on July 12, the Sultan made known to his army his indignation that so many days had been spent in besieging one town: 'fatta prima una gagliarda querela contro il suo esercito che tanti giorni era stato alla espugnazione d'una sola città ed essendogli dalle gente sue esclamando risposto ch'egli comandassi che taglierebbono in pezzi i corpi loro co' quali farebbono un ponte per passare nella città,' &c. During the siege Mohammed made proposals to the Bailo, offering very favourable terms, large rewards to himself, 'e a que' della città esenzione dal carago per anni 10' (exemption from tribute for ten years).

[8] The Bailo, with a few others, retreated into the citadel after a brave defence, but yielded when Mohammed promised that his head should be safe ('di salvargli la testa'). Mohammed

most cruel tortures, incredible and inexaudible, they crucified and martyrised them, to constrain them to give up the Christian faith; and praise and gratitude is due to God for this, for there was no Christian person, even thus tortured, who for such pain would deny our Lord God Jesus Christ and the Catholic faith; but all died in the holy faith, for which we owe praise to God. And this done the Turk caused a muster to be held [1] of his Saracens and army in order that he might know how many people he had lost and what remnant of people remained to him. And in fact he found that about 40,000 Saracens were missing, who had died there. But of the Christians there were reckoned dead 30,000 men, both of those of the city [and] of all the island and of the fighting men.

'Of a truth an armament and company of Venetians was at the bridge Sainte Clare with forty-five galleys and twelve large ships; and the armament might have succoured the city, but the captain did not wish,[2] so that he did not give permission to four galleys of Cyprus and Candia, which he had taken by force and detained, with a great ship of Genoese which he had likewise taken.

'And when Nygrepont was taken, the following islands, castles, and towns surrendered; to wit, Limbro, Stalmino, Schiacto, Schopyno, Lafactileo, Landro, and Ficallo, which is on the mainland.[3] And after this arrived other letters of Venetians confirming the things told above, and furthermore narrating that after the destruction, above recounted, a large Genoese ship, under the safe conduct of the Grand Turk, had sailed to Nygrepont, which

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caused him to be cut in two, not thereby violating his promise, which was that his head, not his body, should be safe. This is related by Navagero, who thus describes the executions: 'A gli altri restati vivi fece proclamare esso signore sotto pena del palo che tutti gli fossero presentati. E secondo che gli venivano menati subito facea loro tagliare la testa, di modo che da quel furioso impeto non campò testa d'alcuna sorte, eccetto pochissime le quali con estremo periculo di chi le salvarono furono Salvate.' The most important of the slain were Paolo Erizzo the Bailo, Lionardo Calbo, Giovanni Bondiniaco. Bologna Chronicle is mistaken in making Erizzo the Bailo elect, and Calbo the Bailo in office.

[1] This took place on July 15th: Bologna Chronicle, and according to the same authority 35000 Turks were found dead in the city, so that the sum of the Turks slain in the fifth battle was 77,000 (? 83,000), and 6000 Christians were slain. These numbers agree with the statements of Sanudo.

[2] The do-nothing policy of the captain of the Venetian fleet, Nicolò da Canale, is censured by all the writers. The besieged lived in constant hope, says Navagero, 'che il generale colla sua armata molto grossa e potente, il quale era a Corinto, luogo propinquo, incontrasse l'armata Turca, fatta vacua d'uomini e rovinato il Ponte mettendo i Turchi in Isola e assediandoli sopra quella costantissimi che non si volerano rendere. Ina il Generale, sebbene da tutti i capi della sua armata era consigliato e stimolato a fare questi effetti e vedeva i segni continui della città che gli dimandavano ajuto, mai non si volle muovere dicendo di volere aspettare d'ingrossare l'armata di molti navilj mandatí ad armare in Candia.' His behaviour seems quite inexplicable. Sanudo says that he was much blamed in Venice for not having attacked the bridge of palandarie. He did however come at the last moment when it was too late: 'E il generale venuto tardi per rovinare il ponte, vista la perdita della città, ritornò in Candia' (Navagero), and it is to this that Bologna Chronicle refers in the statement that the fleet of the Venetians was at the point of Santa Chiara (at Negroponte) with forty-five galleys and seven large ships to succour the city, but they could do nothing in consequence of the Turkish bombards, and retired to protect Nauplion (Napoli di Romania). Canale was banished for life to Friuli, as a punishment for his blunders.

[3] That is, Imbros, Lemnos, Chios, Skopelos, Petali (?), Andros, Ptelion.

as it was returning was assailed and manfully attacked by the fleet of the Venetians, and finally they captured it; and it was laden with pearls and precious stones and infinite merchandise. The ship was very large and contained, as they say, 2,000 boxes in which were great riches, and very cunning (*ingénieux*) men, expecting that the Turks and Saracens had taken the said jewels to the place of Nygrepont and sold them to the Genoese at a cheap rate—expecting that they would not be able to retain long Nygrepont and the islands aforesaid.

'This account, written in Latin, was sent to Rome, and was since translated into French at Geneva.'

§ 60. *Conclusion.*—'The sorry and dolorous news was heard,' says the author of the *Lives of the Doges of Venice*, 'in this country on the 30th of July; and it was displeasing to all and every one grieved thereat.' Several attempts were made to recover the important island which Venice considered her right eye, but it was all in vain; Euboia was destined to remain in the power of the Ottomans, until the new kingdom of Greece arose. The lion of St. Mark on the Kastro of Chalkis, on the tower of Santa Maria dei Cazzonelli which stands on the rock that severs the sound of Euripos, as well as many castles and some aqueducts, remain to attest the Venetian and Lombard domination. But the two hundred and seventy years of Italian occupation left no permanent marks on the character of the population,—except indeed the introduction of the Albanian element which was due to Venetian policy; whereas the three hundred and fifty years of Turkish rule has left a memorial of itself in Euboia, though in almost no other part of Greece, in the form of Turkish families which still possess landed property. The Italian proprietors who escaped the Turkish scimitar fled to the west. Sanudo relates that many gentlemen put themselves to death through melancholy and grief for their loss and shame, and for the death of their relations and friends who were at Negroponte for purposes of merchandise.

JOHN B. BURY.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE, 1887—1888.

The progress of archaeological work in Greece will be most conveniently noted under three heads.

1. New arrangements made for the building of museums and the general arrangement and exhibition of antiquities already known.

2. Excavations on the Acropolis and other discoveries at Athens itself.

3. Excavations carried on in the remainder of Greece and Asia Minor by the Greek government, the Archaeological Society, and the Archaeological Institutes of Germany, France, America. The work of the British School in Cyprus will be matter for separate publication, and need not be noted here.

The *arrangement of antiquities* is put first to avoid subsequent repetition. It is to be understood throughout that unless the contrary is expressly stated all antiquities found in the Acropolis have gone to the Acropolis Museum, all those found elsewhere in Greece to the Central Museum.

On the Acropolis the second museum is nearly complete. It is intended to contain vases, terra-cottas, and minor antiquities generally, and all such as are likely to be of interest to the 'professional' archaeologist, architect, and artist only. To this museum the general public will not be admitted. The Greek government acting through the general-director, Mr. Kabbadias, is most liberal in allowing all possible facilities for study to foreign archaeologists, and it is good news that there will now be space and seclusion in which it will be possible for them to avail themselves of such liberality. The disposition of the more notable antiquities in the first museum is nearly complete. It is unnecessary to describe in detail a collection well known and perhaps, in the department of archaic art, the finest in the world, but it may be noted that at last the beautiful slabs of the Parthenon frieze and those of the Nike balustrade are set up to full advantage. A catalogue of the museum is promised, but not as yet published.

Progress at the Central Museum has been equally rapid. The arrangement of the left wing is complete, and when I left Athens at the end of May the building of the right new wing was complete, and the disposition of the antiquities just about to begin. They will consist chiefly of a vast collection of grave- and votive-reliefs. A third building for strictly minor antiquities—an 'Antiquarium,' is projected; of this M. Staes is to be director. Two parts of the catalogue of the Central Museum have already appeared, but they by no means comprise all the monuments contained even in the left, completed wing. The catalogue is numbered according to a system intended to be final, and to each description is appended a bibliography of the subject, so that the work is in many respects valuable. If a criticism may be offered, it seems to us to halt between the official and the popular manner, and to err on the side of detailed *description*. Before photography it was necessary, for the sake both of identification and the needs of foreign archaeologists,

that a catalogue should state that a statue held the right hand uplifted and the like, but now it is difficult to see whom this sort of categorical description benefits. Those on the spot do not need it, those away no longer rely upon it. Space might surely be economised for the noting of less obvious material. A small popular catalogue has also been issued in French. The vast collection of inscriptions still remain in four basement rooms; these rooms are however well lighted and always accessible to the professional. It is proposed to erect a sort of peribolos round the Central Museum, and to set up the inscriptions upon the enclosing wall. A museum of casts to be built behind the Central Museum is projected. It would undoubtedly be useful, but while so many originals are yet unexhibited, we sincerely hope they will receive the first attention.

It should be noted here that a museum has been built at Syra intended to contain antiquities found in the islands; many important monuments have however—*e.g.* the Delos antiquities—already been transported to the Central Museum. Further, at Tripolitza, a private benefactor is about to build a museum which is to be under the supervision of the government, and will contain antiquities from Mantinea, Tegea, and the neighbourhood. When the projected railway from Myli (near Nauplia) to Kalamata by Tripolitza is complete this museum will be easily accessible. The provision for bringing all important recent discoveries to the Central Museum does not prevent the existence in nearly all important towns of small local collections, which the archaeologist will do well not to neglect.

The government have recently made provision—tardy and much needed—for the exact record and precise description of all objects found. Where the object found belongs to either the Archaeological Society or to any private person the official catalogue is made in duplicate.

Finally, we owe to M. Kabbadias a fresh departure of the greatest importance to all foreign archaeologists in the reissue in separate form of the Δελτίον. From January, 1888, this full official report of excavations and all departments of archaeological work is to appear monthly, so that it will be possible to obtain news of all discoveries that shall be at once speedy and reliable.

Excavations on the Acropolis.—Since the summer of 1887 the general direction of the work carried on has been as follows. Beginning from the N.E. end of the Erechtheion the rock was laid bare as far as the Belvidere, and thence along the S. wall as far as the museum. In January of the present year, 1888, work was begun between the museum and the E. front of the Parthenon. When I left Athens in the third week in May the S.E. angle of the Parthenon had been considerably passed. Work at this point and for some time past has been carried on very slowly, as upwards of ten meters of superincumbent soil and debris have to be removed before the rock is reached. During the present year the excavations will be carried on in a S.W. direction till the Temenos of Artemis Brauronia is reached. Here the rock comes almost to the surface; the whole inner precinct of the Acropolis will then have been laid bare, and no further 'finds' can be hoped for. In about a year it is hoped the work will be concluded.

The chief topographical discoveries have been (1) the walls of the old 'house of Erechtheus'; (2) the foundations of the temple of Roma and Augustus.

The removal of the Turkish building known as the Tholos brought to light a number of foundation walls similar to those found before nearer to the Erechtheion, and, manifestly in connection, an ancient staircase sloping in a N.E. direction down

the Acropolis wall. I am unable in the matter of these prehistoric remains to offer any independent opinion, but Dr. Dörpfeld holds that we have here substantial remains of the πυκινὸς δόμος Ἐρεχθῆος. This palace he thinks extended originally over a large portion of the Acropolis, and was approached not only by the main entrance of the Enneapulai to the W. but by this subordinate entrance to the N. for foot-passengers, only now laid bare. Sufficient does not remain to reconstruct in detail the ground plan of the palace, but Dr. Dörpfeld gathers from two bases of columns and from the material and technique of the walls that it was of approximately the same style as those of Tiryns and Mycenae, to the first of which indeed the rock staircase offers a striking analogy. The general principle adopted is that, the excavations once complete, the surface of the Akropolis should be levelled up again to the presumable height of the fifth century, B.C., but in the case of this important staircase and foundation an exception has been made; they have been left exposed and walled in for protection. The existence of the temple of Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis has long been known. Its exact position is now fixed. It stood on a platform of large blocks of Peiraeus stone, forty feet E. of the W. stone steps of the Parthenon, and exactly in its axis. A few steps to either side of it are large fragments of the inscribed circular architrave. It was a circular building, of the kind of which the Philippeion at Olympia is a familiar instance. It was surrounded by a colonnade of nine Ionic pillars.

The discovery of certain walls of apparently prehistoric date between the Museum and the Parthenon promises to be of considerable importance. They are at a depth of eighteen inches below the present surface, and with them were found a number of bronze tools and weapons—axes, a file, swords, lances, &c. In a stratum a little higher pottery of the 'Mycenae' style came to light. The historical significance of the whole find will be matter for future investigation.

Near the building formerly known as the 'Chalkotheke' walls have come to light of very peculiar masonry. Two courses remain, each formed of Peiraeus stone blocks alternating with polygonal masonry. The upper course is so laid on the lower that Peiraeus blocks are always superimposed on polygonal work and *vice versâ*. So systematic an alternation is unique. From the masses of marble fragments found about, it is supposed the building was a workshop.

Among the mass of sculptural fragments brought to light it will be possible only to note a few of the most important.

The long series of archaic female figures has been enriched by several additions, but one only seems to call for special notice. It is the almost headless figure of a woman, who holds in her right hand a crown, in her left a small vase. The figure is girt about the waist with a sash, the ends of which fall down in front, a form of dress which I do not think occurs in any other of the series. The corners of the himation are furnished with tassels, and the whole vestments have a very priestess-like air. Traces of red colour remain on the vase, borders of the dress, and on the tassels. The figure is numbered sixty-three in the Museum (Fig. 1).

Quite apart from this series seems to stand a torso which bears no trace whatever of colouring, and in the arrangement of the drapery is strikingly like the Hera of Samos; a protuberance on the breast seems to indicate an aegis. If so we have an interesting instance of the same type appropriated by two different goddesses.

By far the most attention has been excited by a curious archaic head of poros

stone, usually known as the 'head of a Triton' (Fig. 2). It was found in the stratum of poros fragments W. of the Parthenon, about four meters from the surface of the Parthenon. It is a bearded male head, more than life size and brilliantly coloured. It is in excellent preservation, except for the loss of the nose and part of the upper lip. The colouring is remarkably vivid. The hair and beard and moustache are a brilliant deep blue, the pupils of the eyes emerald green. The pupils are not only painted but worked with the chisel. A few days before the discovery of the head, a number of fragments of a snake-like body were found, and from their colouring seem to belong to the head. The spirals are painted in three bands, one red, one blue, the third decorated with curved lines in blue. On April 18 a second

Fig. 1.—Female Figure.

similar head was found, similar in every respect, but not quite so well preserved, except that the long, spiral curls at the back of the head are intact. Spiral fragments have been also found in large quantities, also portions of a lion and a bull, and the opinion seems growing up that we have to do with a series of large compositions, possibly representing the labours of Herakles. But this is of course for the present mere hypothesis.

The problematical nature of these fragments has of course caused them to excite unusual attention, but from the point of view of art the palm among all the recent sculptural discoveries must certainly be given to a beautiful head found within the walls of the building at the S.E. corner of the Acropolis, formerly known

as the Chalkotheke. It is smaller than life size and in perfect preservation: the hair is coloured a gold yellow, the lips red, the eyeballs yellowish with dark outline. I was not in Athens when the head was discovered: the colour is reported to have been then very vivid, and Dr. Wolters draws the conclusion that the statue had not long been exposed to the air when it was buried, and hence dates it as very little before 480 B.C. The colour is however fading fast, and when I last saw it was only dimly though quite certainly perceptible. The style of the head has been compared to the Apollo of the E. pediment of Olympia. There is certainly a general though somewhat, it seems to me, superficial resemblance. The hair is

Fig. 2.—Head of Triton.

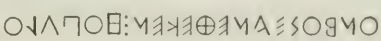
worked in the same curved lines with spiral endings, but in the Acropolis head the plaits known as the 'attic-krobulos' are worn; but the contrast is strongest about the mouth: the lips of the Olympian Apollo are full; though the upper lip is short, it has the proud upward curve which gives the mouth an open, confident expression: the upper lip of the Acropolis statue is close and compressed, giving a peculiar, slightly sullen, though most beautiful expression. Its confined, condensed expression reminded me strongly of the sculpture of the Pasiteles school, specially the 'Naples' Orestes and Electra group, and the 'Esquiline' Venus, but I had no photographs at hand to make careful comparison. I do not of course for a moment intend to imply that the head could be archaistic, but rather that it is of a type

hitherto unknown to us, and which must have inspired the Pasiteles school; but I repeat, the observation was made only from memory, and therefore is precarious (Fig. 3).

An interest almost pathetic centres round a fragment found built into a small building not far from the place where the last-named head was discovered. It consists of a poros plinth a little over a yard square, on the top of which is a foot well preserved as far as the instep. Running along the top of the face of this

Fig. 3.—Head of Youth.

plinth is the following inscription in beautiful, clearly cut letters, which I copy from a squeeze taken from the original—



Only the initial letter is missing, and may perhaps be supplied—(K)όνβος ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Πάλου.

The interest of this inscription lies, however, chiefly in the identification of the remaining foot with a long familiar statue. It was Dr. Winter who saw that it probably belongs to the famous Moschophoros. This statue, once a prominent example of Attic art, had fallen somewhat into the background since the discovery of the striking series of 'Athene' figures. Now restored to this pedestal it comes back to a place of honour. It is satisfactory to note that the identification, unlike some of the many that are being made in the museum, is of high proba-

bility. Not only are proportions and style the same, but the foot bears traces of a peculiar black stain identical with those which are to be found in the figure. The style of the letters is perhaps earlier than would have been expected.

Whilst speaking of the piecing together of fragments it may be well to note here that Dr. Studnickza's identification of one of the female statues with the pedestal bearing the name of Antenor has been accepted: a further fragment has been discovered which is thought to strengthen his position: the statue is now set up according to his theory, but though the restoration is certainly possible, it failed to convince me. The very beautiful head—latest in style (*Musées d'Athènes* No. XIV.)—is to be set on the pedestal bearing the name of Euthydikos. A fragment undoubtedly fitting has been added to No. XIII.

I cannot leave this question of the identification of fragments without entering a protest against the practice of hasty and hypothetical restoration that obtains in this Museum. It is one thing to publish a hypothesis and illustrate it by a drawing embodying the proposed restoration; it is another to have the fragments actually plastered together. Nothing short of absolute demonstration can, it seems to me, justify this concrete dogmatism, involving as it does compulsory prejudice to the eye.

Within the former 'Chalkotheke' was also found the figure of a Hippalektryon ridden by a boy: of the boy's figure only the leg remains, and the figure of the Hippalektryon is a great deal mutilated. It is of mature archaic style.

Turning from sculpture in the round to reliefs, the walls of the 'Tholos' yielded a good many small fragments of the Parthenon frieze, and near to the same building was found, much broken, a fine relief of advanced archaic style representing the lower part of the figure of a man seated on a chair; he dangles a kylix from his little finger, and holds in his hand a small red object: on the left border of the relief a portion of the inscription remains—*ιος ἀνέθηκεν*: to the same relief belong two fragments, the back of the man's head and the foot of the chair. The drapery bears traces of red colour, and a small amount of still vivid blue.

In the department of bronzes nothing has been found to equal in beauty or curiosity the Athene found last year to the N. of the Erechtheion. But a small bronze Athene 'Promachos' found not far away deserves notice. Athene wears a long double chiton, diplois and aegis; her right hand is raised to hurl her spear, her left outstretched still bears the handle of the shield: she is striding forward, with the left foot advanced. A striking feature of the figure is the enormous crested helmet, in itself half the height of the remainder of the figure. The goddess stands on a flat oblong piece of bronze, round which runs the following inscription:

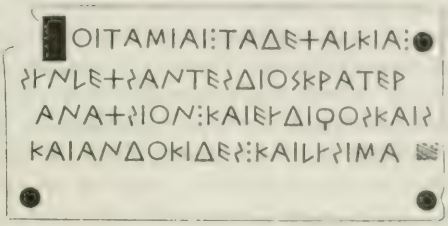
Μελησὼ ἀνέθηκεν δεκάτην τ'Αθηναίᾳ.

Owing to the difficulty of reading through the glass-case in which the figure is now securely enclosed I could not quite clearly identify the end of the inscription: the letters are 6th century B.C. This statuette is one of a series of 'Promachos' dedications.

On the 24th of March a small archaic bronze 0·28 metres high, was found among the poros layers at the E. of the Parthenon. It is of the Apollo type,

with both hands extended, each of which appears, from the holes for fastening, to have carried some object. It is of fine archaic work, the hair very carefully worked.

The day before I left an inscribed bronze plaque came to light of which I owe a transcript to the kindness of M. Kabbadias. The inscription, broken across half way, runs as follows:



οἱ ταμίαι τάδε χάλκια . . . . .
συνλέξαντες Διὸς κρατερ(όφρονι κούρῃ)

i.e. 'We, the stewards, having collected these brazen vessels for the strong-souled daughter of Zeus,' &c., and then follow the names of the stewards. Several small bronzes were found at the same time, among them a centaur and a charming figure of a boy riding a dolphin.

Since leaving Athens I learn that a fragment of an inscription dealing with the building of the Erechtheion has come to light. In it an Eastern pediment is mentioned, and also one which can only be in the West, which is noted as towards the Pandroseion—a statement of considerable topographical importance. The inscription is to be published in the May Δελτίον.

Perhaps the most interesting of all the discoveries recently made from the point of view both of art and archaeology is that of a painted plaque in the mature archaic style, and of remarkable beauty. The design, executed in fresco apparently on a coating of some sort of cement, represents a youthful, beardless warrior in a high-crested helmet advancing to the left, with spear in his right hand and shield on the left arm. On the shield is the device of a satyr of a type known on fifth century B.C. vase-paintings, with long, bushy, horse-like tail. The design is framed in by a double border consisting of an outside line of brown and an inside one of dull red. To the right of the head of the warrior are the letters καλός; to the right are traces of a double inscription. One inscription has been in dark red, the same shade as that on the right: of this only two letters remain, A and L. This has been effaced to make way for an inscription in light red, in rough, thick characters. It has apparently been a name; the following letters can be made out: ΛL LA ES . It occurred to me that possibly the original letters on the left hand made up καλός as on the right, and that some later dedicator determined to be more explicit, and effaced them to make way for a proper name. It is remarkable that the colours in use in this remarkable work are four, the number ascribed by tradition to the technique of Polygnotos. The whole body of the youth is a dull light red; the outside rim of the end of the helmet, the tail of the satyr, and the inside border are dark red. The body of the satyr and drapery of the youth dark brown. The helmet, shield, and background creamy white. Incised lines are employed for the details of the drapery, which links the painting closely with vase-technique. The drawing of the face seems a little earlier than that of Euphronios, and the eye is turned full sideways. The whole design

is full of that marvellous mixture of largeness of style and delicacy of detail (witness the beautiful spiral on the helmet) which came only once just at the transition time between archaic and the so-called 'perfect' period of Greek art. We can scarcely be wrong in taking this plaque as the nearest approach we have or perhaps are likely to have to the wall paintings of Polygnotos.[1]

In the department of vase paintings the excavations have yielded specially rich results. Several fragments signed with the names of masters hitherto unknown have been found. Three fragments of a style closely analogous to that of the François vase were found scattered, but happily put together by Dr. Winter, by whom, it is hoped, they will shortly be published. On one fragment there are two heads, and the name ΒΕϟΤΙΑ; on the second the bodies of two women, and the names ΛΕΤΟ and ΧΑΡΙΦΛΟ, this last suggesting identity of subject as well as style with the François vase; in the third fragment is the figure of a woman and a column, between them the artist's signature, written kionedon (*Σόφιλος ἔγραψεν*). A letter from Dr. Wolters received since I returned from Athens informs me he has discovered a fourth fragment of this important vase on it two female heads and the inscription ΝΥϟΑΙ near them; also one male head.

Next in order of date comes a small fragment of a red-figured vase decorated with a shield (on which is a serpent) and a fragmentary piece of drapery. The inscription is very important, as it not only gives us a new vase-painter's name, but also gives evidence of the early worship of Athene Hygieia: it runs as follows: [*Ἀ*]*θην* [*αίᾳ*] *Ὑγιεί*[*ᾳ* Κ]*άλλις* [*ἐ*]*ποίησ*[*εν*] *καὶ ἀνέθ*[*ηκεν*].

Of great beauty and special mythological interest are the fragments of a large cylix whose style approaches very nearly to that of Euphronios. The design is in dull brown and yellow on a white ground like that of the Euphronios Berlin cylix (Cat. 2282). The principal fragments are the head of a youth with the inscription (ΟΡΦΕΥ.), a large lyre—no doubt belonging to the youth—and the upper part of the body of a maiden: of the artist's signature only the letters ΟΙΕϟΕΝ remains.

Another signature is found on a late red-figured fragment decorated with the head of a maiden veiled: the letters

ΜΙΚΙΛ
ΡΑΥΑ

are painted in white.

Other fragments by unknown artists deserve notice, specially the remains (four pieces) of a red-figured cylix with a splendid design of Herakles slaying the hydra. It may be mentioned here that so numerous are the monuments of various kinds relating to Herakles that have been recently found that it seems probable he had some shrine on the Acropolis of which no mention is made in literature.

A tantalizing black-figured fragment has on it only a winged foot and the inscription *Ἴκαρος*.

[1] Since the above was written the plaque has been published in the last issue of the *Ephemeris Archaiologikè*, with a commentary by Dr. Benndorf. It was found, he says, in 1885, but so far as I can learn, never publicly exhibited till this year. He restores the two inscriptions, Glaukytes and Megakles.

Two beautiful heads of a man and a woman on a small fragment seem from their style to belong to the Euphronios vase, of which other fragments have just been published in the *Jahrbuch*. When the vast quantities of vase fragments are removed to the second museum, where they can be conveniently studied, no doubt many reconstructions will be possible. The results even now arrived at are very important for vase chronology. From the position in which some of the R.F. fragments have been found it will be necessary to date the 'Euphronios' cycle of masters some ten to twenty years earlier than the date hitherto accepted. Dr. Klein, who was at Athens to examine the collection, is at work on a new edition of his book, which will contain important additions and modifications, and especially an enlarged list of the 'love-names,' so many instances of which have been found.

Leaving the summit of the Acropolis I pass to the work carried on at its base. The guardian's hut, every one will be glad to know, has been removed from the Dionysiac orchestra, and is now set up in an inoffensive position to the E. of the theatre. It is proposed that the whole of the S. slope of the Acropolis, including the Temenos of Asklepios and that of Dionysos, should be railed in and the general public only admitted as at present to the Acropolis. Considering the large number of inscribed stones and fragments of sculpture, the precaution, though a vexatious one, is possibly wise. A sort of promenade drive is to be laid down all round the Acropolis, and occasion will be taken in the making of it to carry on excavations. It is greatly to be hoped that on the N. side the excavators may come on some remains of the Anakeion. In the third week of May workmen were already pulling down the bastion which surrounds the Clepsydra and thereby laying bare a considerable portion of rock hitherto concealed. In about a year's time it will be possible to form an idea of what the form and actual extent of the Acropolis rock, concealed by centuries of accumulated debris, originally was.

The preparations for constructing the road to the projected Olympic Exhibition have led to some slight excavations near the temple of Zeus Olympios. On the N. side of the 'peribolos' foundations of several chambers and of Roman baths have been found. Also of mediaeval houses and tombs largely built out of the materials of the ancient temple. Some statues and reliefs have been discovered and two bases of statues of Hadrian. One is inscribed Αὐτοκράτορα Ἁδριανὸν || Ὀλύμπιον τὸν αὐτοῦ || σωτῆρα καὶ εὐεργέτην || Στάτιος Κουαδρᾶτος. Statius Quadratus the dedicator is known to have been consul in 142 A.D. The other is inscribed Αὐτοκράτορα Ἁδριανὸν || Ὀλύμπιον || τὸν οἰκιστὴν || καὶ εὐεργέτην || Ἀπολλωνιᾶται || οἱ κατὰ Κυρρήνην || [δ]ιὰ Α Νοουίου || [Ρ]ούφου.

The Olympic Exhibition which has given rise to these discoveries is to be marked by a revival interesting for archaeology. It is intended among other things to perform some ancient Greek tragedies, with full archaeological accessories. A commission is appointed, consisting of Dr. Dörpfeld, M. Koumanudes, M. Rangabé, and others. It is hoped that Dr. Dörpfeld will take occasion to illustrate his novel theories as to the Greek stage.

The only other excavation of any importance carried on at Athens during the present year was to the N. of the Dipylon at the point where the Kerameikos and Müller Streets cross. Athenian papers have announced that here has been discovered the ancient way from the Dipylon to the Academy, the way which, it will be remembered, Dr. Schliemann desired to dig for, a project never

realized. An ancient road has been found, but Dr. Dörpfeld thinks it is not the Academy road, which must, he holds, have been considerably more to the west. The excavations have not however been fruitless: upwards of eighty graves have been opened, some of good Greek, some of Roman date. A large number of white lekythoi have been found, one with a representation of Charon, also fourteen stelae inscribed. The inscriptions are all given in the February number of the Δελτίον. A curious terra-cotta mould representing a man winged on shoulders and feet was also found, and a stone bearing the inscription ὅρος θήκης.

At the Peiraeus it was reported just as I was leaving Athens that the *École Française* had come upon the site of the temple of the Cnidian Aphrodite in Eetioneia, but I was unable to visit the site. Some time before they had found two amphora handles, one inscribed Βουλάρχου Κνιδίων, the other [Κν]ιδίων Ἕρμων — νος.

The municipality of the Peiraeus has also laid bare a considerable portion of the N. wall of the town with two towers; in so doing they came upon a large tomb with eighteen skeletons and a few unimportant vases.

Accident brought to light two ephebic inscriptions at the crossing of the Babulina Street with the Praxiteles Street. As ephebic inscriptions have been found here before, it seems probable there was some shrine in the neighbourhood where they were dedicated. The Peiraeus Museum is constantly being enriched by local discoveries, and is now a very noteworthy collection.

3. *Excavations carried on outside Athens by the various Institutes.*—The discovery and excavation of the Kabeiroi temple by the German Institute has certainly been the chief event of the archaeological year. In December of last year (1887) it came to the knowledge of Dr. Wolters that certain small bronze, votive animals bearing inscriptions to the Kabeiroi were being sold by dealers at Athens. He immediately informed M. Kabbadias, and on inquiry being made it came to light that these antiquities had been found by peasants at Ampelosalesi near to Thespiae, and about an hour and a half from Thebes. M. Kalopais (President of the Archaeological Society at Thebes) told me that he had long expected the existence of the Kabeiroi temple at this very spot, having been led to this opinion by certain measurements he had taken and compared with the distances given (ix. 25) by Pausanias. Excavations were at once set on foot by Dr. Dörpfeld at the expense of the German Institute; the work went on till Jan. 17, when it came to an end, but was resumed in April. On April 15 I visited the site, and found Dr. Wolters just bringing the work to a conclusion; with the greatest kindness he took me all over the excavations. What I report here must of course be regarded as provisional; the next number of the German *Mittheilungen* will contain a ground-plan of the remains and a statement of Dr. Dörpfeld's latest views. At present what is made out is as follows.

The temple is 22½ meters long by 7 broad. It consists of pronaos faced by four columns and naos, the space usually called opisthodomos being occupied by the sacrificial trench. It is in this opisthodomos that the chief interest lies: it has, contrary to custom, no back entrance, but is approached by a doorway at either side. Dr. Dörpfeld thinks from the character of the foundations of this opisthodomos, which, unlike the rest of the building, are extremely slight, that it never bore a roof. It seems to have been in fact nothing more than a walled

enclosure, the smoke of the sacrifices escaping freely through the top. Within this enclosure in the sacrificial trench masses of bones of many sorts of animals were found. Within the naos at the W. end are marks of a large bathron, which no doubt supported the temple statue, and in front of this the great mass of votive offerings were found. Beneath the W. wall of the cella the excavators came upon substantial traces of a curved, polygonal structure, which it is thought formed part of a much earlier peribolos of Greek times. Steps lead down from the N.W. of the temple to a series of chambers, which it is conjectured were for the accommodation of the priests. A wall bearing traces of six columns, three to either side of a door, stretches south, in a line with the front of the cella. Its purport is not yet made out, it may have fronted a stoa. It is evident from the existing remains that the present temple was only an enlargement of one smaller and earlier. This earlier structure of Macedonian date consisted of a smaller naos with pronaos. The opisthodomos did not exist. Probably sacrifices were made on an open-air altar—traces of such a one still exist in front of the pronaos. Further evidence of this earlier temple is found in certain stones bearing masons' marks clearly of two periods. These stones were no doubt used for the earlier building and marked with archaic letters, and then remarked and reused for the later structure. All the smaller antiquities of importance, bronzes and terra-cottas, have been taken to Athens—where as yet they are not exposed. M. Kabbadias kindly promised that I should see them at the earliest opportunity, but though I waited till the latest possible date he was unable to allow me to inspect them. I can therefore give no satisfactory account. It is well known that a portion of a vase of very great interest has been found with a figure of the Kabeiros inscribed Κάβιρος, his son, inscribed παῖς, a male figure Πρατόλαος, a woman Κράτεια, a Satyr Μιτος. The son is standing near a krater. It may here be noted that all the dedicatory inscriptions found are not to the Kabeiroi, as we would expect, "but to the Kabeiros and his son."

Still remaining on the site I saw a marble chair bearing the inscription Φρύνιχος Ῥίγχωνος Καβείρῳ καὶ παιδί. Inscribed stones of large size and architectural remains will for the most part be kept at the local museum at Thebes. On the site I saw also a number of small fragments of pottery of late black-figured style, yellow clay with rough but graceful decorations of vine and ivy leaves. It may be expected that the publication of these Kabeiroi vases will open out a new chapter in the history of Greek local ceramics. When all the inscriptions are made out we may expect some light on the obscure question of the worship of the Kabeiroi. The inscription in the Theban Museum gives a long list of the Καβιριαρχή, and mentions certain officials—Παραγωγειεῖς—whose functions are unknown.[1]

Next in interest come the discoveries of the American School at Dionyso, near Cephissia. But in order to preserve chronological order I will note first the work of the same school at Sicyon.

Of the city in general we have still to say with Pausanias "ἐχόντων δὲ ἀσθενῶς ἤδη τῶν Σικυωνίων." Zeus and his earthquake have effectually "laid low its head." Some search was made for remains of the many temples and buildings known to

[1] Since writing the above the number (xiii. 1) has appeared. To it I refer for the amplification and in part correction of the above.

have existed, and concerning which Pausanias gives so many and such curious details, but to no purpose. With one brilliant exception, however;—as the theatre of which Mr. Penrose (*Journal*, 1887, 'Excavations in Greece') gave a sketch-plan, has been systematically excavated. Accounts of the work done have appeared in the *Athenaeum* (March 3, 1888) and in the *American Journal of Archaeology* (December, 1887, p. 444). It need therefore only briefly be noted here, pending the complete publication of results in the forthcoming volume of the Transactions of the American School, that though the general plan of the theatre accords with those found elsewhere, there are certain features which are unique. Two arched passages, which seem to have served for the entrance and exit of spectators in the upper seats, are clearly of Greek structure. They are without mortar or brick, and in the character of the masonry correspond to those portions of the stage which are undeniably Greek; they may therefore be added to the Olympian instance, as evidence that the Greeks used the arch, though so far as it appears only for subterranean structures. About three feet behind the σκηνή a semicircular enclosure was found, the purport of which is not clear: it has plastered walls and may possibly have served as a bath; the great number of tiles scattered near would seem to show it had been roofed. Three main walls of the σκηνή itself have been found; along the base of the front one an ornamental border runs; the blocks composing this border have masons' marks in Greek letters. In the orchestra there is no trace of a thymele. The system of drainage seems to have been similar to that recently disclosed in the Athenian theatre: a deep drain runs all round the curve of the orchestra, crossed by bridge-ways facing each set of steps. The theatre itself presents no peculiarities; it has only been partially cleared out. There are two front rows of seats of honour of poros stone.

The only statue of much importance found is a youthful male figure, probably Dionysus. It is of fair style and well preserved. It is in the Central Museum. Two marble heads, a number of Sicyonian coins with the usual dove type, some terra-cotta lamps, architectural fragments, both Doric and Ionic, and one Roman and one Alexandrian inscription complete the discoveries.

Better fortune has awaited the American school in their excavations undertaken at Dionuso. I was peculiarly fortunate in being able to visit the site under the guidance of Professor Merriam, the director of the American school, to whom for his constant help and kindness I would wish here to record my grateful thanks. At the time of my visit, March 22, the excavations were just brought to a close, but the details of the ground-plan disclosed were still in many respects unexplained, and it will probably be many months before the official report appears. This much is clear, the excavators, acting on the suggestion of Dr. Milchhoefer, who visited the site as he was returning from Marathon, May 9, 1887, have identified Dionuso as the centre of worship of the ancient deme of Ikaria. Dionuso lies to the N.E. of Pentelicus. To this place first in Attica the god Dionysos came, and he certainly could have chosen no fairer spot; fine woods and tangled ivy are still ready for his service. Leake, who usually forecast the truth, held, it will be remembered, that the deme of Ikaria must be near Marathon. The foundations discovered are of a Pythion or shrine of Apollo, and certain walls, presumably the peribolos of the sanctuary of Dionysos. About the Pythion there is happily no doubt, as on a large stone forming the threshold an inscription states that it is the Pythion of the Ikarians. The remainder of the ground-plan of the excavations

is, I repeat, as yet far from clear, but further digging will, it is hoped, lead to the discovery of the actual *temple* of Dionysos. The stones of the ancient structures have been largely used to build up a Byzantine church, of which there are still substantial ruins. Some of the sculptured remains were found built into this church. These are all to be kept at Dionyso. The owner of the land refuses to sell them to the government, so they cannot be brought to the Central Museum. They all lie at present in a room in the cottage of a peasant, who acts as guardian of the place. The principal are as follows. A stelè, headless, much resembling the stelè of Aristion, but of somewhat later style. It is a beautiful piece of work; it formed the threshold of the Byzantine church; three bas-reliefs, probably funereal. An interesting votive relief, much mutilated, relating to the worship of Apollo; Apollo in the centre seated on a round object painted red, presumably his omphalos; in his right he holds an object that may be a branch, in his left a phialè. Behind him a standing figure with arms outstretched in the 'Hekate position,' doubtless Artemis; a worshipper heavily draped approaches the square altar in front of the god; below a dedicatory inscription. Two reliefs are remarkable because they are decorated on both sides; on one of these the sacrifice of a goat is represented. Very remarkable is a colossal head of Dionysos, worked flat behind, and probably intended to be fixed against a wall. Dr. Wolters has drawn attention to the analogy of the head of Akratos, of which Pausanias says (1.2.5) *πρόσωπόν ἐστιν οἱ μόνον ἐνῳκοδομημένον τοίχῳ*. A fine archaic statue, obviously Dionysos, should also be noted, also a head of a child which at once recalls the infant Dionysos of the Olympian Hermes. The inscriptions found, several of which are choragic, are of the first importance. The inscription which led Dr. Milchhoefer to identify the site was above ground before the excavations began. It runs, in fourth century letters, *Κηφίαιος Τιμάρχου Ἰκαριεὺς εὐξάμενος ἀνέθηκε τῷ Διονύσῳ*. A very large epistyle block of a choragic monument still lying where it was found reads *Αἰνίας Ξάνθιππος Ξανθίδης νικήσαντες ἀνέθεσαν*. Another inscription in the cottage museum has the name of Nikostratos as didaskalos.

The *École Française* has done valuable work both at Mantineia and Amorgos. M. Fougères has discovered at Mantineia the site of the temple of Hera, mentioned by Pausanias (viii. ix.), also the theatre, the agora, and the main outlines of the town walls with the position of the gates. A large number of architectural fragments have been found, together with small bronzes and terra-cottas and several inscriptions. One contains an archaic text in the Arcadian dialect. The subject-matter is legal. The great discovery in the department of sculpture was that of the three beautiful bas-relief slabs representing Marsyas playing the flute in presence of Apollo and six Muses. As Pausanias (viii. 9, 1) describes just such as decorating the pedestal of a group of Leto and her children at Mantinea, and states that the Leto group was by Praxiteles, hopes were entertained that the slabs might prove to be by the same master's hand. This they obviously are not; but they are of considerable merit, specially the figure of Apollo, and may have been executed under the influence of Praxiteles. As they have just been published by M. Fougères (*Bulletin*, 1888, i. and ii., pl. 1, 2, 3) and are easily accessible in the Central Museum, they need not further be described.

All the monuments discovered at Amorgos have gone to the Cyclades Museum at Syra. The chief work went on at Minoa, its port Katapola and

Arkesine. At Minoa the signature of an artist Theophilos was found on the fragment of a statue, three decrees and several pedestals bearing dedications to Demeter and Kore, Eileithyia and Hermes, also one with a joint dedication to Hermes and Heracles. Several notable heads were also found; one represents a man crowned with ivy: a pedestal found near leads to the supposition that this represents the poet Aristogenes, of whom it is recorded that he was the author of a hymn to the Muses. Slabs of a sarcophagos decorated with interesting reliefs must also be noted. On one slab a youth stands holding a horse by the bit; round the feet of the horse is coiled a serpent. Will this throw any light on the horse and serpent of the 'funeral banquet' reliefs? It will be seen even from this brief notice that Amorgos, well known for its prehistoric remains (Dümmler *Mitt.*, 1886), is likely to yield equally valuable results for later days. The article in the *Athenaeum* (May 12, 1888) is so far the most detailed account of the excavations that has appeared.

Remaining excavations and scattered discoveries may be briefly summarized. Dr. Schliemann has sought and found the site of the ancient temple of Aphrodite on Kythera (Cerigo). It stood almost in the centre of the city walls on the place now occupied by the H. Kosmos Church, which is built almost entirely out of ancient fragments. The temple was of tufa, with two rows of Doric columns, four on each side. Only two are *in situ*, though fragments of the others are to be seen built into the church. They are of very early date. The report, plan, and drawings are promised for an early number of the *Mittheilungen*.

At Mycenae M. Tsountas has opened fifteen graves, twelve on spurs of the Elias mountains to the N. of the ancient city, three to the W. near Epano-pigadi; with the exception of one, which is dome-shaped, the rest are like the rock graves of Palmidi. There has been the usual find of ornaments, also a number of 'island gems.'

At Tanagra, at the cost of the Ministry of Public Instruction, excavations were begun in January. Upwards of forty tombs were opened; a large number of terra-cottas and vases were found, but nothing so far as we could learn of great importance.

Eleusis is still unexhausted. With Dr. Philios to excavate and Dr. Dörpfeld to expound there is much yet to be looked for. The space between the lesser Propylaeon and the E. front of the temple is in process of excavation, and considerable remains of the older peribolos wall are coming day by day to light. The lower portion of the wall is fine polygonal masonry, the upper unburnt brick. The larger Propylaea have also been cleared out, and the foundation of a Roman triumphal arch dedicated to the Eleusinian goddesses and the emperor have been found near at hand.

At Epidaurus M. Staes has directed some supplementary excavations. He has found a Roman building paved with mosaic, which is possibly a bath. Six more lion heads have been added to the architectural fragments of the Asklepieion in the Central Museum.

At Ægina in the digging of a vineyard a boundary stone has been found bearing the inscription—

Ὅρος
τεμένους
Ἀθεναίης.

At the village of Varvasseria in Elis a poros group of a lioness tearing a ram has been found, and it is reported that tentative excavations are to be made. At Katoche in Acarnania there has been a large find of silver mediaeval coins, the greater number of which have been seized by the government. Some bear the inscription Hispania.

At Oropos under M. Leonardos the Stoa lying to the E. of the temple and S. of the theatre, has been cleared. It is of Doric style and Hellenistic date. An inscription has been found upon the frieze, so arranged that a letter stands in each metope, but the number of blocks found is not sufficient for the interpretation of the inscription. Marble seats, some inscribed with names, were ranged round the walls. The sculptures found represent Amphiaraos after the Asklepios type. In one statue he stands leaning on a staff, about which is coiled a snake, in a relief he stands near the seated Hygieia, while above is the head of Pan playing on a reed.

Turning to Asia Minor I would draw attention to a letter published in the *Mittheilungen* (xii. 3, p. 271) from M. Kontoleon to Dr. Dörpfeld relating to the discoveries at Magnesia of an inscribed statuette dedicated to the Mother of the Gods under the title *Plastene*, the title given, it will be remembered, to her in Pausanias, v. 13, 7, '*ὑπὲρ τῆς Πλαστήνης μητρὸς τὸ ἱερόν*.' A building has been found which Dr. Dörpfeld does not think can be the *ἱερόν*, but the *ἱερόν* may not be far away. Statuettes and reliefs of Aphrodite, of small lions, and of the Metroon type have been found in large numbers. These have gone to Constantinople. I visited the museum there in the hopes of inspecting them, but the director was absent and I failed utterly.

Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Bent, whose Thasos loss is matter for public regret, have during the past year been at work in Asia Minor, and have reaped a harvest there which must be considerable compensation for hardships and disappointments endured. As the chief results which belong to the departments of topography and epigraphy have been made public in the *Athenaeum*, and will be published in detail in the *Journal*, nothing further need be said here.

The Report for this year as for last must end with the expression of a hope. The great archaeological disappointment of the year has been the delay of the excavations at Delphi. Preparations are however now actually in hand for the removal, at the expense of the Greek government, of the village which occupies the site. Surveyors were already at work when I visited the place on April 10, but I could not learn when the excavations would actually begin. Kastro, which has grown up in such beautiful and natural fashion round the few scant ruins that are above ground, must be destroyed; this is a hard necessity, but the harvest hoped for is a plentiful one, and no archaeologist can afford to shrink when the sickle is put in.

JANE E. HARRISON.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

(*A*)—ART AND MANUFACTURE.

Reisen in Lykien und Karien ausgeführt im Auftrage des k. k. Ministeriums für Cultus und Unterricht. Beschrieben von Otto Benndorf und Georg Niemann, mit einer Karte von Heinrich Kiepert. Band I. Wien, 1884.

This important work is in one sense only a fragment, for the account of the Austrian expeditions of 1881 and 1882 to Lycia will not be complete until the appearance of the second volume of the present work, and of the independent book which is to contain the sculptures of Giölbaschi. These volumes, which seem too much delayed, will contain the most interesting part of the results of the expeditions, for a general view of which it is still necessary to refer to Benndorf's "Vorläufiger Bericht," (*Arch. Epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, Jahrgang vi., 1883).

The present volume relates the history of the first year's expedition to Lycia, which was reached by way of Scio, Halicarnassus, Cos and Rhodes. The explorers went direct to Kekova and re-discovered the sculptures of Giölbaschi, which had previously been seen and vaguely described by Schönborn. A vivid account of the discovery is given on p. 32. The removal of the sculptures was necessarily deferred till the following year, and the remainder was devoted to the exploration of the western half of Lycia.

It is the account of these explorations which fills up the bulk of the present volume. Thus it happens that the reader is taken over ground which has been already visited for the most part, and several plates are devoted to the humble but useful office of showing what has been left by earlier expeditions.—Thus we have a view of the foundations of the Nereid monument, and another of the present state of the Harpy monument.

The plates are partly drawings, and partly reproductions of photographs, and under the circumstances it is interesting to compare these most recent illustrations with those of an earlier date. It is difficult to say what advantage the photographic view of the Heroon at Mylasa (pl. xlix) has over the drawing of Pars (*Antiquities of Ionia*, II., pl. xxiv), which seems to give a better as well as a more artistic view of the monument. On the other hand, the view of Telmessus (pl. facing p. 36) doubtless gives a more correct idea of the place than the drawing in the *Antiquities of Ionia*, II., pl. lix.; at the same time however the earlier view seems to serve best as a companion to the chart (Clarke's *Travels*, III., p. 277).

The volume contains a number of inscriptions (134) both new and old. Amongst the former is a curious fragment of a late rhetorician (p. 77) on the mythological history of Sidyma. Nevertheless the main interest of the Austrian expeditions is connected with the still unpublished sculptures of Gjölbaschi. The work is accompanied by an admirable map of Lycia by Prof. Kiepert.

A. H. S.

Les Céramiques de la Grèce propre. Par A. Dumont, M. J. Chaplain, et E. Pottier. Paris. 1880–88.

Histoire de la Céramique Grecque. Par O. Rayet et M. Collignon. Paris. 1888.

There is no branch of classical archaeology in which such rapid advance has been made of late years as in the study of Greek vases. A few years ago the pictures on Greek pottery were cited without due regard to the date and the source of the vases on which they were portrayed: the subject was everything and the style nothing. Since Jahn and Brunn directed attention to the history of vase-painting as an independent branch of art, we have had from Germany a series of books dealing with various aspects and periods of ceramography. For the form and decoration of vases we can consult Genick's *Griechische Keramik* and Lau's *Griechische Vasen*. The works of Klein, Winter, and others, noticed in the eighth volume of this Journal, have brought daylight into the classification of the red-figured Athenian vases. But hitherto there have been wanting general histories fit for students rather than for specialists.

The French works cited at the head of this notice supply that want. It is understood that Dr. Furtwängler is about to publish a work of *ensemble* in Germany, and it is to be hoped that we shall soon in England have something better than the book, now almost worthless, of Dr. Birch on *Ancient Pottery*.

The work of Dumont, completed after his death by Pottier, is a full account of the various schools of pottery in Greece before the 'Unification of Styles' at Athens at the time of the Persian wars. Although Dumont professes to deal only with the vases of Greece Proper, he has chapters on those of Cyrene, of Rhodes, of Melos, and other parts. His plan is admirable. Devoting a chapter to each recognized group of vases, he very briefly mentions the essential points in their styles; and then gives summary descriptions of the principal published specimens, with references to the works in which they are figured or discussed. His discussions and descriptions are by no means sufficiently detailed to supersede reference to the more detailed accounts in such works as the *Annali* of the Institute and the *Archäologische Zeitung*, and indeed it would often have been of great use to the student if he had said more on such subjects as the use of incised lines or the introduction of some characteristic details in the decoration. But the work makes an excellent text-book, and the rapidity with which our views are changing is a reason for avoiding all speculative detail. Already since Dumont wrote Naucratis and Daphnae have added important chapters to our knowledge of archaic Greek vases, and the excavations on the Athenian Acropolis have given us fresh views of the date of Athenian vases of the severe style.

After comparing almost all of M. Dumont's descriptions with the prints of the vases to which they refer, the present writer can speak in high terms of their general accuracy. As to arrangement, of course there is often room for differences

of opinion. For example, the authors assign the archaic cup bearing representations of Theseus and the Minotaur, and the early terra-cotta tripod, both of which were found at Tanagra, to the fabric of Athens; whereas it would seem far more reasonable to give the former to Corinth, the latter to Tanagra itself. Writers on ceramic art are too ready to assign vases to the convenient source 'Athens.' But generally in all the work a sound judgment dominates. It has also a useful index. By far the greatest defect is in the selection of subjects for the plates. Of these, five represent prehistoric Greek vases, all the rest vases of the fifth century and later: thus the vases of the seventh and sixth centuries, with which the whole work is mainly concerned, do not appear in the plates at all.

The work of Rayet and Collignon is of a far slighter character, and being nicely illustrated is perhaps of the drawing-room-table class. A work of this sort does not give opportunity for much originality; it requires rather sound sense and fine taste, and certainly neither of these qualities is here wanting. Nor can it have been an easy task, considering the extent and wide dispersion of the literature of the subject, to bring together what is most certain and of most general interest into a single volume. Perhaps one of the least satisfactory chapters is that (VIII.) which deals very briefly with black-figured vases; but the difficulties in regard to date and style of black-figured vases are so many and so far from settlement that it was perhaps wise lightly to pass them by in a work not intended for specialists. P. G.

La Collection Sabouroff. Par Adolphe Furtwängler. Berlin, 1883–87.

Of this book, published both in French and German, and illustrated by 149 plates, we can only speak in terms of very high praise. During his stay at Athens as Russian minister, M. de Sabouroff employed himself in the formation of a splendid collection of sculpture, bronzes, terra-cottas, and vases. Of late, the sculptures, bronzes, and vases have been incorporated in the Museum at Berlin, and the terra-cottas have gone to St. Petersburg. So the Sabouroff Collection exists no longer. But to the present record of it the greatest value belongs, for three reasons:—

(1) On account of the mode in which the collection was formed. Almost all the objects of which it is composed were found in Greece proper, and in turning over the plates we learn much as to the art of Greece proper as contrasted with that of the Greek colonies abroad. This is especially advantageous in the case of vases; it is most refreshing to miss the Italian imitative vases which form the bulk of most collections of antiques; in real Hellenic vases there is a certain attractive thoughtfulness and reality. In the case of terra-cottas also it is good to escape from the showy 'Asia Minor' wares, the great majority of which are of more than doubtful authenticity.

(2) On account of the beauty of the plates. The mechanical processes of Dujardin, the skill of the Photographic Society of Berlin, and the talent for drawing of M. Eichler, have combined to render these plates on the whole the most faithful and the most beautiful series of reproductions of the antique in existence. Some of the prints of vases, in particular, could scarcely be surpassed.

(3) On account of Dr. Furtwängler's introductions and descriptions. There are few who possess so wide and general a knowledge of the works of ancient art as this writer, and few are so accurate in their descriptions of monuments. The three introductions, to the sculptures; (dealing principally with sepulchral monu-

ments), to the vases, and to the terra-cottas, deserve the most careful reading; the student could scarcely find anything more worthy of inward digestion.

It is only to be regretted that the high price of this work (some £18) places it out of the reach of all but the wealthy. But it is a necessity to archaeological libraries. P. G.

Denkmäler Griechischer und Römischer Sculptur. Von H. Brunn. Munich: in progress.

This great work, which is to be completed in 80 parts, should be here mentioned, though criticism may be deferred until it has further advanced towards completion. The object is to furnish students—but above all, teachers and lecturers—with photographs on a large scale of typical works of ancient sculpture. Such plates as have as yet appeared (3 parts) have no accompanying text. We can only judge, therefore, of two things: selection and execution. We notice with great satisfaction that Prof. Brunn usually selects for his plates objects which are not generally known by means of casts—notably sculptures recently found at Athens, Epidaurus, and elsewhere. This is clearly the right principle, so long as nothing is selected merely because it is new. The execution has been entrusted to Bruckmann, of Munich, and so far he has been very successful. Even in museums where casts of the objects photographed exist, these photographs are by no means superfluous; they escape the vulgarity and deadness of casts, while their superior portability gives them great advantages for class-work. When Prof. Benndorf brings out his promised new series of prints of vases, to place beside these photographs of sculpture, the *apparat* of the teacher of archaeology will be greatly improved.

P. G.

Les Musées d'Athènes: en reproduction phototypique de Rhomaïdes Frères. Texte de P. Cavvadias. Athens. 1886, &c.

Of this quadrilingual work only two parts are yet issued. The text is not of much importance, being confined to a short description of the plates. The main object of the work is to publish to the world, by means of these latter, some of the more important of the archaeological treasures now coming to light in such numbers in the excavations in Greece. Most of the sixteen photographic plates which have so far appeared contain representations of the female figures of archaic style recently found near the Erechtheum (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* viii. p. 159). Some of these have still more recently been represented in the original colouring in the plates of the Athenian *Ephemeris*. Besides, there are representations of the Moschophorus of the Acropolis, of two bronze heads, and fragments of a horseman—all from the same interesting site. P. G.

Die Akropolis. Von. A. Bötticher. Berlin, 1887.

Die Akropolis, we need scarcely say, is the Acropolis of Athens. Dr. Bötticher gives in this book a clear and popular and well-illustrated account of the history of this celebrated citadel, especially as it has been revealed by recent excavation. Those who are acquainted with the author's book on Olympia will scarcely need to be told that this work is well-arranged, clearly written, and based on the study of

good authorities. Nevertheless its publication at a moment when every week brings to light new facts, and reveals fresh monuments in those wonderful excavations in progress on the Acropolis, must be considered very untimely. The author will probably have to re-write a great part of his book when the excavations come to an end, as they are expected to do next year. P. G.

Griechische Götter- und Helden-Gestalten. Von J. Langl. Introduction by C. von Lützow. Vienna. 1887. Folio.

This is not a work of importance to the archaeologist, but artists may well be attracted by its singular beauty. It contains 50 plates—all photographic reproductions of drawings by Prof. Langl of noted works of Greek sculpture, all of the later periods. These drawings give much that photographs cannot give, and are very beautiful, but a trained eye will at once see a modern hand in some of Langl's restorations. The plates are accompanied by a (German) text, which gives a brief account of the Greek deities, one by one, illustrated by well-chosen woodcuts. Lützow's Introduction furnishes a sketch of the history of Greek sculpture. We have thus an outline of *Kunstmythologie* which, however slight, is at a far higher level than the views on the subject commonly current among artists, while the illustrations constitute, even apart from the text, a delightful record of the art of the Greeks. P. G.

Die Musen in der antiken Kunst. Von Oscar Bie. Berlin. 1887.

The development of the conception of the Muses is traced in connection with the principal artistic representations or groups of representations.

§ I. deals with the four oldest representations known to us on the chest of Cypselus, the shield of Heracles, the François vase, and the altar of Hyacinthus at Amyclae.

§ II. with the vase-paintings, which, inasmuch as even the later lag behind the monumental art, may be treated together and serve to fill the gap between the earliest types and those of the Alexandrine age.

§ III. with representations recorded in literary sources, dating from the sixth to the fourth centuries: the Heliconian groups are especially important.

§ IV. with the Ambracian group of Hellenistic date, as represented on the Pomponius coins. Dr. Bie finds the number to be complete.

§ V. with the Halicarnassian basis, which is shown to be prior to the Ambracian group, and the Apotheosis of Homer by Archelaus of Priene, which stands between the two.

The development is a progressive individualization, and is traced on several lines. The type of the Muses was only gradually differentiated from those of a number of similar figures—Nymphs, Graces, and the like. Their functions, originally confined to music and song and the accompanying dance, were enlarged to include the principal varieties of poetry, and finally overstepped the boundary between art and science. The differentiation of functions is of course mainly that of attributes, but there is also to be traced a growth of system in the distribution of attributes. Artistic 'motives' play their part in the same process; the early simple dress is complicated by the himation or superseded by the stage costume; the pose is modified from the old simple standing or sitting by the introduction of the stele, the elevation of one foot on a support, and in innumerable minor ways.

The development has its connection with the cultus: it was at Delphi, Dr. Bie conjectures, that the Muses became a triad and were brought into relation with Apollo, whereas the Heliconian worship canonized the number 9, and the groups of the Heliconian nine executed by masters of the younger Attic school became most influential in art. The differentiation of functions and attributes reflects the history of literature. The scroll at first represented the poetry of heroic song; the diptychon is a symbol of lyric, the mask of dramatic, poetry (afterwards the tragic and comic drama were distinguished); the globe is referred to the astronomical epic of Aratus, and subject-matter now becoming the leading thought, perhaps under the influence of the book-cases of the great libraries, geometry, &c., press in, and history usurps the scroll.

Having followed the development of the Muse types, Dr. Bie in § VI. changes his method and classifies them exhaustively—as single figures, in their grouping, and in combination with other figures. He then takes up the question of the names of the Muses, and proves from both literature and art that before the time of the later Roman Empire there was no fixed relation between any given name and any particular type. He distinguishes four periods in the history of the Muses: (1) before the fifth century, (2) the fifth and fourth centuries, (3) the Hellenistic period, (4) the time of complete fixity of type and name.

Since Dr. Bie wrote, a work of the greatest importance in his subject has been discovered—that pedestal at Mantineia which supported the group of Leto, Apollo, and Artemis sculptured by Praxiteles, and which bears representations in relief, as Pausanias describes it, of Marsyas playing on the flutes and of the Muses (*Paus.* viii. 9, 1). Photographic representations are given in Plates I.—III. of the *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellén.* for 1888. The types of the Muses are excellent fourth century works, but they in no way conflict with Dr. Bie's views.

J. A. R. M.

(*B.*)—HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES.

Les Archives de l'Intendance sacrée à Délos. (315—166 av. J. C.) Par Théophile Homolle. Paris. 1887.

In this book M. Homolle gives us a first systematic instalment of the results of the French excavations on the site of the temple of Apollo in Delos. He confines himself to the period of Délian independence—the only period which lends itself to a complete consecutive study—and to the establishment within its limits of an accurate chronology. How much is still to be looked for may be judged from the abundance and varied character of the monumental records, all the more valuable in our utter lack of literary information, and from many incidental remarks in the present work. The establishment of the Delian chronology is not only a necessary condition of the classification and right estimation of the documents themselves, but also valuable as a confirmation of the chronology of the general history of the time. This preliminary task is here admirably performed. After enumerating the distinctive marks of the documents of the native administration, M. Homolle arrives, by comparison of a number of monuments, at two continuous series of archons, the one of seventy seven names, the other of twenty-five. Various historical hints enable him to fix these series within certain chronological

limits, at first elastic, but gradually more and more determinate, until absolute exactness is attained. The gap between the two groups is then filled, and the second extended to the end of the Delian independence. The result is that between 301 and 166 B.C. only two names are missing, the chronology is fixed exactly from 301 to 225 B.C. and from 208 to 166 B.C., and with approximate exactitude from 225 to 208 B.C. It is difficult to over-estimate M. Homolle's skill in the use of his materials; his arguments constantly check and verify one another, and his proofs are cumulative and cannot be fully appreciated until the whole has been read. The inscriptions leave no further shadow of doubt that Polybius is right, as against Livy and his authority Valerius Antias, in placing the return of the Athenians to Delos in 166–5 B.C. But the date of the beginning of the Delian independence is more difficult to settle, and we do not think that M. Homolle is quite successful in fixing it at 315. The last dated document of the Amphictyonic administration is of the year 334–3; the last of the series of crowns dedicated by the Athenians to Apollo every four years at the greater Delian festival must be placed in 330. The first dated document of the Delian ἱεροποιοὶ is not earlier than 302, although Delian independence before that date is certainly proved. M. Homolle finds no evidence and no reason to suppose that the Athenians lost Delos between 330 and 326 or subsequently until 315, when Antigonus and Ptolemy intervened in the Aegean, and Lemnos fell to the former. But where evidence is so scanty an argument from silence is almost worthless, and the Delians had certainly no lack of opportunities of contriving their freedom by intrigue or revolt. On the other hand, if we accept the statements of dubious authority that the Athenians continued to send the theoric ship down to the time of Demetrius Phalereus, M. Homolle's date may yet be questioned. Certain facts seem to indicate that Delos and Athens were still connected some years after 315. M. Homolle explains them by supposing a *rapprochement* between both states and Ptolemy, but until he has proved the separation he is not justified in supposing the *rapprochement*. The date 315 may be as good as others, but it has not been shown to be better; indeed there seems no reason to suppose that Delos did not pass more than once in the interval 330—307 from subjection to independence and independence to subjection. We have dwelt on this point (which does not affect the chronology of the Delian archons) because it seems the only one of M. Homolle's dates which may require revision. It is interesting to note that on the retirement of the Athenians a sort of shadow of the old Confederacy seems to have arisen among the islands. Delos became the centre and treasury of a petty league, but the administration of the funds and festivals remained entirely in the hands of the Delians themselves.

The value of the establishment of the Delian chronology for dealing with the inscriptions must be at once apparent. Not only can about fifty be at once dated either by the archons or subordinate magistrates mentioned, but the method of dating by comparison becomes exceptionally accurate. The points of comparison are very numerous, including, besides the juxtaposition, character, and dimensions of the stones, such matters as nomenclature, formulæ, style of composition, sums dealt with, increase of inventories, and operations in hand. But especially the test of palaeography becomes singularly serviceable, for the same cutter was often officially employed for a series of years, and his individual style is imprinted on the monuments almost like a handwriting.

M. Homolle's results are embodied in two appendices, of which the first is a

chronological table of the archons and minor magistrates, the second a descriptive catalogue of the monuments chronologically arranged. A map is also added of the excavations on the temenos of Apollo.

J. A. R. M.

Beschreibung der antiken Münzen. (Königliche Museen zu Berlin.) Vol. I. Berlin. 1888. 8vo. Pp. viii. 1—357.

This volume, the first instalment of a most important numismatic undertaking—the cataloguing of the Greek coins in the Royal Museum of Berlin—contains a full description of the money of the Tauric Chersonese, Sarmatia, Dacia, Pannonia, Moesia, Thrace and the Thracian kings (including Lysimachus). It is the work of Dr. Von Sallet, the learned curator of the Berlin Coin-Cabinet, who has been assisted in certain portions of the Catalogue by Dr. B. Pick, and in the preparation of the Indices by Dr. Menadier. It gives evidence on every page of Dr. Von Sallet's well-known critical care and numismatic acumen. There is no general introduction, but interesting notes are appended to many of the descriptions, and the source from which the Museum obtained its specimens is stated, wherever practicable. The illustrations consist of eight photographic plates and of sixty-three cuts inserted in the text.

In two respects only can the great work which has now been begun be materially improved. It is greatly to be wished that the editor—or rather, perhaps, the Directors of the Berlin Museum—would in future volumes furnish a much more liberal supply of photographs and discard all methods of illustration which do not mechanically reproduce the original specimens. It would also be of great assistance to archaeologists as well as to numismatic specialists if the dates or approximate dates of the different coin-series could be in every case stated. Dr. Von Sallet has of course already arranged the coins chronologically, and with his arrangement numismatists will doubtless in the main agree; but a classification by periods, as in the British Museum catalogues, would be very welcome.

The Berlin collection is, if we may rely on the fairly satisfactory test of numbers, a good deal richer in the coins of Thrace, &c., than the British Museum. In the important series of Panticapaeum, Olbia, Abdera, Aenus, and Thasus this superiority is especially manifest. In the imperial coins of Moesia, Thrace, &c., the two collections are more nearly equal. It may be noticed that the British Museum possesses (at present uncatalogued) a specimen of the Pannonian coin described on page 36. Its reverse reads clearly

METAL
PANNONI
CIS

and the head on the obverse is, as Dr. Von Sallet remarks, the head of Sol and not of Trajan. The coin No. 7 (p. 48), described under Callatia in Moesia, certainly belongs, as Dr. Von Sallet points out, to Calchedon in Bithynia. A similar specimen in the British Museum (erroneously catalogued under 'Callatia') was procured, together with a number of coins of Sestos and Asia Minor, by Sir Charles Newton when vice-consul at Mitylene.

Future volumes of Dr. Von Sallet's excellent work will be most anxiously awaited.

W. W.

Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum—Attica, Megaris, Aegina. By Barclay V. Head. Edited by Reginald Stuart Poole. London. 1888. 8vo.

A most carefully prepared volume, illustrated by twenty-six autotype plates. The Introduction of fifty-nine pages (here partially summarized) includes an able and lucid account of the coinage of Athens. The earliest coins which undoubtedly belong to Athens are the well-known tetradrachms with the types of Pallas and the Owl. The author shows by convincing arguments that these belong to the time of Solon (circ. B.C. 594). The coins of the time of Pisistratus (B.C. 560—527) are of larger diameter and less globular fabric. During the long period B.C. 527—322 the archaic types of Pallas and the Owl are, for commercial reasons, steadily maintained. Four slight varieties of style may however be discerned, and by these the coins can be chronologically arranged. When Athens fell into the hands of the Macedonians, B.C. 322, her coinage ceased, and it was probably not till B.C. 220 that there took place a new issue of money, consisting chiefly of tetradrachms of flat fabric, bearing magistrates' names and symbols. This large class of tetradrachms is catalogued alphabetically according to magistrates, but in the Introduction Mr. Head proposes a chronological assignment of the different specimens. The silver money comes to an end about B.C. 83, three years after the capture of Athens by Sulla. From this time no Athenian coinage appears to have been allowed till, under Hadrian, bronze imperial coins—issued perhaps till the time of Caracalla—made their appearance. The obverses of these coins present the head of Athena instead of the usual head of the reigning emperor. On their reverses are a number of copies of statues mentioned by Pausanias and others. The gold and the earlier bronze coinages of Athens are discussed on pp xxvi.—xxx. The coins of Eleusis—Megaris are treated on pp. lx.—lxiv.

The earliest coinage of the enterprising merchants of Aegina belongs apparently to the seventh century B.C. If the statement which connects its issue with Pheidon be correct, his date—so much disputed—cannot be placed earlier than that century. The standard of the Aeginetic money is, according to Head, the Phoenician standard in a degraded form. The tortoise coins are arranged in four classes : I. Tortoise with smooth shell and row of dots on its back. *Reverse*, incuse square roughly divided. II. Similar tortoise. *Rev.* incuse square divided by broad bars into compartments. III. Tortoise with the carapace as in nature. *Rev.* As No. II. IV. Similar to No. III., but with inscriptions on the reverse. Class IV. begins in B.C. 404, when the population of Aegina, which had been expelled by the Athenians in B.C. 431, was restored by Lysander. Class III. extends from B.C. 480—431. Class II. perhaps from B.C. 550 to 480, and Class I. belongs to the seventh and sixth centuries. There are bronze coins of the third and second centuries and an imperial bronze coinage.

W. W.

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*** Besides numerous woodcuts and other illustrations in the Text, eighty-three Plates produced by chromolithography, lithography, or fine photographic processes have been published in the Atlas which accompanies the Journal. Portfolios to hold these Plates can be obtained of Messrs. Macmillan and Co., Bedford Street, Covent Garden, price five shillings each, and cloth cases for the text at one shilling each.

SOME FRAGMENTS OF A VASE PRESUMABLY BY EUPHRONIOS.

[Plate VI.]

The fragments collected on Plate VI. were found in 1888 in the excavations on the Acropolis—near to the south wall beyond the stratum of poros *débris*. (Ἐν δὲ τῇ πρὸς τὸ νότιον τεῖχος τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως ἐπιχώσει τῇ πέραν τοῦ πωρίνου στρώματος εὑρέθησαν κ.τ.λ. Δελτίον 1888. Φεβ.). I am not able to offer a complete restoration of the design, nor to explain with certainty all details, but the extant fragments are of such great artistic and archaeological importance that it seems desirable to publish them at once, without waiting either for such explanation or for a detailed examination of the mythography involved.

I owe to the courtesy of M. Kabbadias permission to make the publication. The drawing is by M. Gilliéron, kindly supervised by Dr. Wolters, after I left Athens. To him is therefore due the present restored position of the fragments.

The vase was obviously a cylix, the designs of both interior and exterior being painted on a white ground. The necklet and bracelet of the female figure, the head-bands of both, and other portions in slight relief and now coloured red, once bore gilding. The subject and main outline of the—most important—interior design are happily clear. Orpheus (ΟΡΦΕΥ) to the right sinks on one knee to the ground; his left hand no doubt supported him. His right arm, of which the turn of the elbow is just visible against the wrist of the female figure, is bent and uplifted, holding a large lyre. In front of him stands the figure of a Thracian woman, her left hand extended, her right hand depressed and apparently holding a bipennis. The relative position of the two figures is fortunately assured by the two fragments of the lyre.

The position of the fragment with the lower part of the body of Orpheus is determined of course by its relation to the head and the necessity of putting its reverse side into the circle on the reverse. Its position may be

considered tolerably certain. The fragment bearing the letters ON presents grave difficulties. On its upper half is the lower portion of a bipennis, a weapon frequently in the hands of the Thracian women (see Gerhard, *Trinkschale und Gefässe*, Taf. J.) in similar representations. On the lower portion of this fragment (the join is marked by a crack) is painted an object as to the explanation of which I am in some doubt. In a representation of the death of Orpheus on a published vase (*Monumenti*, ix. 30), a Thracian woman deals the death blow with a weapon, the handle of which is shaped in a fashion very similar to this object, but of much ampler proportions. I think however that in all probability we have here the handle of a peculiar form of lance or sceptre used as a lance. It may be urged that the Thracian is already armed with a bipennis in the right hand, and that her left is engaged, and in any case she would scarcely carry a double weapon. I feel the force of the objection, and can only note that though the death blow has not been dealt, Orpheus is already wounded and bleeding, and the wounds have clearly been inflicted by some small pointed weapon. I offer this interpretation however only in default of a better.

Supposing the uncertain object to be the head of a lance, and supposing the whole double fragment to be in place, a difficulty arises. Where does the lance pierce the body? If the direction of the remaining handle be produced, it must pass behind the remaining fragment of drapery, and if it be of the customary size it should enter the body in sight; this it does not. The fragment of drapery belongs not to Orpheus but to the Thracian woman: the outline of her foot is seen beneath it, trampling on her fallen foe (cf. *Monumenti*, ix. 30). Now if the lance handle be in place, what has become of the rest of her drapery? which by no contrivance can be so arranged as to escape falling over some portion of the fragment.

I am inclined to hazard one of two conjectures—either (1) the fragment must be moved slightly outwards so as to avoid the necessity of the drapery falling over it; or (2), and this is the more probable, the half of the fragment on which the lance handle is does not belong here at all. This difficulty did not occur to me when I examined the fragments in Athens, but I hope to be able to set it at rest by a second examination. I am aware of course that if this fragment be placed slightly more outwards, all the other segments of the reverse must undergo analogous displacement, but this is quite a possible arrangement of the designs of the exterior—no doubt greatly inferior in interest; too little remains for complete reconstruction. A fallen barbarian and a horse occupied one side, a horse and some uncertain object the other.

To turn to what is certain. The inscription *οιεσεν* above the lyre assures us that the vase was signed. It is of course natural to supply the name of Euphronios. This master has left us a cylix with white ground (Berlin 2282) signed with his name. It happens that this Berlin vase has the love name Γλαύκων, which gives a high probability to the restoration Γλαύκων for the two letters below the bipennis ON. The head of Orpheus is very like in style to the head of the seated youth in the Berlin vase. The eye of Orpheus is however almost completely sideways, that of the youth in

the Berlin vase almost full. On the other hand our vase has ϛ in the *οιησεν*, while the Berlin vase has ξ.

The love name Γλαύκων recalls the Aphrodite Camirus vase of the British Museum, and making all allowance for intentional difference of characterization, the head of the Thracian woman is not unlike in drawing to the head of the Aphrodite in the swan.

I have however no intention whatever of trying to attribute the Aphrodite vase to the actual hand of Euphronios. In the case of these unsigned vases, it seems to me that most probably they were executed by pupils and workmen trained in a particular style, that of their master, and often probably quite as skilful as he was himself. In the course of the execution of perhaps dozens of orders, it pleased the master occasionally to execute entirely, or it may be merely finish a few vases; in these cases he put his name to his work, and possibly doubled the price, otherwise it was understood that he was responsible generally, but that he was not the actual executant.

To return to the mythography of the subject. The type is a perfectly familiar one, the fallen foe and the standing victor; it is not at all peculiar to the death of Orpheus, but serves for *e.g.* Achilles and Penthesilea, Apollo and Tityos. It seems to have been specially popular with cylix painters from the facility with which it filled a circular space. From a decorative point of view it is interesting to note the various devices for filling the space that intervenes between the standing and fallen figures: sometimes it is the shield of the victor, sometimes the uplifted hand of the vanquished: the lyre of Orpheus is perhaps the happiest of these inventions.

Instances of the death of Orpheus on vase paintings have been collected by Heydemann (*A. Z.* 1868, S. 3). As regards the typography of the myth, all the known instances fall into two groups.

(*a*) The *pursuit scheme.* Orpheus holding the lyre is pursued by a Thracian woman, usually swinging a bipennis above her head in the Clytemnestra pose (*e.g.* Gerhard, *Trinkschale und Gefässe,* Taf. J.).

(*b*) The *death scheme.* A Thracian woman stands over and sometimes actually tramples on the falling Orpheus while she drives a spear into his breast (*e g. Monumenti,* ix. Taf. 30).

There are several stages of transition between the two, when Orpheus is half falling, and both schemes when used for amphora decoration are liable to be enlarged by accessory Thracians, either on foot or (once) on horse.

The present cylix belongs of course to scheme *b*, and is a good instance of the delicate treatment of a barbarian subject, such as would be expected from a great master. Orpheus is pierced and fallen—possibly a lance still in one of the wounds. The Thracian woman has her foot upon his body, but there is no unseemly violence of gesture; the bipennis even is not swung above her head. She is characterized as a barbarian in part by unkempt masses of hair, in striking contrast to the figure of Orpheus. Her hair lies in dank straight folds, something after the fashion of the half-born Pandora on the vase in the British Museum. But the special mark of the barbarous

Thracian was the tattoo. This is clearly indicated by the sort of ladder pattern on the neck, repeated on the left arm, while the right arm bears a beautiful little tattoo of a stag. The ladder pattern I am unable to explain. The other vase representation of the death of Orpheus, in which the Thracians appear and attend, are noted by Heydemann (*op. cit.*). This simple matter of savage etiquette seemed to the Greeks so extraordinary that they had to account for it in various ways. The most popular explanation was that given by Plutarch, *De sera numinis vindicta*, that it was done to the honour of Orpheus, as a punishment to the women,—a revenge Plutarch thinks unduly prolonged: "*οὐδὲ γὰρ Θρᾷκας ἐπαινοῦμεν, ὅτι στίζουσιν ἄχρι νῦν τιμωροῦντες τῷ Ὀρφεῖ τὰς αὑτῶν γυναῖκας.*"

JANE E. HARRISON.

EXCAVATIONS IN CYPRUS, 1887–88.

PAPHOS, LEONTARI, AMARGETTI.

[Plates VII.—XI.]

The immediate publication of the results of an extensive excavation is sometimes very difficult, often impossible. In the present instance the nature and quantity of our discoveries was not such as to preclude this possibility, and therefore we felt that we should best consult the interests of the archaeological public in making all that we can accessible in the number of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* appearing after the conclusion of our season's work. The Report published by the Cyprus Exploration Fund has served to indicate the manner and attainments of our excavations; but it seemed desirable to publish at once all the material which has been gained for the advance of historical, archaeological, and artistic knowledge. For this purpose we have divided that material amongst ourselves; and while each of us is individually responsible for the section he has undertaken, we trust that we have so divided the field that our accounts may be found to mutually explain and supplement one another. We have attempted no more than to add such comments to the facts as were necessary for their due comprehension. If we had wished to finally systematize the whole of our results, or to deduce from them more remote inferences as to the history or institutions of Cyprus, we could not have published them so soon. This larger task may afterwards be completed either by others or by ourselves. At present our desire is to place on record the material available for its accomplishment.

Under these circumstances we may claim the indulgence of scholars towards omissions or defects that longer time might have remedied. It must also be pardoned us if some of the following chapters overlap, or if the views of the different writers do not entirely coincide.

The sections are assigned as follows:—

I. The First Season's Work: Preliminary Narrative.—D. G. Hogarth.

II. On the History and Antiquities of Paphos.—M. R. James.

III. The Temple of Aphrodite: its Architectural History and Remains.—R. Elsey Smith.

IV. The Temple: Results of the Architectural Evidence.—E. A. Gardner.

V. Contents of the Temple.—E. A. Gardner.

VI. Inscriptions of Kuklia and Amargetti.—E. A. Gardner, D. G. Hogarth, M. R. James.

VII. Tombs.—D. G. Hogarth, M. R. James.

In the deciphering of the Cypriote inscriptions much valuable aid was received from Messrs. Six of Amsterdam and Dr. W. Deecke: and in the preparation of the illustrations from Mr. A. H. Smith of the British Museum.

E. A. Gardner.

I.—The First Season's Work. Preliminary Narrative.

The movement in favour of organised research in Cyprus which, originating in the latter part of the summer of 1887, led before the end of the year to the formation of a Fund directed by a Committee comprising all those who are most prominent in supporting the study of Classical Archaeology in this country, has been set forth already in circulars and reports,[1] and needs only a brief allusion here in order to explain the causes and conditions of our subsequent work at Old Paphos and other sites in the winter and spring of this year. In the early months of 1887, Dr. F. H. H. Guillemard, the well-known traveller and ornithologist, spent a considerable time in Cyprus, and in the less known parts of the island saw and heard so much of continual discoveries, legitimate and illegitimate, that, on his return to England, he lost no time in pressing the desirability of sending an expedition on many who were interested in matters archaeological, with the result that the University of Cambridge took into consideration the question of making a grant from the Worts Travelling Bachelor's Fund for that purpose. The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies was also sounded, and many circumstances conspired to induce their favourable consideration for such a proposal. Besides the valuable information communicated by Dr. Guillemard, it was known that the High Commissioner of Cyprus had resolved for sufficient reasons, which need not be detailed here, to discountenance in future all private exploration in the island, but at the same time had declared his willingness to help any work organised and conducted by a recognised scientific body: it resulted therefore that, unless such bodies undertook the task, no one would attempt to solve the many problems connected with the island for some years to come. The fact that Cyprus is the only field for research in classical archaeology which is absolutely under our own control has naturally caused it to be frequently suggested when such work has been in contemplation during the past ten years, and indeed, as soon as the Hellenic Society took the matter in hand, it was found that the idea had occurred independently to others, and that considerable co-operation might be looked for. On November 3rd a general meeting of the Committee of the Society was held under the presidency of Sir Charles Newton, K.C.B., and a strong Sub-Committee was formed to consider the details of the scheme. The two representatives of Cambridge, Mr. H. B. Smith and Dr. Guillemard, were present at the meeting, and declared their willingness to co-operate, it being generally felt that the Cambridge grant was not large enough for a separate undertaking, but ultimately Mr. Smith was unable to proceed to Cyprus, and his place was taken by Mr. M. R. James, Fellow of

[1] See the Circular put out by the Committee of the Fund in the autumn of 1887, and the recently published Report.

King's College. The difficult question of the directorship was solved by the connection of the whole undertaking with the British School of Archaeology in Athens under its Director, Mr. E. A. Gardner, and it was determined that all who took part should do so as students of the School. At a later period we were joined by Mr. R. Elsey Smith, as Architect of the expedition.

Cyprus, it need hardly be said, is very far from being virgin ground; and it was quite as much with a view to the introduction of order into the chaotic results of certain previous explorations, as to the discovery of anything entirely new, that we undertook our work. Hardly a site in the island has not been tried at some time or another: before the British occupation in 1878, the Cypriote villagers gained on their own account that experience in tomb-opening which we often had occasion to utilise when they had become our servants. Whenever a more notable find than usual was bruited abroad, the Turkish officials would intervene and, continuing the excavation for their own ends, ransack the immediate neighbourhood of the last discovery; within the memory of living villagers this had twice happened at Kuklia; and Idalium, Tremithus, Curium, Salamis, and other sites were all tapped long before General di Cesnola came upon the scene of his future labours. Of the work of the latter gentleman this is not the place to speak at length; sufficient to say that, while it is admitted that his archaeological or artistic or commercial instinct led to the discovery and exhibition of such a complete and magnificent series of types of Cyprian art in every form as will probably never again be gathered together, it is much to be regretted that his want of all archaeological qualifications, coupled with his desire that that want should not be apparent to the world, has introduced such confusion into his results. Had he not been so shy of confessing that he had little or no hand in the actual discovery of the treasure, that the majority of the work was done by Beshbesh not by himself, that many objects were purchased from villagers and not unearthed, that he hardly knew where his foreman worked, what he spent, or what he found, and finally that he himself neither kept accurate notes of the provenance of his treasures nor of the incidents of his journeys, he might have written a plain narrative of inestimable value in place of the ambitious and turgid volume which has worse confounded Cypriote archaeology. Of the private explorations since the Occupation a few, such as those originated by the British Museum and carried out through Mr. Cobham of Larnaca, were conceived on a scientific basis, though a small scale; others again were of less value owing either to unscientific management, the dispersion of the objects as soon as found, or want of perseverance, and there was as much to be done in verifying and connecting their results as in breaking fresh ground.

Therefore when we met in Nicosia at the end of December we felt that we might expect useful, if not brilliant, results on almost any site in the island: Mr. Gardner had arrived with Dr. Guillemard about a month previous to this, and after a short stay in Nicosia had travelled round the western coast to see the chain of sites extending from Kerynia to Amathus; they were most impressed with three, that on the coast below the modern village of Lapithos,

representing the ancient town of that name; that near Poli-tis-Chrysochou, believed to be the remains of Arsinoe, and partially excavated in the early months of 1887 by a syndicate of private residents in the island, of whom Mr. J. W. Williamson was the chief; and the famous temple of Aphrodite at Old Paphos in and near the modern village of Kuklia. The season was already advanced, and it was most undesirable that more time should be spent in preliminaries than was absolutely necessary, and accordingly we determined to postpone the exploration of the eastern half of the island, and choose among the sites mentioned. While at Poli Mr. Gardner had broached the terms of an agreement to Mr. Williamson, but no definite understanding had been arrived at yet, and furthermore we felt that the excavation of a necropolis should be subsidiary to some larger undertaking on some site of greater importance; in ignorance therefore of the rigid interpretation which would be put on the Ottoman Regulation forbidding excavation on more than one site at a time, we deferred the question of Poli until we had agreed upon a principal field for our operations. There remained Lapithos and Old Paphos, of which the former, a city whose period of greatest prosperity was late, and whose name was hardly known outside the island itself, was far less attractive than the latter, one of the three or four most famous centres of worship in the Levant.[1] Kuklia had been among the first sites suggested when the scheme of the expedition was mooted in England, and there was no other whose name would be so familiar to the general public, and no other whose excavation had been so often desired. The very fact that the magnitude of the undertaking had deterred all private searchers prompted us to take it up with the larger funds at our disposal; where General di Cesnola had so soon stopped for want of means, we might do much by greater perseverance, and the historical importance of the site, which had attracted the explorers of Olympia, justified the large scale on which we proposed to work. Further the site was quite clearly defined, so that no time need be wasted in searching for our final field of operations, and but for a few scratches made from time to time it had not been meddled with in modern days. General di Cesnola's operations were on his own confession most insignificant;[2] before his time I could only hear of two attempts to dig upon the site, one by some villagers in the early part of the last decade but one, who accidentally finding fragments of a bronze-gilt statue, probably of late date, near the large blocks at the south-west corner of the temple, scraped up the immediate neighbourhood until stopped by zaptiehs from Ktima; the other by a Turkish official a little later, who after putting in a spade or two on the temple, wasted his funds and energy on an already rifled tumulus to the east of the village; one or two residents in the island own to having tried the site, and on one occasion during

[1] I had reason to know later that our decision was a fortunate one. Besides the difficulty of negotiations for land held, as is the Lapithos site, by an episcopal see, I am bound to say that after a most careful examination of the ruins in the month of July I could see no spot which looked like repaying excavation. The character of the masonry is most inferior, the rock is never far from the surface, the tombs are all rifled, and there are no traces of any one building of importance.

[2] See his *Cyprus*, pp. 207 foll.

an excavation of some forty days a good many tombs seem to have been opened only to find that they had been rifled long before.

The great object of our work would of course be the plan of this the oldest shrine in the island, from whence much light might be thrown on Phœnician temples generally. We had no reason to expect much sculpture as no work of art is on record as having existed at Paphos, but we hoped for the best, and anticipated a certain find of art remains similar to those found by General Cesnola near Athieno, but were doomed to disappointment in this. Of inscriptions, Greek, Cypriote, or Latin, the results of earlier attempts encouraged us to expect a considerable number, and our expectation was certainly fulfilled in the sequel, but ex voto offerings, and the small miscellanea of antiquity did not come up to our hopes. As to tombs we started with no very great ideas and were less disappointed possibly than were some of our supporters in England; when we began work at Kuklia we imagined one and all that our tomb-robbing for the season would take place at Poli, but, as I have implied before, we failed ultimately to obtain any concession for that site.

In order to learn the Cypriote methods of working we determined on exploring first a small site near Nicosia, to which Mr. Gardner's attention had been drawn by Colonel Warren, C.M.G., Chief Secretary to the High Commissioner, who in this as in other good offices did all in his power to help us. The undertaking was entrusted to Mr. James, and he contributes the following account of the site:—

"The Mesoréa, or central plain of Cyprus, in which the capital Nicosia is situated, is in one part immediately south of that town diversified by a number of singular flat-topped hills which mostly attain a height of between five and six hundred feet above the sea-level. One of these, about four miles south of Nicosia, and slightly west of the Larnaca road, is known as Leontari Vouno or Vouni. It is the only one among six or seven similar hills in the immediate neighbourhood which has any unmistakable marks of being an ancient inhabited site. It was no doubt selected for occupation because, while easily defended, it is at the same time rather more accessible than its neighbours, and also because its flat top is of larger extent than theirs. Very roughly speaking its general form is oblong, and the ends point north-west and south-east. The plateau at the top—which may be half a mile in length and varies in breadth from nearly one hundred to over four hundred yards—divides itself into two parts separated by a narrow and shallow depression. These divisions are very unequal in size. That nearest to Nicosia, on the north, is the smaller of the two, and at the southern end of this, just at the edge of the depression described above, the entire breadth of the hill is spanned by remains of masonry which have already served to draw attention to the spot. They consist, generally, of one nearly square chamber on the west, of which the walls are complete with the exception of part of their facing, connected by a single wall with another chamber of which not much is left: and immediately beyond this, at the eastern edge of the hill, are some rock-cuttings to which I shall recur at a later period. The comparatively

perfect chamber mentioned first is known for some reason as the 'Crusader's Church,' but it is quite certainly not a church at all, and the building has by some authorities been attributed to the Romans, while one theory disputes the date implied in 'Crusader's' so strongly as to see in the building a Phoenician castle. It will be as well perhaps to dispose of this part of the subject at once. In the first place, nothing whatever is known of the history of the building, except that it was at one time used by the Turks as a powder-magazine, and that its facing was partially stripped off to be used in the construction of the church of Hagia Phaneromene in Nicosia in quite recent times (1871, I think). Secondly, as to the character of the masonry. It is throughout very massive. The external blocks, where they are left, are bevelled or rusticated in a peculiar manner; that is, a chisel draft runs round the edge of each, while the rest of the face is left rough. The junctures are very accurate, and the general effect is extremely good. This peculiarity of the outside surfaces—the surface left rough, and the bevelled edge—is noted as a characteristic of Phoenician masonry, but was also used to a small extent by the Greeks, largely by the Romans, and also by mediaeval and renaissance builders. The inside walls of the chamber are beautifully finished where the facing remains, and naturally enough show no traces of anything like the outside arrangement.

But it is the massive stone core which is perhaps the most characteristic portion of these walls; this is constructed of what is practically concrete composed of large rough stones for the most part laid in great courses about two feet high with here and there huge blocks the full height of the course and roughly squared, imbedded to serve as a bond. The inner and outer faces are very similar to those of a circular tower forming part of the fortress of Kyrenia, and evidently of mediaeval date; while both of these and the massive core are identical in construction with the crusading work found throughout Palestine, notably in Tancred's tower at Jerusalem, the photographs of which might indeed, as far as the character of the masonry is concerned, have been taken at Leontari. It appears therefore that a mediaeval date must be assigned to these remains instead of the earlier ones that have been previously suggested for the fortress.

The second chamber and the buildings on the east side of the hill generally afford distinct evidence of their date. They are much more fragmentary and are confused to some extent with remains of what are undoubtedly the earliest buildings on the hill. That is to say at one point a 'primitive' wall runs into the massive construction, and by this primitive wall two bits of the early pottery which formed the staple of our finds were picked up. Now the junction of the two walls was not easy to trace accurately, but the line of the bit of early wall ran parallel to that of the massive one. The character of the two differed widely. While the massive wall was at this point 18 ft. thick, the primitive one running parallel to it was only 3 ft. thick. My own conclusion from the aspect of the remains was that the early wall had actually been taken into the later structure, and made use of as an interior or party wall.

Just at the east end of the wall is a small depression on the edge of the hill, about ten yards across. Its general form is semicircular, and it overlooks the plain. At two points there are remains of steps cut in the rock, and leading down into it: and leading off from one of these sets of steps is a small cave partly natural—very likely, for the rocky crest of the hill is full of small natural holes—but partly artificial. It had been a tomb, doubtless, but nothing was left in it. It appeared probable from this and other indications that the rocky hollow had been a burying-place.

To proceed with the examination of the northern division of the hill. The rock is everywhere within a very few inches of the surface. There are three classes of remains upon it: (α) mounds and cairns; (β) rock-cut shafts; (γ) foundations of buildings.

α. There were two low mounds of earth and two cairns of stones, one of considerable size. The larger of the mounds, which lay near the eastern edge of the hill, was first trenched. A rude stone wall was discovered, apparently running straight across the mound, from north to south. It was 4 ft. high and 4 ft. 10 in. thick. The objects found here were: (i) Fragments of pottery of various kinds, viz. (α) a thick coarse grey ware, (β) with a hard black glaze, (γ) thin red glaze, (δ) red outside, black inside, (ϵ) blackish-red with incised pattern. (ii) Stones, whole and fragmentary, of a form found also by Dr. Schliemann at Troy; their supposed purpose is the crushing of grain or sharpening of tools. The outline may be called an oblong with rounded corners or a 'straight-sided oval.' One face is flat, the other is rounded.

Outline. Section.

(iii) Traces of charcoal. The large cairn, which was nearer the west side of the hill, was also investigated and found to contain absolutely nothing.

β. *Rock-cut shafts and tanks.* Of these there are six, of various shapes and depths; three, nearly filled up, lie in and near the building. Of these two are cemented inside. In view of the results obtained by digging in the principal shaft of all, it was not thought worth while to clear these out. There is no doubt that they were all three cisterns. Similarly there was no question that two of the remaining three were cisterns. They were nearer the northern end of the hill, were oblong in shape, and cemented inside. Near the corner of one was found an accumulation of wood-ashes (for washing purposes), and a bit or two of the old pottery. The last and principal shaft was more of a puzzle. It lies in the centre of the northern division, not far from the building. It was nearly square (12 ft. by 14 ft. at the top), and there was a good deal of soil at the bottom. When we began digging it out it was 39 ft. deep, and we investigated the soil to a depth of 10 ft. without coming to the bottom of the cutting. Turkish pottery and bits of modern iron were the only remains found there. Two main theories are current about the shaft, which is a very noteworthy piece of work, particularly noteworthy if the probabilities that it is of early date are considered. First, it may be a well, or cistern.

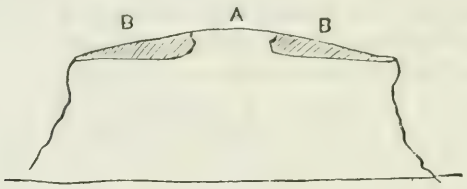
But the depth and the absence of cement seem to tell against this idea (and without cement the rock would not hold water), while the size of the aperture seems rather large for a well. However, I feel inclined personally to acquiesce in this last idea. The second theory is that it is a shaft leading down to a mausoleum of the former rulers of the place. It is needless to say, perhaps, that we found nothing in our incomplete investigation that would either confirm or disprove this idea: but the accumulation of soil at the bottom showed no signs of coming to an end, and we were compelled to transfer our energies to another site without finishing that part of the work.

γ. Foundations of houses. These are scattered all over the northern half of the hill. They consist of one or at most two courses of unhewn stones without mortar or cement of any kind. The plan is nearly always rectangular, seeming to indicate usually an oblong one-chambered house (sometimes there were two rooms and traces of a communication between them), which was probably built of mud on the stone foundation, since there were no miscellaneous accumulations of stones which could have formed the walls of the buildings. Trenches were dug round about many of these foundations, and the objects found were: (*α*) stones of the kind described above; (*β*) pottery in fragments, also of the kinds already described, but with the addition of other varieties, *e.g.* bits of vases of an unglazed light-brown ware with patterns (waved lines and dots) painted on them, of a reddish-brown colour, exactly the same, in other words, as the pottery we subsequently found on the southern part of the hill. The most important object that was found on the northern division was a bronze spear-head, perfect except for a slight injury from the pick, which came from the soil on the eastern face, near the remains of the building. It does not appear that there were tombs in the soil near it. The spear-head is a very fine one, twenty-six inches in length. Its date I will not attempt to determine, but there seems no particular reason to separate it from the rest of the bronzes subsequently found.

I mentioned above that between the two divisions of the hill is a narrow cleft or depression; probably it is partly artificial, for it is the termination of what seems to be an ancient road running along the western face of the hill, and it certainly is the most obvious way of gaining the top. On the right of this sunken cleft (*i.e.* opposite the ruined building) are hollows in the rock which may or may not have been tombs at one time; probably not, for no remains were found in them.

The southern division of Leontari Vouni is much larger than the northern. There are none of the early foundations on it which we noticed on the other end. There are in fact only two plain evidences of human handiwork, namely the remains of a very rude stone building near the south end, and not far from this, on the western face, some traces of rock-cuttings not unlike the steps noticed above. The building may be a very modern erection or a very old one. It is little more than a rude pile of stones: the natives are very likely right in calling it a *δράκος* or *βαρία*, a watch-tower or outlook of some kind. But the interest of this part of the hill was centred

in its tombs. I must explain exactly how they were placed. The rock, everywhere quite near the surface, rises into something of a ridge in the centre of the plateau, and the slope on each side of this has allowed of the accumulation of a certain quantity of light sandy soil, particularly on the east face, between the centre of the top and its edge. Along the central ridge on each side, and in this sandy soil, the graves have been made. A rough section of the ground would look something like this:



A being the rock, and *B* the accumulated earth. The graves thus nestle in under the edge of the rock in some instances, and in others they are simply dug in the earth. The rocky crust, where it actually touches the surface, is also full of holes, and we found one largish cavern near the cleft which had evidently been used as a tomb. Many fragments of pottery, and one or two complete small vessels were found, but the place had been opened and plundered in earlier times. This was the case also with some, but by no means all, of the earth-graves.

I will arrange what I have to say about the graves under two main heads: (*a*) disposition and form of the graves; (*β*) objects found in them.

(*a*) *Disposition and form.* Those graves that were contrived immediately under the edge of the rock were in some instances extended underneath it by hollowing out. The dimensions of one of the most considerable of these graves may be fitly set down here. The depth from surface of soil to floor of grave was 6 ft. It extended 7 ft. 11 in. under the rock. The height inside the excavated portion was 3 ft. Extreme length about 9 ft. The mouth of these partial rock-tombs was usually closed with a rough wall of large stones, but they had not always proved a safeguard against the spoiler, even where the wall was undisturbed, for the grave had been sometimes opened from above at a point inside this last. Another grave had a somewhat noticeable entrance. The soil on each side of the approach to it was kept from falling in by two large flat stones, and a third similar slab barred the entrance. On removing this we came on a second obstacle in the shape of a rough wall of loose stones, of which the top row was sloped so as to form a rude arch.

Among the earth-graves two deserve particular remark. The first was a collection of three children's graves, quite near the surface. It consisted of three holes radiating from a common centre, scooped out in the hard earth: the mouth of each one was closed with a small flat stone. The second, a larger grave, seems to have been built with rough stones in a bee-hive fashion, and to have fallen in owing to the pressure of the soil. As for the direction in which the graves are turned, it seemed to be a matter of chance entirely.

(β) *Objects found in the graves.* These were of two sorts, objects in terra-cotta and in metal.

I. *Pottery.* The total number of vessels in a perfect or almost perfect condition, that were found in some twenty-two graves, was very near two hundred. The largest number found in any one grave was about thirty-five. It would be impossible without the aid of illustrations to give any satisfactory idea of the large variety of shapes which were represented. A few general facts may be noted. In the first place the pottery belonged to the class of which so many specimens have been found (chiefly by Colonel Warren and Mr. Richter)[1] in the necropolis of Hagia Paraskeue, which lies about half-way between Nicosia and Leontari. Specimens from this place have found their way to Europe, but a large portion of the finds is still in Cyprus. By way of reminder it may be set down here that the ware is either (α) perfectly plain red or grey, or (β) light-brown with bands, waved lines or hatchings in black or red, or (γ) reddish-brown with light incised lines and hatchings, or (δ) black with raised pattern. A favourite and characteristic shape of the black-lined ware is that figured by Lau, *Griech. Vasen*, Taf. i. 2 (copied in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, Pl. lxxxviii. Fig. 2044). Other shapes are made to suggest animal forms. The large-necked (and incised) jugs have sometimes covers of the same ware, and the neck is perforated to allow of their being suspended. The chief point however to be noticed in connection with the pottery is its identity, first, with that used by the inhabitants of the northern part of the hill and, second, with that found at Hagia Paraskeue. It seems certain that whatever the date of the graves may be, they belong to the people who lived in the ancient houses whose remains I described. Besides pottery, stones of the odd shape already indicated, and whorls of clay with incised patterns were found as well in the graves, as among the house-foundations.

Only one distinct representation of an animal was found on the hill at all, and that not in a grave, but in the soil over one. It was a headless and footless clay figure of a quadruped of some kind, with a tail. A very few porcelain beads, perforated, of a light blue-grey were also found in the graves.

II. *Objects in metal.* It is noticeable, first, that no traces of gold or gilt objects were found. Of ornamental objects, except of one particular kind, there was also a dearth. The class alluded to consists of thick spirals of silver, copper, and bronze. These were found in almost every grave, and usually near the middle of the grave. One of the copper rings had a portion of thread on it, enough to show that it had originally been entirely covered with that material. Similar spirals were, as I believe, found at Hagia Paraskeue. Two other curious objects in bronze were found, to which I can assign no proper name. They were from three to four inches long, and were seemingly complete. They consisted of a spherical head with vertical divisions all round, such that a

[1] A scientific description of these is given by Dr. Dümmler, *Mittheil. d. d. Inst. Athen.* 1886, p. 209.

horizontal section would represent in one case a cusped circle, in the other a wheel deprived of its tire. These heads formed the termination of a twisted handle with a small enlargement at the lower end. The other metallic objects were all in bronze, and of a purely utilitarian character. There were among them:—

1. Pins between three and four inches long, of same thickness, which had all originally had plain hollow heads, resembling those of modern brass-headed nails. Besides this feature there was about half-way down a perforation in each pin.

2. Pins of various lengths, not perforated: but resembling hair-pins in some instances.

3. Spikes (? arrow-heads) tapering, of square section.

4. A piercer, still set in a fragment of its wooden handle.

5. Knife-blades; one retained the nails with which it had been fixed into its handle.

6. Tweezers, made in one piece, with blades broadening towards the end.

Miscellaneous objects. These included (1) a small pierced whetstone; (2) a fragment of hollowed stone, which may have been a mortar.

The small number of graves we were able to discover, even with the aid of a most keen-scented and competent overseer, leads to the conclusion that the hill cannot have been the constant or the only burying-place used by the the inhabitants of the settlement. What their connection may have been with people of Hagia Paraskeue, our present data do not enable us to determine.

The last point I need mention is that the excavations on Leontari occupied fifteen days, between January 7 and 24, 1888. The number of men employed varied from seven to fifteen.

M. R. J.

In the meantime I had paid a flying visit to Kuklia in order to prepare matters, hire the ground, and learn the truth of certain rumours which had reached us as to our being forestalled by other intending explorers.[1] All being arranged satisfactorily I returned to Nicosia, staying a few days on the way with Dr. Guillemard at Anoyira, a hill-village above Kuklia, where we found a number of monolithic remains which have been described by him in the *Athenaeum* of April and May, 1888, and I trust will receive some more attention at his hands. Finally the Leontari excavation was brought to a close, and taking with us Gregorio Antoniou as foreman, Reshid Tchaoush as camp-guard, and our personal servants, we set out for Kuklia and had all

[1] We had been informed through a very indirect channel that the Royal Archaeological Institute of Berlin had formed a definite plan or excavation at Kuklia in the coming autumn. Had we discovered this to be the case we should of course have yielded in their favour and selected another site, but, as we could hear of no sort of preparation having been made, and the rumour being excessively vague and untrustworthy, we persevered with our original intention. As a matter of fact the subject of Cyprus had been discussed at Berlin together with other likely fields of operation, but indefinitely postponed for want of opportunity and funds.

collected there by February 1st. We had been unable to bring more than the few picks, spades, and baskets which had been in use at Leontari, the Nicosia blacksmiths being incapable of turning out our further order very quickly, and accordingly batches of tools kept arriving about once a week, and our full stock was not on the spot until March 9th. This will explain why we began upon the temple with a small staff only, and why we were compelled to restrict ourselves to trenching for nearly three weeks—in the absence of wheelbarrows or baskets the earth could not be removed.

We at once set to work to settle ourselves as we best could in the wretched village which now-a-days represents Old Paphos. The villagers had held a meeting a few days previously to consider whether they could not obtain some part for themselves of the priceless treasures which they imagined were about to be unearthed, but the Commissioner, Mr. H. Thompson, one of the very few officials in the island who has merited and obtained the confidence of the peasants, explained to them the folly of obstructing an enterprise from which they would reap no small advantage: the past season had been very bad, and the necessaries of life had become very scarce throughout this poverty-stricken district, the most rugged and the least civilised in Cyprus. So the Kukliotes met us with open arms, vied for the honour (and profit) of letting their houses, tumbled over one another to get labour, and hardly gave us from first to last a moment's obstruction or annoyance. To these circumstances we owe the pleasant recollections which we all retain of the village, and it was this goodwill which enabled us to excavate so large a site at so small a cost. Three houses were hired at rents from 10*s.* to £1 per month, and in the rooms fringing the yard of the largest, where Mr. James and myself took up our abode, we were able to house the tools, overseers, and most of the antiquities.

On the 2nd the Commissioner rode over and assigned us liberal boundaries for our concession, a sensible arrangement which official conscientiousness revoked a month and a half later, giving us permission to dig only on such pieces of land as we had already agreed for with the proprietors—a needless bit of red-tapeism.

Meanwhile agreements had been made with Hussein Hadji Zaim, the principal landowner, for certain plots of land north and east of the village which seemed to contain tombs. Until more tools arrived it was not worth while beginning on the temple-site, but preparations were made by bargaining with Yagob Panagi, Hadji Ephraem, and the Church, for the southern portion of the site, so that work might begin at once, when we had the wherewithal to carry it on. Mr. Gardner had already communicated with the representative of the owners of the Tchiflik which is south of the temple, but the negotiation ultimately fell through, and we soon found that we could complete our work without trenching on these lands. (See Plan, Pl. VII.)

On February 3rd we actually began work with only fifteen men, selected from a crowd of applicants at the village coffee-house the night before. The plot that we had chosen was near to the great open tomb, known as the Σπήλαιον τῆς Ῥηγινῆς (from which Count Melchior de Vogüé took two

inscriptions in Cypriote character, now in the Louvre [1]), and lying on a gentle slope about half-a-mile east of Kuklia, known as 'Argaro.'[2] All about the large cave we found graves, but of very poor class and mostly rifled previously. This is in fact the fringe of the great necropolis on the flat ground above, and was probably not used for burying purposes until the sanctity of the royal tomb hard by had become less awful, or the family right to the ground had lapsed. We cleared out the approach to the large tomb, laying bare two lining-walls of fine masonry, on the right hand of which were two Cypriote characters. In the *débris* between the walls we found only fragments of common glass, lamps, and pottery, suggesting that the tomb had been used a second time; while among the drift inside the cave lay the fluted shaft noticed by Count de Vogué. Outside the approach we picked up fragments of a stone lion of small size and late date, which had probably formed part of the ornamentation added to the approach in Macedonian times.[3]

There was evidently nothing to be found here, and on the afternoon of the 6th we transferred the workmen to another plot lying close to the village and known as Xylino. Here one side of a small ravine was honey-combed with earth-tombs opened by villagers, but we hoped to find an untouched series below and opposite them. In this we had to some extent augured rightly, for during the eighteen days that we worked this necropolis we opened a great number of virgin tombs, among others that had been already entered; but the spoil was more remarkable for quantity than quality—a great deal of coarse local pottery, some glass of no particular beauty, alabaster and bronze vessels, and gold jewellery which suggested that a particular quality used to be supplied cheap 'for funerals.' One tomb indeed, from the elegantly moulded pilasters on each side of the doorway encouraged our hopes, but it was choked with shingle which defied our efforts to clear it away.

A second tomb (known to us as λ), approached by a flight of steps and vaulted with squared stone, yielded trinkets of a better class, together with handfuls of copper coins and nearly 200 coarse lamps. Higher up the ravine we obtained pottery of an older class, among it a bowl rudely painted with fish and stars, but unhappily broken into nearly forty pieces: traces also were found of the '*στούππωτα*,' as the native diggers call them, *i.e.* vases with false mouth; usually classed among 'Mycenae' ware. The general date of this necropolis however, seemed to be not earlier than the second century B.C., and it was probably used by the poorer Paphians.

A large consignment of tools arrived on the same afternoon on which we had begun work at Xylino, and we deemed it advisable to begin work without delay on the temple-site, the principal object of our exploration. The site, whose limits (though not its angles) were clearly marked by the huge limestone blocks which all travellers have noticed, lay half in the open and half under the southernmost houses of the village. The open portion was covered

[1] *Sammlung der Griech. Dialekt-Inschriften.* I. Nos. 38. 39. De Vogué *Mélanges d'Archéologie orientale*, p. 96. Pl. iii.

[2] See the general plan of the district, Pl. VII. for these tomb sites.

[3] See De Vogué *loc. cit.*

with stones and coarse grass, and showed considerable remains of some building over its south-eastern corner: south of the same corner was a deep depression which we afterwards filled up with the earth and stones from the site, and a slope of rugged ground ran down from the eastern limit to the church of the Panagia Chrysopolitissa. The west centre of the site was occupied by enclosures appertaining to the house of Yagob Panagi, but we had already secured the right of excavating[1] on as much of these as would be necessary. The whole of the open ground at this time let to us contained the south-western approach, the southern stoa almost entire, and the centre of the Temple up to the northern wall of the central chamber, these parts being gradually revealed as the work progressed. We had, like all previous visitors, over-estimated the depth of the earth-deposit upon the site, and we had hardly begun to consider the question of buying out the occupiers of the houses which covered the northern and north-western portions.

On the morning of February 7 we began to sink two trenches upon the south-eastern part of the site, one following the line of the large blocks which General Cesnola imagined to be the 'peribolus' wall; and another running obliquely from the angle, in order to cut as many walls as possible and enlighten us as to the character of the site. However we were not to learn much by these particular trenches, for hardly had we done more than find that the bed-rock was very near the surface at the southern end, when the bailiff of the Tchiflik appeared upon the scene and claimed this portion of the site for his masters. As there had been some doubt when we made our contract with Yagob as to the ownership of the open ground just here, we finally consented to defer excavation on this plot until the Tchiflik owners had had sufficient time to produce papers in support of their contention. This in the sequel was never done, and we resumed the trenches on April 3rd. For the rest of this day and all the following one the work was stopped by a spell of stormy weather.

On the 9th February trenching was begun in earnest on what proved later to be the southern stoa; the first cutting was carried in a line westward from the large blocks at the south-eastern corner in order to determine how much of the southern boundary-wall was in existence, and what returning-walls there might be. The trench was carried along about two-thirds of the wall, which was found to be very defective; the depth of deposit varied from two to four feet, and nothing was found in the trench beyond foundations. The second cutting ran northwards at right angles from the centre of the first, and proved more instructive, for the mosaic pavement of the stoa was soon struck, and, cutting through that, the men dug down into a mass of *débris* from which towards evening the first inscribed fragment (No. 3) was extracted. One of the piers of the southern row of columns was touched at a point very near to

[1] The 'right of excavation' is obtained by contract with the proprietor of the land, who, in return for a sum of money down, and compensation for crops and walls which may be destroyed by the excavator not only lets his land to the latter, but agrees to renounce all claim to whatever may be unearthed in it. Thus the excavator will obtain two-thirds of the find, paying only a third over to the Government, as enjoined by the Ottoman Code.

the place where the Eros head, found nearly a month later, was lying hid. Higher up the trench appeared a wall of fine masonry at a point above the mosaic pavement, which we knew later to be the west wall of the central chamber, and crossing and recrossing in all directions were walls of late work, the relics of the monastery which had been built over the site.

With minute details of this trenching, which was continued until February 22, it is unnecessary to weary the reader. Within the area of the southern and central chambers, the stoa, and the rough ground outside the Temple to the east, we made some sixteen cuts at all sorts of angles—a larger number than we should have thought worth while, had the means for removing the earth arrived earlier. By these trenches we hit all four walls of the central and southern chambers, and the south and east of the northern group of chambers: we determined the length of the stoa and its general character; and the 'lie' of the temple itself as compared with the later superstructures. A deep λάκκος or well was found outside the eastern wall and several shallower ones within the temple area, to which we devoted more time and attention than we did later when we knew that they were only grain-pits or cisterns made in the monastic era. For the first week very little was unearthed; four inscribed pedestals and two fragments were dug out, of which the most interesting, the 'Lycian' dedication, was found on the 17th close up to the northern boundary of our rights, and from the character of the blocks which appeared to lie beyond it, we concluded that a considerable find of inscriptions awaited us if we could succeed in buying out Hadji Ephraem, the owner of the large house and yard which covered the northern centre of the site.

Saturday, the 18th, broke the monotony: in the early morning was found in the central chamber and close to the eastern wall, to which it had possibly been attached, the white marble tablet engraved with six lines in Cypriote character, which is now preserved in the British Museum.[1] Before the morning was over we had also found under the pavement of the stoa in the west centre two large marble panels, one recording the subscribers to the feast of the Ἐλαιοχρίστιον, the other containing part of a letter from Antiochus to Ptolemy Alexander. A careful search under the mosaic in the neighbourhood failed to bring to light any more: however, so much was encouraging.

We had now proved that the depth of the silt, although in a few places as much as eight feet, was on an average little over four, and that it was no such herculean task to clear away all the deposit from the Temple as we had been led to suppose: and seeing that for a thorough exploration this was very desirable, while it would in any case be better that we should clear out one site than begin another at this late period, we determined to remove the whole. To this end it was necessary to find a place to deposit the earth; the pit above-mentioned, as lying south of the site, was conveniently situated, and on the 20th, we set an increased number of men to work to determine

[1] No. 13 in the list of Inscriptions.

whether anything was to be found in the pit before we should begin to fill it up. On the previous Sunday a large number of peasants had tramped in to find work and, after a free fight to secure tools lasting from four o'clock a.m. until six, we engaged some thirty extra hands, making up our whole staff to about eighty.

Negotiations had already been entered into with Hadji Ephraem and his brother for the purchase of their house, and on the 22nd the bargain was at last struck for £80, a very large price for this district, but one which was justified in the event by the number of inscriptions found under the house and yard. This purchase assured us of the discovery of all facts of importance, and the two houses bought later on merely gave us two corners, north and west, whereby the details of an already certain plan were more accurately fixed. Outside the eastern line of blocks we had found that there were no walls of early date, and merely a mass of *débris* collected from the Temple: there was no question therefore of carrying this away, and all that was required was to turn over such parts of it as seemed likely to contain inscriptions or fragments of statuary; accordingly a few men were kept at this work intermittently until the close of the excavation in May.

A fresh cast was made for tombs during the week beginning February 24th on the right bank of the lower part of the Xylino ravine, almost directly between the temple and the sea. The place was known as the 'Camel's Tail,' and was found to contain a series of rock-cut tombs of early date and fine workmanship, some approached by passages lined with good masonry, another by a flight of twenty-five steps: but unfortunately they had been pillaged in early days—indeed they had probably been used again in the time of the decline of Paphos, for the broken jars and glass still remaining were of a quality hardly adequate to the character of the tombs themselves. The robbers had however (as was so often the case) done their work in haste and fear, and we still found some gold and glass worth finding, notably a large gold frontlet with incised leaf pattern, a pair of amethysts set in gold and made into ear-rings, an inscribed ring, and some very delicate glass vases.[1]

From February 23rd onwards we steadily cut away the earth from the temple beginning from the southern wall of the stoa, slowly at first owing to the continued want of baskets and barrows, but very quickly when our full complement of these arrived in the second week of March. A spell of bad weather frequently made work impossible during the next few days, for the light earth on the site soon became slippery mud, and, as is well known, there is far less chance of detecting small objects in wet earth which 'cakes' than in dry. Consequently up to March 2nd we had only succeeded in clearing part of the east end of the stoa, without finding much of importance except

[1] The jewellery from this series of tombs fell, in the division of spoil, to the share of the Government. The glass I brought home. As a separate account is to be given of the tombs at Paphos, I need not be more precise as to their character and contents.

three inscribed pedestals,[1] and a few mutilated fragments of ex voto statuettes. With March 3rd however began a better order of things, though not of weather: towards evening of that day, near the sixth pier of the stoa, counting from the east, we hit upon a strange heap of odds and ends embedded in red ferruginous earth below the level of the mosaic; the first thing to come out was a face and fragments of statuettes of terra-cotta, but on the morning of the 5th appeared the head of Eros, now in the British Museum: later in the day the men, working carefully with knives, found fragments of a beautiful painted vase of the finest period (oh, that it had been complete!), a number of pretty terra-cotta heads, a bronze Silenus mask, and miscellaneous small objects. The stratum of red earth in which they all lay extended only for about six feet by two feet in depth, and how either it or the things imbedded came to be there we are unable to conjecture: it is worthy of notice however that we seldom or never met with a similar deposit anywhere upon the site without finding in it terra-cottas or fragments of statuary.

We now added very largely to our staff of workmen, raising the numbers to about 230, inclusive of women and children. The latter were mainly useful for carrying the earth from the scene of excavation to the pit, but the stronger women could do spade work very well on occasion, and were as pleased as children to be allowed such promotion. The children were more amusing than useful, much given to collecting and playing behind walls, making mud-dolls and such unworkmanlike frivolities, but as their pay amounted to no more than about threepence a day, perhaps they earned it. The women would work for four or five piastres (5½*d.* to 7*d.*), and the men for seven (about a franc), from sunrise till sunset with only a half-hour for breakfast at eight, and a bare hour in the middle of the day: they seldom complained or idled if left to their own ways of working (*i.e.* in pairs using pick and shovel alternately, with much consumption of cigarettes), were always good-tempered and civil, and very proud of any little distinction, such as selection for delicate work or to superintend others. They were about half and half Greek and Turk or Negro, the latter being on the whole the best workmen, but by no means to be *driven* as are apparently the fellaheen of Egypt. In fact all through we found it better to adapt ourselves to their ways which we could understand, rather than to coerce them to ours which they did not understand, and in consequence I firmly believe we were more liked, more willingly served, and less cheated and robbed than most employers of labour in eastern countries. To superintend this body of labourers we employed five overseers, four Greeks and one Turk, of whom no one spoke English, and thus all orders were given in a language which the workmen themselves understood, no slight promoter of confidence between master and men.

As to tools we used ordinary English picks (though I think the small

[1] It is safe to say that no pedestal which we found upon the Temple was *in situ*. They had either been thrown one on the top of another into pits, or used to carry later walls. In one instance they were found fitted together as if for a pavement. It looks as if the ruins had been still open and not silted up when the later building, be it monastery or farm, was erected on the site.

native pick is better), iron spades, rush baskets and wheelbarrows, the latter being almost new to the peasants and a source of great pride and joy. For all delicate work, such as clearing a tomb, the knife must be resorted to, and it was marvellous to see how quickly these heavy-handed savages learnt to pick out glass vases, almost too brittle to touch, from a mass of hard earth. If water was only plentiful they never grumbled about the length or heat of the day, they took their pay without questioning, often without counting it, and when off work were always only too ready to render any gratuitous service.

With this large number of labourers we were able to work in three or four parts of the site at once, and we began both in the central chamber and on the ground above it. Just at the south-west angle of the northern block of chambers we found a regular pavement of inscriptions, and from the 5th to the 9th of March got out over forty: they were of all dates from the fourth century B.C. to the time of Vespasian or later, carefully fitted together, and probably laid down in the Byzantine period. Most noticeable among them was an altar-top, bearing an elegiac inscription in honour of King Nikokles, who caused Paphos to be 'encircled with a crown of towers.' On the 9th we also found in the central chamber below the level of the pavement a beautiful bronze-gilt pin, admirably fashioned into a design of goat's heads and doves, and a small archaic Greek head in the drainage-channel running under the northern wall of the same chamber.

On the 7th Mr. Elsey Smith joined us, and on the 14th Mr. Gardner, who had been very unwell, left for Athens intending to return later. Mr. Smith at once set about making plans and drawings of the temple, and was constantly occupied with this up to his departure.

For the last few days we had been working at a new batch of tombs, this time lying south-west of the temple on the slopes facing the sea, and although many had been rifled, and more entered by water, we found a good deal of good glass, two necklaces of fine work, some pretty earrings, and a green glazed vase of great rarity. But the richer tombs were few in number and all were finished by the 16th.

For some time now we were destined to find very little in the temple, and we began to realize that we should not get much in the way of statuary or architectural remains. Our work was now all in the northern half, and we bought and demolished a house occupying its western end. In the open space west of the northern chambers a large pit became apparent, cut in the solid rock to a depth of about seven feet, and extending, as we found later, right up to the northern boundary-wall. Its origin and purpose are equally obscure, as are those of a smaller pit outside the eastern wall; both are of irregular shape and depth, and neither could well have been a receptacle for either grain or water; perhaps the least improbable suggestion is to the effect that they were simply quarries from which the soft sandstone was cut when required for the building of the farm. The blocks and pedestals lying about the site were too large for the purpose, and were used afterwards to fill the quarry up again to the level of the surrounding

rock. We worked through the mass of *débris* until April 6th, finding over fifty inscribed blocks, large and small, large pieces of red marble cornice belonging probably to the entrance-hall west of the chambers, a few fragments of statuary, drums of Roman-Doric columns and so forth. Among the find was a pyramidal block of white marble, inscribed at the broad end with a representation of a sun with four rays.[1]

On the 20th of the month occurred our only serious accident. A workman, Archelaus Katerina, had his foot crushed by a stone which he was trying to carry on his back to the pit.[2] He was sent next day into hospital at Ktima, and six weeks later was discharged almost completely cured.

On the 22nd we were indulged in a momentary gleam of hope that we had found some rich unrifled tombs. The spot was nearer to the temple (though in the same direction) than the last cemetery that we had been digging, and the first tomb opened lay in the road leading from Kuklia down to the gardens in the plain. It was of more ancient form than any that we had found previously, but was cut in very poor rock, part of which had fallen in on the contents. We however found in it three of the well-known native vases adorned with female figurines holding a miniature jar, and a painted Greek vase. A few yards to the east was another very fine tomb containing a sarcophagus, but unfortunately it had been entered from the back by a narrow passage cut through the solid rock. Still we found the earrings in the sarcophagus, and among some fifty pieces of glass still intact were two bottles in *repoussé* work in the shape of bunches of grapes, and a small cover of a vessel with outline drawing on the back, reproduced in a cut in the Section on Tombs. But, search as we might on all sides, we could find no more tombs like these two, and although we continued to try various localities for the next fortnight, and found stray articles of jewellery and glass, our tomb-excavation in the immediate neighbourhood of the temple was practically at an end, and we wasted little more time or money on doing over again what had been done so thoroughly ages before us.

Up to the end of March we worked steadily at the northern chambers, the pit mentioned above, and the west end of the stoa, where the mosaic was found in very good condition and the bounding-wall, with corbels to carry a seat, was still standing. Two or three inscriptions came to light nearly every day, but no other find of importance, and it became evident that our work would be at an end in three weeks or a month.

On April 2nd Mr. James was compelled to set out on his return to England, and as yet we had no news of Mr. Gardner. We now began the last stages of the excavation, trenching on ground to the north of Ephraem's house to find the northern boundary-wall and enable Mr. Smith to complete

[1] Of this Mr. Smith has a very good photograph.

[2] Curiously enough the workpeople had been much excited during the morning, by having been 'overlooked,' as they said by the evil eye of a travelling merchant who paused on his way to watch the work: they hooted him off, and unanimously foretold evil before sunset. This was the only time this happened to my knowledge.

his plan in that direction, and again exploring the south-western approach, which had not been touched since February 7th. The deposit here was never more than three feet deep, and at the southern end was little more than one foot; the northern end of the approach where it abuts on the western extremity of the stoa could not be permanently cleared, as we were unable to buy any portion of Yagob Panagi's land without taking his whole house at an exorbitant price, but we thoroughly trenched it and left no stone unturned to solve the riddle of this unsymmetrical wing. Finding a wall of fine masonry running east from, though not strictly at a right angle to, the line of great blocks, we followed it out to the end without finding any returning wall on the south, though we ran cross trenches in all directions. Obviously there was no use in excavating east of this, and we must turn our attention to the region lying between it and the west end of the stoa where foundations remained of several walls and piers. The earth deposit here was in places ferruginous, like that in which the Eros head had been found, and much of the stratum immediately overlying the rock in the central chamber and the north-western part of the site; and, as usual, it contained a few fragments of statuary including a marble head with deep eye-sockets once filled with ivory. It is possible that in this reddish deposit we have the remains of a floor of made earth upon which the pavement was laid at the Roman restoration, and that by the haste and carelessness of the restorers (which is so apparent in other respects) any fragments of stone, pottery or terra-cotta which were lying about the site were stamped down with it.

By April 11th the whole site was clear up to within a very few yards of where the north wall was known to be. Our rights did not extend up to it, nor was it worth while buying any more land, and accordingly we concluded two or three contracts giving us power only to trench in the little enclosures bounding the site on that side, while no one made any objection to our cutting through the village street. By these means we had established the line of the northern wall by April 19th, and explored up to the beginning of the village the structures which were found to abut on it from the outside, and which seemed to represent the priests' lodgings. Three or four inscriptions were found embedded in walls, and a small torso and tree-stem with a jar at its base, probably the remains of a copy of the Praxitelean Aphrodite, were dug out of the surface deposit. Outside the north-east corner we trenched in the yard of a house and soon came upon a thick stratum of the ferruginous earth, absolutely full of rude terra-cotta Aphrodites, stone statuettes, lamps, large terra-cotta fragments and odds and ends of every description. At this point there had been a portico, of which the piers remained, and this mass of *débris* must have been thrown in to carry the pavement: below the level of the latter were found terra-cotta pipes for carrying off the surface-drainage of the temple, and connecting with a system of which we had already found many remains upon the site.

In addition to the inscriptions, statuary, and other objects already mentioned as having been found in the temple, a few, discovered from time to time, deserve particular record. Although no trace was unearthed of the

famous cones conspicuous on the imperial coins of Paphos, a small cone in marble was found in the southern chamber, and from the same place came a cylindrical object studded with circular projections and broken at one end, which is supposed to be also part of such an emblem of fertility. Both of these relics are now in England. A marble hand holding a dove was found under the mosaic of the stoa; and the base of a statue representing Aphrodite rising from the sea in the central chamber. In the southern chamber we found a small and rude relief of Leda and the swan, in the pit outside the east wall the thigh of a colossal marble statue, embedded in concrete, and in the south-western approach the shoulder and part of the leg of another statue, the size of life. Two colossal hands of marble were unearthed, but the only relic of the bronze statues, which must have been numerous, was a single thumb. A rude representation of a primitive Aphrodite lay under the mosaic, and, among many marble fragments of ex voto statuettes of the same goddess, was a headless one in which her son rested on her shoulder. Her symbol, the tortoise, was carved on the side of an inscribed pedestal,[1] and a clay specimen was found in a tomb together with a dove. A few fragments of early unglazed pottery came to light from time to time, but nothing distinctively Phoenician (strange to say) except the ground plan. In several places we found huge jars of coarse ware, but they belonged probably to the monastery era. As to the round pits which were found excavated in the rock all over the site, we found conclusive evidence of their late date in one whose mouth is cut through the mosaic itself. The interior has been fired and contained grain, even as it is still stored, especially about Akanthou in the north-east of the island. No silver or gold coins were found, but a carbuncle in a plain gold setting and a paste ornament, also set in gold, may be added to the pin above mentioned, to complete the list of jewellery found on the site.

With the establishment of the north wall our excavation on the temple was at an end, and it only remained to trench in the vicinity of the site to determine whether any outlying wing had yet to be found, or whether any remains of the ancient city existed which would be worth exploring. West and north of the site we hit upon nothing except the foundations of a Byzantine church, but on the east, in the courtyard of Hussein Hadji Zaim's house, where tradition said that great things had once been found, we opened out massive foundations and what appeared to be vaults or tanks. They extended under the dwelling-house and could not be thoroughly explored, but they appeared to be of ancient date, patched and plastered in Roman times: remains were also found of rough concrete pavement and pottery. The situation of the spot near to the temple and at the top of a rocky slope leading down to the only spring in the town, together with the ancient and massive character of the foundations, makes it possible that this is the site and all that remains of the palace of the Kings or High Priests of Paphos.

Three weeks before, when it had become evident that the temple would

[1] See Inscriptions of the Temple, No. 117.

be completely cleared down to the virgin rock by the end of April, and that, unless some entirely new development appeared, we should no longer have scope for our energies at Kuklia, we had debated the propriety of applying for a provisional concession to excavate upon some other site. Politis Chrysochou was at once suggested as a place where a tomb-treasure was sure to be found, and where there would not be much difficulty in getting to work quickly: but against it were two very powerful considerations, firstly, the lateness of the season, which, even if we succeeded in retaining our workmen through the approaching barley-harvest and inducing them to dig in the heat, precluded us from any hope of thoroughly exploring so large a site; and secondly the fact that far more money would be required at Poli than we had any authority to spend this season. We decided accordingly that, if we were to try a fresh field at all, it must be one which would be near at hand, and therefore render it possible to transport workmen and tools at a small cost and also to keep watch upon the antiquities, tools, and other things left at Kuklia; also that the work must be upon a small scale only. Rumours had continually reached us of discoveries at a village called Amargetti, situated about twelve miles north-west of Kuklia upon the range which divides the valley of the Xero from that of the Ezuza. Colonel Warren had in his possession at Nicosia five cylinders which were reported to have been found there, and various people at Ktima had bought from time to time small bronzes, terra-cottas, and fragments of stone statuary from the villagers. M. Aristides of Chrysochou had conducted a small excavation there on behalf of Colonel Warren two years previously, and (although I only found this out later) the same gentleman and others had found many things there before the occupation, some of which were sold to General di Cesnola's foreman, Beshbesh, and wrongly ascribed in the General's book. In fact there was quite a legend about the place, and everybody who knew the district well suggested an excavation there. Messrs. James and Smith and myself had already visited the place on Sunday, March 25th, and found in a vineyard (which bore the suggestive name of Petrasanthropos) below the village on the north many fragments of terra-cotta and stone figurines, while from the villagers we bought two or three objects of bronze of a phallic nature in good condition. We all came away with the impression that it would repay a tentative excavation, if only to determine its name and the character of its worship, and therefore when a week later the question of a third site for the season was discussed, this small but mysterious hill-village presented most attractions. I sent an application therefore to Nicosia, and on April 8th rode up again with Mr. Smith, stayed a night with the village priest, concluded contracts for three plots of land which seemed most favourable for excavation, and prospected the place more thoroughly than we had been able to do on the previous occasion.

However, when on April 23rd the temple-site was to all intents finished, the dilatoriness of the officials at Nicosia still delayed our concession, and Mr. Gardner had not yet returned. It became necessary therefore to find some work to keep two overseers (the others had been paid off already) and

about thirty men employed, and with this purpose mainly we turned to a large tumulus which is conspicuous on the slopes east of the village, and to a spot near to it where on the slopes of a horseshoe hollow I thought that traces of a stadium might be discovered. Although a good deal of masons' work was laid bare, no evidence of a stadium was forthcoming, and the tumulus yielded nothing except two blocks with the Cypriote characters and deeply cut on their surface. They had evidently formed part of a chamber which had been wholly destroyed by a previous excavator, and I gradually learnt from the villagers that the tumulus had been carefully investigated about the year 1873 by a Turk, and that even then nothing had been found. This story had been kept from me until the work had gone on for some days, and it gave me an insight into the tactics employed by the Kukliotes to keep us from going elsewhere, which was of great use afterwards.

While this was going forward Gregorio's attention was attracted by the handle of a jar visible in the middle of a path leading to the wild forest land of Orides, and scraping the earth away he found that a line of tombs lay beneath and on both sides of the roadway. The tombs had evidently been covered formerly with a much greater depth of earth, but the heavy rains rushing down the path had by this time almost laid them open to the air. We worked continually at them until the end of the month, and opened about thirty: water and the falling in of the earth had destroyed a good deal of the contents, but we found still intact a large quantity of good local pottery, including several vases of the "Mycenae" type, together with bronze bowls, and gold fibulae, rings, and pendants of an early period. In fact the find for the ten days during which we worked at this necropolis was very largely in excess of the whole of the previous two months, but as there was little variety among the objects, we ceased work at the end of the month.

On May 2nd Mr. Gardner returned, accompanied by Mr. Louis Dyer of Harvard College, who was investigating the authenticity of certain of General Cesnola's statements as to various sites, and Mr. Malcolm Macmillan; and we hastened to wind up matters, pack our antiquities, and get all in train for Amargetti before the Greek Easter with its bibulous holiday-making should be upon us. The pottery, glass, and small objects were packed into wooden cases and deposited in a house belonging to us and adjoining the temple, and into the same house were carried all of the statuary and inscriptions that were worth the trouble of transport. The coarsest of the pottery was distributed among the ladies of the village, who will continue to carry water for their spouses in jugs of Roman ware for a long time to come; and then the house was locked, the key given to one of the overseers who was to be left in the village, and we prepared to endure the Easter festivities before starting for Amargetti.

Thus ended the principal undertaking of the season, successful inasmuch as we determined the plan of one of the earliest and greatest of Phoenician temples, and exhausted the possibilities of knowledge in respect of the most famous shrine of the most widely-worshipped goddess of antiquity, but less fortunate inasmuch as we found but few of those products of ancient art and

those evidences of ancient daily life which, displayed in our museums at home, attract public attention and add to the nation's treasures.

On May 8th, Mr. Gardner having gone to Ktima to bring the Commissioner to Amargetti, I loaded eighteen donkeys with tools, overseers, and other necessaries, and made my way straight to the village, stopping for a short time to watch the "jereed," or game of lance-throwing, in which the peasants of the hill-district (half of them being Mussulmen) were indulging in honour of St. Pantaleoni, who has his shrine in the Xero valley near Natan. On the 9th the limits of our concession were fixed, and work was begun upon the vineyard of "Petrasanthropos" before midday.

As no separate article will deal with this little site, it may be well to detail first the progress of the excavation, undertaken in order to determine the name and character of the place, and then to sum up its results. The village of Amargetti (or Amarget) lies upon a narrow ridge which juts out towards the Ezuza from the high lands which divide its valley from that of the Xero. It enjoys abundant water and a fine climate, situated as it is some 1,300 feet above the sea. From the ridge above it presents a singularly pleasing view, thickly wooded with charub and olive trees, and backed by a fine bold mountain country, bounded by the long chain which forms the watershed between the Ezuza and the Poli river. If the spectator looks north his eye travels over ridge after ridge, dark with pine forests, or green with pastures and vines, up to the sombre heights of the Forest Range, and the great mass of Mt. Troodos, which bounds the horizon, mental as well as physical, of this part of the island. If it were not for its 350 inhabitants, a pleasanter summer residence could not be found in Cyprus, but no part of this rough district can show more thorough-paced liars and more potential criminals than this village and its neighbour, Choulou. Below the village on the north is a deep valley in which two torrents meet and run down to the Ezuza, and it was on the spit of land near the fork of these streams that the vineyard lay in which so many things had been found, and the right of excavation in which we had secured on April 8th. Bronze figurines had also been unearthed from time to time in a yard pertaining to the house of one Stilianos Paphios in the village, and this we had also secured together with some land adjoining.

From the very first we began to find numerous fragments of statuettes and doves of soft stone, and terra-cottas. Most of them were of the rudest description, and some had strong phallic characteristics: in two cases a statuette was found holding a bunch of grapes in the right hand; and several held doves. Sometimes the figures were combined in groups of three,[1] clad in scanty garments, and of phallic character: sometimes they showed the exaggerated detail of a late period. They were of all sizes, up to nearly that of life: two feet contiguous and pointing straight in front were probably those of a statue of Apollo, and almost full-size. Many of the statuettes

[1] One such group is in the British Museum.

were but the rudest indications of the human form and might belong to any age, but those of a more elaborate order did not present very early characteristics, and nothing was found of a similar age to Colonel Warren's cylinders. The later date which I feel inclined to ascribe to this site is also supported by the lettering of all the dedications found in this vineyard, and by the character of the bronze figurines found later. Among miscellaneous objects found here may be mentioned a cone with phallus about half-way up it, made of the usual soft stone, a small bronze bull, a pair of doves sitting side by side, and several hollow terra-cotta figures whose bodies are mere ribbed barrels, while the heads are well executed: but without illustrations it is impossible to give any adequate idea of the character of these objects. They were found in all parts of the vineyard at no great depth, but for some days, dig as we might, we could find no sign of foundations or trace of any building. The very first day a small round base came out with an inscription, but it was not until the 15th that a complete dedication was found, and this, like the previous or subsequent ones to the number of ten, was found to bear the formula *Ὀπάονι Μελανθίῳ*. After trenching thoroughly all the lower end of the vineyard we worked up to the eastern end and there at last found several traces of thin walls of poor construction at a depth of three to four feet: they seemed to be the relics of a building through which the neighbouring torrent had worked its way, for the walls cropped out from the bank; the excavation of M. Aristides may have destroyed some part of them. After working well up to the end of the vineyard both walls and statuettes came to an end.

Meanwhile I had thoroughly trenched the narrow plateau above from which I thought it possible that the fragments had been washed down, but the rock was never very far below the surface, and nothing was found except numerous traces of houses, the flag pavement being left in one case, but no one of sufficient size to have been a temple. In Paphios' yard we explored the ground thoroughly, and were rewarded by three pretty bronze figurines, and a few miscellaneous objects. One of the figurines, a naked female, held a fish to her breast, and may be set down as an Aphrodite; another, in a short chiton and cothurni, is probably an Artemis. No statuettes were found here, and only a few fragments of terra-cotta; such walls as we hit upon were decidedly modern, and the virgin rock was near the surface. I tried in two other places in the village itself, in one of which a find of Byzantine coins was made some years ago, but found no traces of building.

The conclusion is therefore that the ancient site, such as it was, lay in the valley and not under the modern village, and yet it cannot be said to be absolutely certain. The walls that I found in the vineyard were, as already stated, of very poor quality, and the building of which they formed part was evidently very small, and more like a dwelling-house of several rooms than a temple: almost without exception the statuettes that we found were headless or otherwise broken, and had apparently been thrown into heaps by some spoiler's hand; and all my efforts to find a larger building from which these numerous relics of a phallic worship might have come were unsuccessful—

indeed the straitness of the valley and the nearness of the rock pretty well preclude the possibility of there being any traces of a large building still remaining.

Everything then points to the conclusion that this site, about which so much had been reported and of which such mystery had been made, is that merely of a not very early hill-village much like the modern Amargetti, but containing a well-known shrine of a divinity, perhaps of phallic attributes and connected with the cultivation of the vine (still considerable in the district), whose style and title is contained in the formula Opaon Melanthius. But who is this god? His name occurs in two dedications ascribed by General Cesnola to Kuklia (*Appendix*, Nos. 3 and 4), but unquestionably found at Amargetti,[1] but it has attracted no attention: now however we can add no less than ten out of thirteen inscriptions found on one site, and containing this same dedication. Had we only the formula Ὀπάονι Μελανθίῳ to consider it would be safe to translate ὀπάονι in its usual poetic and Ionic sense of squire or *servant*, and take Μελανθίῳ as a proper name. The best-known individual who bore that designation was the goat-herd of Odysseus,[2] himself an ὀπάων, although how and when he was elevated into a divinity in an obscure village in the hills of Cyprus would be inexplicable. In any case Melanthius, be he the goat-herd or no, might be a rustic god always spoken of with the attributes of the servant (or perhaps 'herd'); of his ἱερὸς λόγος and worship nothing is known.

But from such convenient recourse to absolute ignorance we are debarred by an inscription rudely scratched on the drapery of a male statuette found in the same vineyard. The inscription runs Ἀπόλωνι Μελαθίῳ Φαλιαρχός, and at once suggests that the ὀπάων of the other inscriptions is only an attribute of Apollo who, under various names, was popular in these hills. The well-known Apollo Hylates was worshipped at Drimu on the other side of the Ezuza; and at Marathounta, a village two and a half hours' distance in the direction of Papho, I found an altar dedicated Ἀπόλλωνι Μυρτάτῃ, never previously copied. The ancient village of Amargetti was hardly large enough to contain more than one shrine, and the identity of the spot at which the dedications were found goes to prove that all appertain to one god, to whom through some tradition unknown to us the epithet of 'the servant' had attached. What then becomes of *Melanthius*? If it can stand equally with ὀπάων and with Apollo, it can hardly be anything but a local adjective, and it will follow that the ancient name of Amargetti was Melanthus.

The indications afforded by the remains found are confused. The grapes suggest a Dionysiac worship, the doves and cones that of the neighbouring Aphrodite Paphia, and the phalli an orgiastic cult such as that of Linus or Cinyras. The latter element might quickly attach in a country so pervaded with Phoenician influence to what was originally a simple rustic cult of a

[1] See remarks on the Amargetti inscriptions in the article on Inscriptions.

[2] *Od.* xvii. 247.

[3] *Sammlung der Gricch. Dialekt-Inschr.* I. Nos. 27. 28.

variety of Apollo *νόμιος*, the god of the shepherds who fed their goats on these hills. We must suppose that this herdsmen's god, this Apollo *ὀπίων*, gradually embodied all the religious sentiment of the mountaineers, became the god of fertility in every sense, and perhaps (see inscriptions of Amargetti, No. 5) obtained a celebrity outside his remote seat. It is unfortunate that there is nothing except Apollo *νόμιος* to compare with this: the principal form of the cult in Cyprus, that of Apollo Hylates, is little more than a name.

The few tombs that we found were very poor and quite in keeping with the character of the site, and on May 23rd I packed up and carried everything down to Kuklia once more. Mr. Gardner had gone to Nicosia a fortnight before to arrange a basis of agreement with the Government as to the safe keeping of the temple for the future, and the division of spoil according to the Ottoman Law; the latter was arranged on very favourable terms for us, but the Government did not see their way, after long consideration, to taking over the site; and it had ultimately to be left under the informal and unpaid supervision of one of our late overseers, a native of the village.

However in the meantime I locked everything up in Kuklia, and set forth to make a complete archaeological tour of the island, more especially of the hill country of Paphos, the Acamas promontory, and the Carpass, and of this journey I shall give a full account in another place. I will only say here that in the course of it I twice visited Politis Chrysochou, and came to a definite agreement as to excavation there for next season. The yet unopened portions of the huge necropolis are very extensive, and the find should be alike certain and notable: far more museum objects will be found than on any of our sites this season, and, in following up more thoroughly and extensively Mr. Williamson's excavation of 1887, many objects of great intrinsic value and beauty are absolutely certain to be found, and much light should be thrown on ceramic and other branches of Cypriote art.

I finally returned to Kuklia in August, divided the spoil with the representative of the Government, carefully repacked everything, conveyed the cases to Larnaca in a *caique*, and thence shipped them to England, where they arrived at the end of September, to be divided between the British, Ashmolean, and Fitzwilliam Museums.

I cannot conclude without a word of grateful recognition both on behalf of the other members of the expedition and especially of myself, for the kindness and sympathy which were extended privately to us by every one in the island with whom we came in contact. His Excellency the High Commissioner, Sir Elliott Bovill, Colonel Warren, C.M.G., Captain Bor, R.M.L.I., Mr. Cobham and Mr. Walpole of Larnaca, Mr. Mitchell of Limasol, and last, but not least by any means, Mr. Thompson and Mr. Reith of Papho, are only a few among those to whom are due many of the pleasantest among our memories of Cyprus.

D. G. H.

II.—On the History and Antiquities of Paphos.

In this section of the Report it will be my object to present as complete a statement as I can of what is known and what has been written on the subject of Paphos; and this should include a short specification of the chief points on which the late excavations either have thrown, or may be expected to throw, more light. On large and general questions, such as the origin and history of the Aphrodite worship in general, or even its history in the whole of Cyprus, I cannot enter here.

It is inevitable that the chapter must consist largely of quotations. The source of these is not far to seek. Meursius' 'Cyprus' in *Creta, Cyprus, et Rhodos* (Amsterdam, 1675, in 4to) contains a wonderfully comprehensive survey of the ancient literature of the subject. An essay by Frederick Münter, Bishop of Seeland, carries this survey a stage further, and makes some further additions to it. This essay is entitled, *Der Tempel der Himmlischen Göttin zu Paphos* (Copenhagen, 1824, 4to). It forms a supplement to his former tract, *Religion der Karthager*. It is illustrated with four plates, and supplemented by an architectural essay on the plan of the temple, from the pen of Gustav Friedrich Hetsch. These two books have assisted me to most of my quotations. I have added a few others from later books, and from my own reading.

It seems best on the whole to arrange the passages which will have to be cited from ancient writers in a somewhat artificial order. The chronological plan is not altogether satisfactory. For some considerable period we get nothing but bare allusions to the place, and the authors who tell us most are not by any means the earliest. Under the circumstances I have thought it best to begin with the one tolerably comprehensive account of Paphos which is preserved to us, and to group the other passages round it as occasion offers. This is to be found in Tacitus, *Hist.* II. 2 *sqq.* and runs as follows: Igitur oram Achaiae et Asiae ac laeva maris praevectus (Titus), Rhodum et Cyprum insulas, inde Syriam audentioribus spatiis petebat. Atque illum cupido incessit adeundi visendique templum Paphiae Veneris, inclytum per indigenas advenasque. Haud fuerit longum initia religionis, templi ritum, formam deae, —neque enim alibi sic habetur—paucis disserere.

III. Conditorem templi regem Aëriam vetus memoria, quidam ipsius deae nomen id perhibent. Fama recentior tradit, a Cinyra sacratum templum deamque ipsam conceptam mari huc adpulsam; set scientiam artemque haruspicum accitam et Cilicem Tamiram intulisse, atque ita pactum, ut familiae utriusque posteri caerimoniis praesiderent. Mox, ne honore nullo regium genus peregrinam stirpem antecelleret, ipsa quam intulerant scientia hospites cessere: tantum Cinyrades sacerdos consulitur. Hostiae, ut quisque

vovet, sed mares deliguntur: certissima fides haedorum fibris. Sanguinem arae obfundere vetitum: precibus et igne puro altaria adolentur, nec ullis imbribus quamquam in aperto madescunt. Simulacrum deae non effigie humana, continuus orbis latiore initio tenuem in ambitum metae modo exsurgens, set ratio in obscuro.

IV. Titus spectata opulentia donisque regum quaeque alia laetum antiquitatibus Graecorum genus incertae vetustati adfingit, de navigatione primum consulit: postquam pandi viam et mare prosperum accepit, de se per ambages interrogat caesis compluribus hostiis. Sostratus (sacerdoti id nomen erat) ubi laeta et congruentia exta magnisque consultis adnuere deam videt, pauca in praesens et solita respondens, petito secreto futura aperit. Titus aucto animo ad patrem pervectus suspensis provinciarum et exercituum animis ingens rerum fiducia accessit.

This passage is, as I have intimated, by far the most important of all ancient references to Paphos; and I think the best illustration of it will be gained by the arrangement of all the quotations that directly confirm it in a sort of catena. Those which convey quite new and separate information will be given later.

Leaving on one side for the present the immediate historical setting of the description, we come at once to the Founder's legend. 'Conditorem templi regem Aëriam vetus memoria .... perhibet.' Tacitus is, so far as I have been able to discover, the only writer who names Aërias in connection with Paphos either as a name of Aphrodite or of a mythical founder. He does so again in *Annal.* III. 62, and makes him the father of Amathus. The 'fama recentior' about Cinyras has quite obliterated the 'vetus memoria' of the old hero in other literature, and it is apparent from Tacitus' language that the story was vague in his time. Alciatus read here, on MS. authority, Uranium for Aeriam. Pausanias, VIII. 5, 2, has an altogether different account. (See below.)

Fama recentior tradit a Cinyra sacratum templum.—The part that Cinyras plays in Greek myth is not inconsiderable. The earliest passage in which he figures introduces the earliest description of a Cypriote work of art, Agamemnon's breastplate, in *Il.* XI. 19—23:

> δεύτερον αὖ θώρηκα περὶ στήθεσσιν ἔδυνεν,
> τόν ποτέ οἱ Κινύρης δῶκεν ξεινήιον εἶναι·
> πεύθετο γὰρ Κύπρονδε μέγα κλέος, οὕνεκ' Ἀχαιοὶ
> ἐς Τροίην νήεσσιν ἀναπλεύσεσθαι ἔμελλον·
> τοὔνεκά οἱ τὸν ἔδωκε, χαριζόμενος βασιλῆι.

Eustathius *ad loc.* gives two versions of the story that he cheated the Greeks of the help he had promised them. His father is said to have been Theias, a βασιλεὺς Κύπρου ζάπλουτος. His deceit was punished by failure in a musical contest with Apollo, for which he seemingly paid with his life. His name is here connected with κινύρα. The next reference, which connects him with Aphrodite as well as with Cyprus, is from Pindar, *Pyth.* II. 15,

Κελαδέοντι μὲν ἀμφὶ Κινύραν πολλάκις φᾶμαι Κυπρίων, τὸν ὁ χρυσοχαίτας προφρόνως ἐφίλασ' Ἀπόλλων, ἱερέα κτίλον Ἀφροδίτας, whereupon the scholiast says that Cinyras was the son of Apollo and Paphos and became king of the Cyprians and priest of the Cyprian Aphrodite: 'ἀφ' οὗ οἱ ἐν Κύπρῳ Κινυραδαὶ τῇ θεᾷ ἀνιερῶντο.' See also *Nem.* VIII. 18.

But the personal history of Cinyras may be dismissed shortly. We find varying accounts of his parentage. Hesychius gives Κινύρας Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Φαρνακῆς παῖς, βασιλεὺς Κυπρίων. Hyginus in four passages mentions Cinyras, thrice as 'Paphi filius,' the father and founder of Smyrna, always as 'rex Assyriorum.' The references are: fab. 58, 242, 270, 275. Apollodorus, *Biblioth.* III. 14. 3, makes him son of Sandacus and Pharnace: οὗτος ἐν Κύπρῳ, παραγενόμενος σὺν λαῷ, ἔκτισε Πάφον. He marries Metharme, daughter of the king Pygmalion, and has two sons, Oxyporus and Adonis. (Another account of Adonis, quoted by this writer from Panyasis, has points in common with Eustathius, Hyginus, and that just given. Πανύασις φησὶ (τὸν Ἄδωνιν υἱὸν γενέσθαι) Θείαντος βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων, ὃς ἔσχε θυγατέρα Σμύρναν). His connection with the Trojan expedition has been already alluded to. An additional reference to it may be gleaned from Theopompus, *lib.* xii. *ap. Photium Cod.* 176, Ἕλληνες οἱ σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι τὴν Κύπρον κατέσχον, ἀπελάσαντες τοὺς μετὰ Κινύρου, ὧν εἰσὶν ὑπολιπεῖς Ἀμαθούσιοι.

The principal legends that attach themselves to his name are: (*a*) That of the incest with his daughter Myrrha or Smyrna, of which Adonis was the offspring. This is treated by Ovid, *Metam.* X. 298 etc. Aelian, *H. A.* IX. 36, mentions him as father of Adonis. (*b*) His great wealth, Pind. *Nem.* VIII. 18. Suidas *s.v.* Καταγηράσαις gives a saying, Καταγηράσαις .... τοῦ Κινύρου πλουσιώτερον, and calls him ἀπόγονος Φαρνάκης βασιλεὺς Κυπρίων πλούτῳ διαφέρων. Elsewhere he is classed with Croesus and Midas: see Suidas, *s.v.* Κινύρας. (*c*) His beauty. Lucian, *Rhetorum Praeceptor*, XI.; Dion. *Orat.* 8, *De Virtute*, and Hyginus fab. 275. (*d*) His long life. Pliny, VII. 78, says he lived 110 years. (*e*) Two epigrams of Julian of Egypt mention Cinyras as a hunter. Engel quotes them.

The next point in Tacitus' description is the tradition that Aphrodite first landed at Paphos after her birth. There are not very many passages which directly assert this, though the idea is an exceedingly familiar one to us Pomponius Mela, II. 7, speaks of 'Paphos; et (quo primum ex mari Venerem egressam accolae affirmant) Palaepaphos.'

Also Lucan, *Phars.* VIII. 456:

> Tunc Cilicum liquere solum, Cyproque citatas
> Immisere rates, nullas cui praetulit aras
> Undae diva memor Paphiae, si numina nasci
> Credimus, aut quemquam fas est coepisse deorum.

The Berne scholiast has a dull euhemeristic note about Aphrodite's probable birth at Paphos from Dione, or, as an alternative, her arrival by sea from Egypt.

Hesiod's account differs slightly from the later ones, and does not mention Paphos. He says, in *Theog.* 192,

πρῶτον δὲ Κυθήροισι ζαθέοισιν
ἔπλητ', ἔνθεν ἔπειτα περίρρυτον ἵκετο Κύπρον—

whence she is called Κυθέρεια and Κυπρογένεια.

Philostr. *Imag.* II. 1, may also be cited: καὶ ὅπου μὲν τῶν νήσων προσέσχεν οὔπω λέγουσιν, ἐροῦσιν δὲ, οἶμαι, Πάφων.

Tacitus goes on: set scientiam artemque haruspicum accitam, et Cilicem Tamiram intulisse.

Apollodorus, *l.c.*, makes Sandacus, the father of Cinyras, coming from Syria with Cilicia, found Celenderis; and, according to him also, Pharnace, the wife of Sandacus, was a princess of the Τριεῖς, a Cilician tribe. An old tradition of a relationship between Cinyras and the Cilician Tamiras may underlie this. The skill of Cilicians in interpreting the flight and cries of birds is alluded to by Cicero, *De Div.* I. 92, 94, but nothing is said of extispicium. I can find no mention of Tamiras outside Tacitus. His descendants are mentioned once.

'It was agreed formally that the Cinyradae and Tamiradae should preside over the temple-worship at Paphos. In process of time, however, it was thought wrong that the "regium genus" should have no superior dignity to the foreign race. The latter accordingly withdrew (or were ousted) from the practice of the art they had themselves introduced: and thereafter only Cinyrad priests held office.' Now this account, although we can by no means afford to neglect it, has one or two features which seem improbable. One would have said that the 'regium genus,' being kings as well as priests, had *ipso facto* a very considerable advantage over the Tamiradae: and also, that the Cinyradae were according to all accounts foreigners quite as much as their colleagues. There may, however, quite possibly have been some jealousy between the two families, and the stronger faction may have turned out the weaker. There is no mention of the Tamiradae in inscriptions from Paphos. The name occurs in Hesychius, and I think nowhere else. He says: Ταμιραδαὶ· ἱερεῖς τινὲς ἐν Κύπρῳ. The Cinyradae are rather more frequently referred to, as we should expect. The scholiast on Pindar has already been quoted. Hesychius has this entry: Κινυραδαὶ· ἱερεῖς Ἀφροδίτης. A third passage is to be found in Plutarch: *De Fortuna s. Virtute Alexandri, Or.* 2, *c.* 8: Πάλιν ἐν Πάφῳ, τοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἀδίκου καὶ πονηροῦ φανέντος, ἐκβαλὼν τοῦτον Ἀλέξανδρος, ἕτερον ἐζήτει, τοῦ Κινυραδῶν γένους ἤδη φθίνειν καὶ ἀπολείπειν δοκοῦντος. One poor and obscure member of the race yet survived in poverty, living ἐν κήπῳ τινί. The messengers found him watering the garden-beds. Brought before Alexander as he was, clad ἐν εὐτελεῖ σινδονίσκῃ, he was proclaimed king, and became one of the ἑταῖροι. His name was Ἀλύνομος. This story confirms Tacitus' statement that the Cinyradae were kings as well as priests.

Nonnus, *Dionys.* XIII. 451 calls Ceryneia Κινύρεια, and connects it with Cinyras. The temple inscriptions show that in Ptolemaic and later times

there was a head of the priestly clan—after the kingdom had departed from the Cinyradae—and that he was called *ὁ ἀρχὸς τῶν Κινυραδῶν* or *ὁ Κινύραρχος*. For other references *vide infra*.

A few details about the sacrifices are now given. Male victims only were offered, and of these kids were accounted the best for purposes of extispicium. No blood, however, was shed upon the altar. (Meursius found a difficulty in reconciling the statements, which has not been felt by later writers). 'Precibus et igne puro altaria adolentur, nec ullis imbribus—quamquam in aperto—madescunt.'

Münter conjectured, with some degree of probability, that at Paphos (as at Jerusalem) there was one incense-altar, and one altar for burnt-offerings. It may be noted, in this connection, that the marble altar top (now in the British Museum), which bore an inscription to king Nicocles, seems by its form more fitted for sacrificing small victims than for burning incense. The centre is open, there is a slope down to the opening on all four sides, and there are traces of a drain at one corner.

The miraculous property of the altars is mentioned by Pliny, *N. H.* II. 210. He says: 'Celebre fanum habet Veneris Paphos, in cujus quandam aram non impluit.' Polybius, XVI. 12, speaks of similar properties in connection with a statue of *Ἄρτεμις Κινδύας* at Bargylia, and of *Ἑστίας* at Iassus, but does not mention Paphos.

Eustathius, in *Od.* VIII. 362, says that the Paphian altar was *ὑπαίθριος*, but does not tell us whether it got wet or not.

The next point that Tacitus mentions is the form under which the goddess was worshipped. The simulacrum was circular, broad at the bottom, and tapering to a narrower circumference at the top, like a 'meta.' Three passages may be adduced in confirmation of this account.

a. Maximus Tyrius, *Dissert.* VIII. ('whether statues ought to be erected to the gods') c. 8, says: *Παφίοις ἡ μὲν Ἀφροδίτη τὰς τιμὰς ἔχει· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἄν εἰκάσαις ἄλλῳ τῳ ἢ πυραμίδι λευκῇ, ἡ δὲ ὕλη ἀγνοεῖται.* The last clause shows that a mystery attached to the material of which the symbol consisted. It may have been a *διοπετὲς ἄγαλμα*, but this is never asserted.

b. Servius, *ad Aen.* I. 724: Apud Cyprios Venus in modum umbilici—vel, ut quidam volunt, metae—colitur.

c. Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* III. 58: (*φασὶν*) *ἐπὶ θάλατταν καταβῆναι τὴν ἐπὶ Σελεύκειαν νεώς τε ἐπιτυχόντες προσπλεῦσαι Κύπρῳ κατὰ τὴν Πάφον, οὗ τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἕδος, ὃ ξυμβολικῶς ἱδρύμενον θαυμάσαι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον καὶ πολλὰ τοὺς ἱερέας . . . . . διδαξάμενον ἐς Ἰωνίαν πλεῦσαι.* (An old Latin translation renders the crucial words 'erected by subscription'!)

Compare also the account given by Herodian of the Syrian god at Emisa—*Ἐλαιαγάβαλος.—Hist.* V. 3: *ἄγαλμα μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ παρ' Ἕλλησιν ἡ Ῥωμαίοις οὐδὲν ἕστηκε χειροποίητον, θεοῦ φέρον εἰκόνα· λίθος δέ τίς ἐστι μέγιστος κάτωθεν περιφερὴς, λήγων εἰς ὀξύτητα· κωνοειδὲς αὐτῷ σχῆμα, μέλαινά τε ἡ χροιά· διοπετῆ τε αὐτόν εἶναι σεμνολογοῦσιν· ἐξοχάς τε τινὰς βραχείας καὶ τύπους δεικνύουσιν, εἰκόνα τε Ἡλίου ἀνέργαστον εἶναι θέλουσιν, οὕτω βλέποντες.*

Several fragments of white marble cones were found on the temple-site: and one which still remains *in situ* in the central chamber was of limestone, and of somewhat larger size.

As to the burning of incense on the altar, it is a feature in the earliest references to Paphos.

Homer, *Od.* VIII. 362:

> Ἡ δ' ἄρα Κύπρον ἵκανε φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη
> Ἐς Πάφον, ἔνθα δέ οἱ τέμενος βωμός τε θυήεις.

Hymn ad Ven. 58:

> Ἐς Κύπρον δ' ἐλθοῦσα θυώδεα νηὸν ἔδυνεν
> Ἐς Πάφον· ἔνθα δέ οἱ τέμενος βωμός τε θυώδης.

Virgil, with these passages in his mind, writes (*Aen.* I. 415):

> Ipsa Paphum sublimis adit, sedesque revisit
> Laeta suas, ubi templum illi, centumque Sabaeo
> Ture calent arae, sertisque recentibus halant.

Cf. also the 'centum altaria' of Statius, *Theb.* V. 61.

Titus, we next read, inspected the magnificence of the temple, and the gifts of the various kings to it. Compare here Pausanias VIII. 24, who says of the temple at Eryx that it was οὐκ ἀποδέον πλούτῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Πάφῳ.

He then proceeded to inquire of the goddess first concerning his voyage and then 'per ambages' about his own destinies—sacrificing at the same time a large number of victims. Sostratus, the chief priest (and probably Κινύραρχος) requested a private interview, at which he made very satisfactory revelations to Titus, who then left Cyprus.

Suetonius, *Tit.* 5, mentions this incident: 'Sed ubi turbari rursus cuncta sensit, redit ex itinere, aditoque Paphiae Veneris oraculo, dum de navigatione consulit, etiam de imperii spe confirmatus est.' A good deal has been written at various times about the 'oracle' at Paphos, and travellers have more than once committed themselves to the conjecture that the holes pierced in the corners of the large stones that remain *in situ* were connected in some way with the machinery of it. There is, however, nothing whatever in literature save the expression of Suetonius to warrant our using this word oracle at all in connection with the sanctuary. Surely the account of Tacitus shows the state of the case plainly enough. The art of extispicium was practised with great success by the Cinyradae, and that is all. We do not speak of 'oracles' in connection with Roman haruspices and augurs—why apply the term to the predictions of these Paphian priests over the intestines of kids? There may or may not be something in the theory of Münter and others that omens were drawn from the flight of the sacred doves. The fact is nowhere directly stated, but we saw that the the Tamiradae were Cilicians, and that the Cilicians (according to Cicero) were specially skilled in οἰωνισμός.

So far we have confined ourselves to Tacitus and to those passages of

other writers which directly confirm his statements. We now pass to the rest of the ancient literature of the subject, which I propose to divide into sections, each treating of a separate topic.

1. *Name, Situation, etc. of Paphos.*—The only ancient writer I have met with who attempts a derivation of the name Paphos is Cornutus, and his success is not remarkable. In his *De Nat. Deorum*, 24, he says:—*ἱερὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἡ τῶν Κυθήρων νῆσος εἶναι δοκεῖ. τάχα δὲ καὶ ἡ Κύπρος, συνάδουσά πως κατὰ τοὔνομα τῇ κρύψει. ἡ δὲ Πάφος ἴδιον αὐτῆς οἰκητήριόν ἐστι, Παφίας λεγομένης, τάχα κατ' ἔλλειψιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπαφίσκειν, ὅ ἐστιν ἀπατᾶν.*

For the description of the place Strabo may be taken as our principal authority. In *Geogr.* XIV. 6, in his enumeration of the towns on the south-west of Cyprus he says, after mentioning Curium:—*εἶτα Τρήτα, καὶ Βοόσουρα, καὶ Παλαίπαφος, ὅσον ἐν δέκα (ἕνδεκα) σταδίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης ἱδρυμένη, ὕφορμον ἔχουσα, καὶ ἱερὸν ἀρχαῖον τῆς Παφίας Ἀφροδίτης.* After that come Cape Zephyria, Arsinoë, Hierocepis. *εἶθ' ἡ Πάφος, κτίσμα Ἀγαπήνορος, καὶ λιμένα ἔχουσα καὶ ἱερὰ εὖ κατεσκευασμένα, διέχει δὲ πεζῇ σταδίους ἑξήκοντα τῆς Παλαιπάφου· καὶ πανηγυρίζουσι διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ ταύτης κατ' ἔτος ἐπὶ τὴν Παλαίπαφον ἄνδρες ὁμοῦ γυναιξὶν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων συνίοντες.*

Servius, *ad Aen.* X. 51, *à propos* of 'celsa Paphus,' says: 'Antiqua Paphus, quae Palaepaphus dicitur, in excelso fuit posita, ex quo loco aedificia permittente pace in littus deducta sunt,' by which he probably means that when the necessity for building on a height had ceased, the town spread over the southern slopes towards the sea.

Ptolemy merely mentions the name twice. Scylax of Caryanda, though he speaks of Cyprus, does not mention Paphos at all.

Stephanus of Byzantium gives the ethnic *Πάφιος*, and, under the heading *Ἐρυθρά*, says that *ἡ νῦν Πάφος* was once called *Ἐρυθρά*. I do not find any trace of the statement anywhere else. Nonnus, XIII. 445, used to be quoted on the point. The lines in the older editions ran thus:—

οἵ τ' ἔχον Ὑλάταο πέδον καὶ ἐδέθλια Σηστοῦ
καὶ Τάμασον καὶ Τέμβρον Ἐρυθραίην τε πολίχνην,

but the latest text reads *Ἐρύσθειαν*. In any case, Stephanus is probably speaking of New Paphos, which is usually meant by prose writers when they speak of *Πάφος* without any prefix, while conversely poets usually intend Old Paphos to be understood.

Pliny, *N. H.* V. 130, mentions Palaepaphos in a bare list of Cypriote towns. For Mela *v. supra*. Aethicus has a bare mention, but no other geographer helps us. The last in point of date who belongs to the old category is probably the Anonymus Ravennas of cent. vii. (p. 192, ed. Parthey, he speaks of Arsinoe, Pafos, Palopaphos, Amathus). For the sake of completeness I will set down the other names given by Meursius. They are Antoninus, Honorius (of Autun), *De Imagine Mundi*, Isidore, *Orig.* XVI. 6.

The name of the Paphian river seems to me to need definitely settling.

General Cesnola says it was the Bocarus, and adds with some truth that it is now called by another name. It seems generally taken for granted that it was called the Bocarus, but the evidence is not unanimous.

Lycophron, 447, *sqq.*, may be quoted first:

> *οἱ πέντε δὲ Σφήκειαν εἰς Κεραστίαν*
> *καὶ Σάτραχον βλώξαντες Τλάτου τε γῆν*
> *Μορφὼ παροικήσουσι τὴν Ζηρυνθίαν*
> *ὁ μὲν πατρὸς μομφαῖσιν ἠλαστρημένος*
> *Κυχρεῖος ἄντρων Βωκάρου τε ναμάτων* &c.,

there being no particular verb. As the indispensable Scholiast says:—

> *Σφήκεια* and *Κεραστιά* = Cyprus.
> *Σάτραχον, πόλις Κύπρου, alias Σέτραχον.*
> *Τλάτης* or *-ος* = Apollo of Curium.
> *Μορφώ*, a Spartan *ξόανον* of Aphrodite.
> *Ζηρυνθία*, Thracian or Troezenian Aphrodite
> *ὁ μέν* &c. = Teucer.
> *Κυχρεῖος, Κυχρεύς*, son of Salamis and Poseidon = Salaminian.

Hesychius, too, says: *Βώκαρος, ποταμὸς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι*, and adds that it flows out of Mount Acamas.

Strabo, IX. p. 394, gives the key to all this. The Bocarus mentioned both by Hesychius and Lycophron is in the *island* Salamis. Why any one ever supposed it to be near Paphos is obscure to me. I may have missed some decisive passage, but I find no one quoted to establish the point except Hesychius. There is, however, a case to be made out on behalf of another name. *Σάτραχον* the Scholiast on Lycophron says is a city of Cyprus. Two other writers call it a river, and one seems to place it near Paphos.

Nonnus, *Dionys.* XIII. 456, is the first:—

> *καὶ Πάφον ἁβροκόμων στεφανηφόρον ὅρμον Ἐρώτων*
> *ἐξ ὑδάτων ἐπίβαθρον ἀνερχομένης Ἀφροδίτης*
> *ἧχι θαλασσιγόνου Παφίης νυμφήιον ὕδωρ*
> *Σάτραχος ἱμερόεις, ὅθι πολλάκις οἶδμα λιποῦσα*
> *Κύπρις ἀνεχλάινωσε λελουμένον υἱέα Μύρρης* (*i.e.* Adonis).

The second is the *Etymol. Magnum*, which makes the *Σάτραχος* and the *Πεδιεὺς* flow out of Mount *Ἀῶος*. This mountain Ross (*Reisen auf Kos...und Cypern*, 1852) identifies with Mount Machaera, and makes the Satrachos the river of Idalium.

Euripides, *Bacchae*, 400, can hardly be said to throw much light upon the subject in the lines:—

> *ἱκοίμαν ποτὶ Κύπρον*
> *νᾶσον τᾶς Ἀφροδίτας*
> *ἵν' οἱ θελξίφρονες νέμον-*
> *ται θνατοῖσιν Ἔρωτες*

Πάφον θ', ἂν ἑκατόστομοι
βαρβάρου ποταμοῦ ῥοαὶ
καρπίζουσιν ἄνομβροι.

Meursius here read Βωκάρου for *βαρβάρου*, but he has not a large following. Dr. Sandys cannot help suspecting a corruption in the passage. According to the context he says that the river must necessarily mean the Nile. He seems inclined to think that Euripides did not know very accurately where Cyprus or Paphos were.

There remains one piece of evidence which ought to settle the question, but I think does not. A coin attributed to Paphos by Mr. J. P. Six has on its obverse a man-headed bull, and is inscribed Po-ka-ro-se. If the attribution were certain, the Bocarus would win the day, but it is not certain, so far as I can ascertain. (Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 623.)

John Cameniata, *De Excidio Thessalonicensi*, p. 309, is quoted by Engel. He speaks of *ὕδατα παρακείμενα* to the harbour of Paphos, but he must mean New Paphos.

II. *Other accounts of the foundation of the Temple.*

Tacitus, as we have seen, makes Aerias or Cinyras the founder. But there are other accounts which either take no notice of these heroes, or put forward others of their own. Herodotus, who does not directly name Paphos, but unquestionably is thinking of it, says (I. 105) that some Scythians, left behind by their comrades in Ascalon, plundered the temple of Aphrodite Urania there. *ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθανόμενος ἐυρίσκω, πάντων ἀρχαιότατον ἱρῶν, ὅσα ταύτης τῆς θεοῦ· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἱρὸν ἐνθεῦτεν ἐγένετο, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Κύπριοι, καὶ τὸ ἐν Κυθήροισι Φοινικές εἰσιν οἱ ἱδρυσάμενοι ἐκ ταύτης τῆς Συρίης ἐόντες.* Hesiod, quoted above, makes Cythera older than Paphos (see Pausanias below). The account of Herodotus is most valuable. It is no doubt true, and probably implies the existence of the Cinyras legend. Compare a passage in the tract 'De Syria Dea,' printed among Lucian's works. In c. 9 we read: *Ἀνέβην δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν Λίβανον ἐκ Βύβλου, ὁδὸν ἡμέρης, πυθόμενος αὐτόθι ἀρχαῖον ἱρὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἔμμεναι, τὸ Κινύρης εἵσατο· καὶ εἶδον τὸ ἱρὸν, καὶ ἀρχαῖον ἦν.* So Cinyras was known in the Lebanon range, and there too he connected himself with the Adonis-worship.

Strabo, XI. 5, p. 544, may possibly name the Amazons as founders of Paphos, but probably does not; certainly no one else does. *Κτίσεις γοῦν πόλεων καὶ ἐπωνυμίαι λέγονται, καθάπερ Ἐφέσου καὶ Σμύρνης καὶ Κύμης καὶ Μυρίνης καὶ Πάφου καὶ ἄλλα ὑπομνήματα.* Later editors read *τάφοι* for *Πάφου*.

Pausanias also four times alludes to Paphos, and mentions Agapenor expressly as the founder of the temple. The tradition that this hero founded New Paphos is constant (Strabo, XIV. 6, *εἶθ' ἡ Πάφος, κτίσμα Ἀγαπήνορος*), but no one else so connects him with Old Paphos. I subjoin the three remaining passages of Pausanias.

(*a*) I. 14, 7 (near the Cerameicus of Athens): *Πλησίον δὲ ἱερόν ἐστιν*

'Αφροδίτης Οὐρανίας. Πρώτοις δὲ ἀνθρώπων 'Ασσυρίοις κατέστη σέβεσθαι τὴν Οὐρανίαν, μετὰ δὲ 'Ασσυρίους, Κυπρίων Παφίοις καὶ Φοινίκων τοῖς 'Ασκάλωνα ἔχουσιν ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ· παρὰ δὲ Φοινίκων Κυθήριοι μαθόντες σέβουσιν. (Cythera, then, is later than Paphos.)

(*b*) VIII. 5, 2: 'Ιλίου δὲ ἁλούσης, ὁ τοῖς Ἕλλησι κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν τὸν οἴκαδε ἐπιγενόμενος χειμὼν 'Αγαπήνορα καὶ τὸ 'Αρκάδων ναυτικὸν κατήνεγκεν εἰς Κύπρον, καὶ Πάφου τε 'Αγαπήνωρ ἐγένετο οἰκιστὴς καὶ τῆς 'Αφροδίτης κατεσκευάσατο ἐν Παλαιπάφῳ τὸ ἱερόν. τέως δὲ ἡ θεὸς παρὰ Κυπρίων τιμὰς εἶχεν ἐν Γολγοῖς καλουμένῳ χωρίῳ. Laodice, his daughter, offered a πέπλος to Athene Alea at Tegea.

(*c*) VIII. 53, 7: At Tegea is a temple 'Αφροδίτης καλουμένης Παφίας, ἱδρύσατο αὐτὴν Λαοδικὴ γεγοννῖα μὲν...ἀπὸ 'Αγαπήνορος...οἰκοῦσα δὲ ἐν Πάφῳ.

See for other notices of Agapenor's Arcadian colony in Cyprus, Hdt. VII. 90 and Lycophron, 479, and Scholiast.

Diodorus Siculus, V. 77, 5, mentions a Cretan story to the effect that Aphrodite originally came from that island, but lived for some time at Paphos and so was called Παφία.

Isidore, *Origines*, XV. 1, says 'Aquos Tiphonis filius (aedificavit) Paphum.' I do not quite know what this means. Ovid, *Metam.* X. 290, &c., and Lutatius in his epitome of the poem, speak of on eponymous founder Paphus.

As to the date, Eusebius in his *Chronicle* and Jerome put the foundation of Paphos in the reign of King Pandion and judgeship of Othniel.

III. *Other passages relating to the Temple and its rites.*—Foremost among those not already quoted, come two passages from the works of Clement of Alexandria.

(*a*) Protrepticus I. p. 12—13 (Potter). ''Η μὲν οὖν ἀφρογένης τε καὶ Κυπρογένης, ἡ Κινύρᾳ φίλη, τὴν 'Αφροδίτην λέγω...and again ὡς ἀσελγῶν ὑμῖν μορίων ἄξιος 'Αφροδίτη γίνεται καρπὸς ἐν ταῖς τελεταῖς· ταύτης τῆς πελαγίας ἡδονῆς, τεκμήριον τῆς γονῆς, ἁλῶν χόνδρος καὶ φαλλὸς τοῖς μυουμένοις τὴν τέχνην τὴν μοιχικὴν ἐπιδίδοται, νόμισμα δὲ εἰσφέρουσιν αὐτῇ οἱ μυούμενοι, ὡς ἑταίρᾳ ἐρασταί.'

That this description applies to the Paphian sanctuary is rendered practically certain by a passage in Arnobius, *adv. Gentes.*, V.: 'Necnon et Cypriae Veneris abstrusa illa initia praetereamus quorum conditor indicatur Cinyras rex fuisse; in quibus sumentes ea certas stipes inferunt ut meretrici, et referunt phallos propitii numinis signa.'

A second confirmation is found in the tract of Julius Firmicus Maternus, *De Errore Profanarum Religionum.* c. 10. 'Audio Cinyram Cyprium templum amicae meretrici donasse (ei erat Venus nomen), initiasse etiam Cypriae Veneri plurimos, et vanis consecrationibus deputasse. Statuisse etiam ut quicumque initiari vellet, secreto Veneris sibi tradito, assem in manum mercedis nomine Deae daret. Quod secretum quale sit, omnes taciti intelligere debemus, quia hoc ipsum propter turpitudinem manifestius explicare non possumus. Bene amator Cinyras meretriciis legibus servit, consecratae Veneri a sacerdotibus suis stipem dari jussit, ut scorto.'

(β) Protrept. III. p. 40. 'Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ τοῦ 'Αγησάρχου ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν Φιλοπάτορα ἐν Πάφῳ λέγει ἐν τῷ τῆς 'Αφροδίτης ἱερῷ Κινύραν τε καὶ τοὺς Κινύρου ἀπογόνους κεκηδεῦσθαι.' It is much to be regretted that the excavations brought no Cinyrads or epitaphs of Cinyrads to light.

Another passage which ranges itself under this head is the well-known fragment quoted by Athenaeus (XV. 10, p. 676), from Polycharmus of Naucratis. This writer, in a book Περὶ 'Αφροδίτης, said: 'Κατὰ δὲ τὴν τρίτην πρὸς ταῖς εἴκοσιν ὀλυμπιάδα ὁ 'Ηρόστρατος, πολίτης ἡμέτερος, ἐμπορίᾳ χρώμενος καὶ χώραν πολλὴν περιπλέων, προσσχών ποτε καὶ Πάφῳ τῆς Κύπρου, ἀγαλμάτιον 'Αφροδίτης σπιθαμιαῖον ἀρχαῖον τῇ τέχνῃ ὠνησάμενος, ᾔει φέρων εἰς τὴν Ναύκρατιν' (where he eventually set it up in a temple). The image here spoken of is often thought to have been a small copy of the sacred cone: but it seems to me doubtful whether the expression ἀρχαῖον τῇ τέχνῃ could be applied to anything but the representation of a human figure of some kind.[1] Fragments found on the temple site show that statues of Aphrodite and Eros were allowed within the precinct.

The sacred doves formed part of the appendages of the Temple, and may as well be treated of here. The 'Paphiae columbae' of Martial (VIII. 28) and other Latin poets need no more than a mention. Probably the καλοὶ στρουθοὶ which brought Aphrodite to Sappho were doves. The birds occur on Paphian coins, and on Cypriote coins of the Ptolemaic period, and are directly connected with Paphos by a passage from the Στρατιώτης of Antiphanes (ap. Athen. VI. 71, p. 257).

> Α. Ἐν Κύπρῳ, φῄς, εἰπέ μοι, διήγετε
> πολὺν χρόνον; Β. τὸν πάνθ, ἕως ἦν ὁ πόλεμος.
> Α. Ἐν τίνι τόπῳ μάλιστα; λέγε γάρ. Β. Ἐν Πάφῳ.
> οὗ πρᾶγμα τρυφερὸν διαφερόντως ἦν ἰδεῖν,
> ἄλλως τ' ἄπιστον. Α. Ποῖον; Β. Ἐρριπίζετο
> ὑπὸ τῶν περιστερῶν, ὑπ' ἄλλου δ' οὐδένος
> ὁ βασιλεύς, etc.

The same poet in the Ὁμοπάτριοι (ap. Athen. XIV. p. 655) says, speaking of sacred birds in general:

> ἡ Κύπρος
> ἔχει πελείας διαφόρους.

Pseudo-Lucian, *de Syria Dea*, 14, mentions both doves and also fish as sacred to Dercĕto. Fish have been thought to occur on bronze imperial coins which show the Temple of Paphos. Cornutus, 24, gives uninteresting reasons why doves are sacred to Aphrodite.

Athen. IX. 51, mentions the doves of Aphrodite's temple at Eryx.

Many representations of doves in marble and terra-cotta were found in

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[1] Mr. E. A. Gardner notes here that in the Temple of Aphrodite at Naukratis, excavated by him for the Egypt Exploration Fund, he found many archaic figures corresponding to the description given by Polycharmus.

and about the temple site. One or two occurred in tombs. It may be noted that the gold pin from the Temple (now in the British Museum) is adorned both with goats' heads and doves. Cf. Tacitus' 'certissima fides haedorum fibris.'

A phrase in Athen. XI. 516*a*. is likely to refer to Paphian customs: '*οὐ μόνον δὲ Λυδῶν γυναῖκες ἄφετοι οὖσαι τοῖς ἐντυχοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Λοκρῶν τῶν Ἐπιζεφυρίων ἔτι δὲ τῶν περὶ Κύπρον καὶ πάντων ἁπλῶς τῶν ἑταιρισμῷ τὰς ἑαυτῶν κόρας ἀφοσιούντων, παλαιᾶς τινος ὕβρεως ἔοικεν εἶναι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὑπόμνημα καὶ τιμωρία.*' An illustration will be found in Epistola Jeremiae, 43, 4 (= Baruch, vi. 43, 4).

Lastly three entries in Hesychius among many possible ones may be set down as probably belonging to Paphos, and as having a distinctly religious signification:

Ἀγήτωρ. ὁ τῶν Ἀφροδίτης θυηλῶν ἡγούμενος ἱερεὺς ἐν Κύπρῳ. Comp. Inscr. of Temple, No. 105.

κιχητός. εἰς ὃ ἐμβάλλεται λιβανωτός. Κύπριοι.

σάπιθος. θυσία. Πάφιοι.

Quite unimportant references are found in Athanasius, *Orat. ad Graecos*; Arator, *Hist. Apost.* II.; Acron and Porphyrion on Hor. *Od.* I. xxx.

IV. *The History of Paphos* has next to be considered, so far as it is preserved by ancient writers. An Assyrian tablet in the British Museum gives our first certain point after the mythical period. Seven kings of Cyprus are thereon recorded as having paid tribute to Esarhaddon in 672 B.C. The name of the king of Paphos was read by Mr. George Smith as Ithuander, but in *Records of the Past*, iii. p. 108, it appears as Ittudagon. General Cesnola identifies this ruler with Eteandros, king of Paphos, whose gold armlets form part of the 'Treasure of Curium,' (Cyprus, p. 306).

Other supposed names of Paphian kings occur on coins. Their order is not known, and the existence of some is disputed. They are (according to M. Six) Pnytus, Pasippus, Moagetas, Stasandrus, Aristophantus.

About the following names we may feel pretty certain. They occur in Cypriote inscriptions from Kuklia.

No. 39 in Deecke's Collection (pt. i. of Collitz's *Sammlung d. Griech. Dialekt-Inschriften*) is the inscription now in the Louvre, which Count de Voguë brought from the large tomb known as *σπήλαιον τῆς ῥηγίνας*. It runs thus:

Τιμοχάριϝος βασιλέϝος τᾶς ϝανάσ(σ)ας τῶ ἰϳερέος.

No. 40, now at Constantinople.

ὁ Πάφω βασιλεὺς Νικοκλέϝης ὁ ἱερεὺς τῆς ϝανάσ(σ)ας ὁ βασιλεὺς Τιμάρχω ἶνις κατεστασε τᾷ θεῷ.

I may cite here a passage from Pliny, *N.H.* xi. 37: 'Timarchus Nicoclis filius Paphi duos ordines habuit maxillarium; frater eius non mutavit primores ideoque praetrivit.' These curiously-toothed men must have been members of the royal family of Paphos. The names Nicocles and Timarchus may have alternated for several generations. The Nicocles of the inscription was

probably not the one who rebelled against Ptolemy. He would most likely not have used the Cypriote character.

No. 38, 'in a cave at Kuklia' (which we could never re-discover), gives either the name of a king or that of his son :

βασιλέος 'Εχετίμων *τοῦ ἱ*ερέος *τᾶ* Fανάσ(σ)ας.

All three inscriptions show, once more, the union of kingship with priesthood.

We are unable to fill up a great many of the blanks in the history of Paphos. Its kings must have joined with the other Cypriote monarchs in helping Alexander at Tyre, and somewhere about that time Plutarch's story of the crowning of Alynomus (*v. supra*) must be fitted in, if it is history at all. But of Nicocles the last king of Paphos we do know something from several sources.

(*α*) Diod. Sic. XIX. 79, 4, records an event which must have happened in his reign. Stasioecus king of Marium rebelled against Ptolemy *cir.* 313 B.C. and Ptolemy razed Marium to the ground. *τοὺς δ' οἰκοῦντας μετήγαγεν εἰς Πάφον.*

(The name Stasioec(us) occurred on a broken stone cornice found in the tombs W. of the Temple).

(*β*) *id.* XX. 21. The story of Nicocles' end is given. Ptolemy found him intriguing with Antigonus after he had submitted to him, and sent a force to Paphos, who surrounded his palace at night and compelled him to hang himself. His wife Axiothea followed his example, and compelled his relations to die with her. The story is also given by Polyaenus, *Strategem.* VIII. 48.

(*γ*) Athenaeus, VI. 67 etc. p. 255, quotes a long passage from a book called *Gergithius*, by Clearchus of Soli (Gergithius being the name of a hanger-on of Alexander), in which the luxury and effeminacy of a certain youth—*Παφίου μὲν τὸ γένος, βασιλέως δὲ τὴν τύχην*—are described (compare the passage of Antiphanes given above). This prince may or may not be the Nicocles who ended so badly : but the time indicated is not far from his.

The inscribed marble altar found on the Temple site gives us an additional fact about Nicocles, in the only two lines preserved.

Εὐρύχορος πόλις ἅδε τεᾷ, Νικοκλέες, ὁρμᾷ
ὑψηλὸν πύργων ἀμφέθετο στέφανον.

Nicocles, then, fortified Paphos, perhaps in anticipation of his intended revolt against Ptolemy. Now, on a double stater of this king (engraved in Mionnet, supp. vii. p. 310) the head of Aphrodite on the obverse wears, besides a richly decorated stephanos, a crown of towers. This no doubt refers to the event commemorated in the inscription.

After Nicocles there is a blank in the written authorities. Diod. Sic. XX. 49, 1, mentions the fact that Ptolemy landed at Paphos. The Ptolemies kept possession of the island, the dethroned Cinyrads retained the priesthood, and during the fourth and following centuries the temple must have attained the

height of its splendour. A glance at the inscriptions serves to show how large a number of the pedestals belong to the Ptolemaic period. The state of the island and of this particular place under the Ptolemies is to be dealt with I believe, in another section, reserved for the present.

One point however of which we gain new knowledge from the inscriptions may be quite briefly noticed here. It is the existence of a festival called the *ἐλαιοχρίστιον*—mentioned nowhere else, so far as I can discover. A fragment of the list of the subscribers to it shows that Lycians and Carians frequented the Temple. The nature of the festival is indicated by its name. Something—one naturally supposes the sacred cone—was anointed with oil. No doubt some one will see a parallel in Genesis xxviii. 18. It will be remembered, too, that the sacred stone at Delphi, with which Rhea deceived Kronos, was anointed with oil every day (Paus. x. 24, 6). The nature of the contributions recorded in our inscription—they consist for the most part of *ὀψώνια*—seems to point to the fact that a sacred feast formed part of the ceremonial.

We pass to the end of the Ptolemaic dynasty, which was nearly as tragic as that of the Cinyrad. Plutarch, in the life of Cato the younger, c. 35, says that Cato was sent (in B.C. 57) to depose the unfortunate Ptolemy, who held the island and was thinking of resisting Rome. He goes on: *Κανίδιόν τινα τῶν φίλων προπέμψας εἰς Κύπρον ἔπειθε τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἄνευ μάχης εἴκειν, ὡς οὔτε χρημάτων οὔτε τιμῆς ἐνδεᾶ βιωσόμενον, ἱερωσύνην γὰρ αὐτῷ τῆς ἐν Πάφῳ θεοῦ δώσειν τὸν δῆμον.* Cato very likely knew that the priesthood was then in the hands of a dispossessed kingly family, and looked upon the post as a graceful retirement for the poor king. But Ptolemy would not take advice, and poisoned himself.

There are two references in the works of Cicero to Paphos, probably New Paphos. One belongs to B.C. 47, and begins a letter to the then quaestor in Cyprus, C. Sextilius Rufus. 'Omnes tibi commendo Cyprios, sed magis Paphios, *ad Div.* XIII. 48. The other occurs in the Second Philippic, c. XV.: 'Quid vero ille singularis vir ac paene divinus (Cn. Pompeius) de me senserit, sciunt, qui eum de Pharsalica fuga Paphum persecuti sunt.'

We now approach the decline of Paphos. The first hint of it is found in Dio Cassius, LIV. 23. Of Augustus he says, '*Παφίοις τε σεισμῷ πονήσασί τε καὶ χρήματα ἐχαρίσατο καὶ τὴν πόλιν Αὔγουσταν καλεῖν κατὰ δόγμα ἐπέτρεψε.*' Accordingly *σεβαστῆς Πάφου ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος* occurs on several inscriptions.

Tiberius, too, did something for the temple. Two pedestals are erected to him, he is called *εὐεργέτης*, and there is an era named after him. Under him (Tac. *Ann.* iii. 62) the Paphians applied for confirmation of their right of sanctuary, which was allowed.

The passage from Dio Cassius is the first which speaks of earthquakes. There are several others. Thus Seneca, *Ep.* 91, says: Cyprum quoties vastavit haec clades? quoties in se Paphus corruit? and in *Nat. Quaest.* VI. 25: Sic Paphus non semel corruit.

Eusebius, in the *Chronicle*, under Vespasian, A.D. 71, speaks of an earth-

quake laying waste three cities in Cyprus. To this great disaster the Sibylline oracles twice refer. It must have included Paphos.

(*a*) *Sib. Orac.* IV. 128.

> *καὶ τότε δὴ Σαλαμῖνα Πάφον θ' ἅμα σεισμὸς ὀλέσσει,*
> *Κύπρον ὅταν πολυκλυστὸν ὑπερκλονέῃ μέλαν ὕδωρ.*

In the poem this follows the mention of the destruction of Jerusalem. This particular book dates from the reign of Titus or Domitian, according to Alexandre.

(*β*) *Sib. Orac.* V. 450.

> *Κύπρον δ' ἕξει μέγα πῆμα*
> *καὶ Πάφος ἀΐξει δεινὸν μόρον, ὥστε νοῆσαι*
> *καὶ Σαλαμῖνα πόλιν μεγάλην μέγα πῆμα παθοῦσαν.*

This passage is modelled on the last. The book in which it occurs was written 154—161 A.D. Both are Jewish productions of varying tendencies.

Of the introduction of Christianity into Paphos we know something (for New Paphos at least) from the Acts of the Apostles, but no names of early Bishops are preserved. One passage is certainly worth quoting, from the *Acta Barnabae*, ascribed to St. Mark, a Cypriote book of fourth or fifth century date (Tischendorf, Act. Apost. p. 70), *Ἡμῶν δὲ διελθόντων τὸ ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον Χιονῶδες, κατηντήσαμεν ἐν παλαιᾷ Πάφῳ, κἀκεῖ ηὕραμεν Ῥόδωνα ἱερόδουλον ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς πιστεύσας συνηκολούθησεν ἡμῖν.* Ἱερόδουλος here cannot mean deacon; the survival of the name is very noteworthy.

The only other piece of hagiology connected with the place is the mention in both Latin and Greek menologies of the martyrdom of Tychicus, Paul's companion, at Paphos on April 29. No Passion exists, as far as I can discover.

V. *Dialect, etc.*—Many words are given by Hesychius as being in use at Paphos, which it does not seem worth while to transcribe here. They number twenty-six. One is given in Athenaeus XI. *Μαστός* = *Ποτήριον.*

Hesychius, *s.v.* *Ἡμιπέλεκκον. τὸ γὰρ δεκάμνουν πέλεκυς καλεῖται παρὰ Παφίοις.*

Epiphanius (Bishop of Salamis in Cyprus), *de pond. et mens.*, says that the Salaminian *μεδιμνὸς* differed from the Paphian. The former contained five *μόδιοι*, the latter four and a half.

VI. *General References.*—Under this head I insert references to passages which it did not seem worth while to transcribe at length. Aeschylus, ap. Strabo VIII. p. 495, Oxon: and *Persae*, 891; Alcman, ap. Strabo, *ibid.* (*περίρρυτος*); Sappho, fr. 5; Aristophanes, *Lysistr.* 833; Horace, *Odes* I. 19 and 30, III. 26; Statius, *Silv.* I. 2, 101. *Theb.* V. 61; Silius Italicus; Columella X. 182; Serenus Sammonicus XL.; Apuleius *Metam.* IV. 29; XI. 2. (Paphi *circumfluo* sacrario, cp. Alcman); Ammian. Marcellin. XIV. 8.

VII. *Natural Productions.*—Apollonius, *Hist. Mirab.* 50.

''Αριστοτέλης ἐν ταῖς ἐκλογαῖς τῶν ἀνατομῶν φησιν· ὄφις ὤφθη Πάφῳ πόδας ἔχων δύο ὁμοίους χερσαίῳ κροκοδείλῳ.'

Mediaeval and Modern Accounts.

With this part of the subject I can deal more shortly. For several centuries (practically from the fifth to the fourteenth) we have no accounts whatever of the place, but the knowledge of the site seems to have existed pretty constantly. Pococke is sometimes named as the first who detected the identity of Kuklia with Old Paphos, but Ludolf of Suchen seems to have known it; certainly Francis Attar in 1540 did.

The first passage which speaks of Paphos in its ruined state is in Jerome's *Vita Hilarionis:* 'Ingressus ergo Paphum urbem Cypri nobilem carminibus poetarum, quae frequenter terrae motu lapsa nunc ruinarum tantum vestigiis quid olim fuerit ostendit' etc., which account is copied by Bede *de nominibus locorum in Act. Apost.*

At present (chiefly owing to the fact that De Mas Latrie never published his sketch of the historical geography of Cyprus) I can find nothing between Jerome and Ludolf of Suchen in Westphalia, who travelled in the island about 1350 (ap. De Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'Île de Chypre,* etc., II. p. 211), 'Juxta Paphum quondam stetit castrum Veneris, et ibidem ydolum Veneris adorare solebant;' all the 'domine et domicelle' came to the Temple from all parts. Helen was carried off when on her way to this place. The climate of the spot is of a kind to excite the passions.

Bernard von Breydenbach, canon of Mainz (he is buried in the South Transept there), whose itinerary was printed in 1487—soon after it was written—says: 'Applicuimus Cypri. Transeuntes per quasdam civitates quarum una Baffi vocatur, magna quondam et potens, ut ruinae ejus testantur, sed hodie desolata et destructa, ubi mansimus die S. Johannis.' Almost certainly new Paphos.

Bartholomaeus Saligniakus (some time in cent. xvi.) printed with Borchard, Magdeburg 1587, quoted by Meursius and Münter, in his *Itin. Hierosol.* IV. 5: Alia civitas in hoc regno antiquissima atque metropolis Paphos dicitur vetustissimis auctoribus celebrata, in qua vii. fratres Machabaei una cum matre inclyto martyrio coronati sunt. Nos autem hoc fanum subterraneum in honore martyrum vii sacellis distinctum multa devotione ingressi sumus.' If this writer is speaking of old Paphos (which is doubtful) he very likely means the σπήλαιον τῆς ῥηγίνας by this underground sanctuary. It used to be called the cave of the seven Virgins, as I gathered; in any case he means some underground tomb with seven chambers; and there are such in the neighbourhood of new Paphos, as is well known. I should be inclined to think that he or his Latin guide had confused the Seven Sleepers with the seven Maccabees—a not uncommon mistake.

The same writer, IV. 6, says 'Paphos ruinis plena videtur, templis tamen frequens (churches are meant, Kuklia is reported to have possessed either 365 or 400 churches. I can find traces of about six) inter quae Latina sunt praestantiora, in quibus ritu Romano divina peraguntur, et Gallorum legibus vivitur.'

Francis Attar, in some memoirs on the island of Cyprus extracted by De Mas Latrie, III. p. 528 (date *circa* 1540), says 'Baffo vecchia, dove fù il famosissimo tempio di Venere al presente è un casale chiamato Covucla.'

This is the first passage where the modern name Kuklia occurs. If we accept the form given by Stephen Lusignan, we should read Conuclia in this passage as well. The full name is *τὰ Κούκλια τῆς Πάφου*. There is another Kuklia near Famagusta. What the meaning is I cannot ascertain, but I feel quite certain that it has nothing to do with cyclic dances in honour of Aphrodite, or again with Gilgal. If Conuclia is right, it may have some connection with *κούνικλος* a rabbit, but I cannot say that rabbits are a distinguishing characteristic of the modern village. About the Lusignan castle I have ascertained nothing: see Cesnola.

Stephen Lusignan (*Chorograffia dell' Isola di Cipro*, Bologna 1573. fol. 7, ap. Ross) in one passage throws a lurid light on the condition of the tombs at Kuklia: 'In Conuclia si ritrouano molte anticaglie et cose preciose nelle sepolture di essi antichi; le quali sepolture sono fatte a modo di camere sotto terra; et non è da quattro anni, ovver sei, che hanno trouato un Rè quasi intiero,' no doubt some unhappy Cinyrad, who cannot have remained 'quasi intiero' very long after he was found.

Richard Pococke, *Travels*, ed. 1745, I. p. 225, describes and recognises Kuklia, but gives no noticeable details.

Mariti (1760), ap. Münter, says an earthquake had made the ruins disappear even to the least vestige, which is only a figurative way of speaking.

Joseph von Hammer, *Topographische Ansichten gesammelt auf einer Reise in die Levant*. Vienna, 1811, p. 134 *sqq.*, gives the first really detailed account, with maps and plans. On p. 142 *sqq.* the road from Ktima to Kuklia is described at length. Von Hammer is the first to notice the monoliths near the seashore. He describes them as two large and very ancient stone pillars with long rectangular openings, which appear to have been windows. These should serve as guides to any explorer who is looking for the site of the harbour. In front of them is a large hollow filled with architectural fragments, mouldings, drums of columns, and a large marble altar. Probably these are the remains of a large and ancient temple where pilgrims first sacrificed on landing.

The whole of the hill at Kuklia is covered with ruins—half an hour in circumference. Temple walls enclose a space measuring 150 paces by 100. Large blocks described. The openings were either to put petitions or offerings into, or to communicate oracles from within. Two large holes walled round are in the enclosure, filled with stones; in one is a marble column three feet in diameter. Inscriptions lie all about: one is now at Vienna, one in England, another left *in situ*. Four or five entrances are distinguishable in the outer wall, a mosaic pavement is visible here and there. The *σπήλαιον τῆς ῥηγίνας* is described and the 'Phoenician' inscription copied (No. 39 in Deecke, *vide supra*: it was the first Cypriote inscription discovered). He gives two maps, one of which is copied in Münter. His copies of Greek inscriptions are in the *Corpus*.

Ali Bey, a Turk who travelled in the East about 1800 (English Translation of his Travels, 2 vols. 1816), vol. i. p. 290, notices 'the palace at Couclia, and two spots of mosaic newly uncovered.' The priest told him that on this spot stood the palace of Aphroditis, p. 299, 300. He describes the large blocks.

At first he was inclined to think the wall an accidental petrifaction: 'its blackish colour and a tendency to decomposition made me lean to this idea: but it is impossible to mistake they are stones.....It is reported that these ruins and also the mosaic pavement mentioned in a preceding chapter belonged to a palace of Aphroditis. I admire the authors of such a work, and in contemplating the remains of this wonderful edifice, attributed to a woman, it called to my recollection Catherine II. ordering the base of the statue of her husband to be brought from a distance. Near these colossal ruins there are others which appear to have belonged to the Middle age, upon which may be seen inscriptions, bas-reliefs, and some paintings in fresco of very good colouring. The wife of the farmer at Couclia was very handsome,' &c.

Pl. xxxiii. is a view of Kuklia (the earliest?) from the west near the second river; xxxiv. *a. b.*, parts of the temple wall; xxxv. two inscriptions in *C.I.G.*; one, very badly done, is No. 2 of our collection.

Ross, *Reisen auf Kos* etc. *und Cypern*, 1852, p. 180—2, describes Kuklia. The importance of its ruins has been exaggerated. Dimensions are given. He derides Von Hammer's oracle and notices coarse 'Byzantine' mosaic on north of the Temple, by the ruined chapel of Ayia Paraskevi. He also describes the σπήλαιον τῆς ῥηγίνας.

The same writer in *Arch. Zeitung*, 1851, p. 222—3, pl. xxviii., repeats the description and gives a plan of the tomb.

The plan and inscription are again given by the Duc de Luynes, *Numismatique et Inscriptions Cypriotes.*

Athanasios Sakellarios, Τὰ Κυπριακὰ, Athens, 1855. vol. i. p. 90 etc., describes the place, and copies some inscriptions, notably that beginning ἦν χρόνος ἡνίκα τόνδε etc.

De Vogué, *Melanges d'archéologie orientale*, p. 96, gives the inscription from the large tomb (pl. iii. 2): he removed it to the Louvre.

In Lebas' *Voyage*, vol. viii. sixteen inscriptions from Kuklia and its neighbourhood are given by M. Waddington.

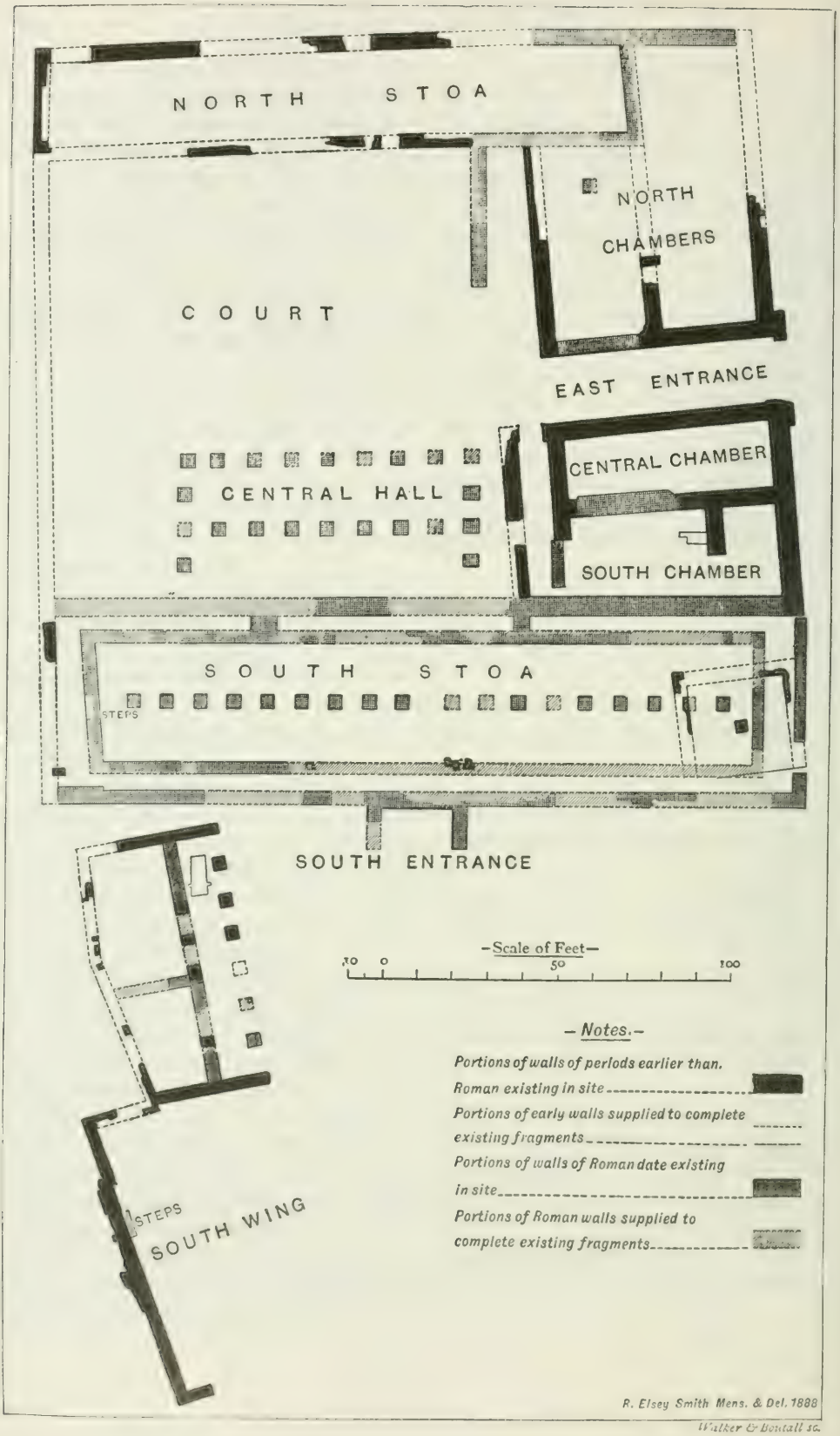
General Cesnola's statements will be found on p. 204 etc. of his 'Cyprus,' and copies of inscriptions in his appendix p. 413, No. 1—7. They have been criticised recently elsewhere.

Alexander Cesnola in 'Salaminia' gives three Cypriote inscriptions from Paphos, p. 86, 7—8; p. 257, he figures an aryballos with a bird on it.

MM. Perrot and Chipiez in their 'History of Art in Phoenicia and Cyprus,' vol. i. p. 274, Eng. Trans., give an interesting account of Paphos, and repeat the plans of Hetsch and Cesnola.

From that time no considerable work has been done at Paphos (nor, I believe, has much been written about it) till the beginning of this year. There are certain books which I have not been able to consult in compiling this. I may mention particularly Lenz, *die Göttin zu Paphos;* an Essay by De Guigniaut in Burnouf's larger translation of Tacitus' *Histories*; Reinhard's *Geschichte von Cypern.* I trust, however—though one can never be sure in matters of this kind—that I have not let slip any very material part of the evidence relating to Old Paphos and its sanctuary.

M. R. J.


NORTH STOA
NORTH CHAMBERS
COURT
EAST ENTRANCE
CENTRAL CHAMBER
CENTRAL HALL
SOUTH CHAMBER
SOUTH STOA
STEPS
SOUTH ENTRANCE
Scale of Feet
50
100
Notes.
Portions of walls of periods earlier than Roman existing in site
Portions of early walls supplied to complete existing fragments
Portions of walls of Roman date existing in site
Portions of Roman walls supplied to complete existing fragments
STEPS
SOUTH WING
R. Elsey Smith Mens. & Del. 1888
Walker & Boutall sc.

III.—The Temple of Aphrodite: Its Architectural History and Remains.

The history of the temple, as far as it can be ascertained from literary records from the study of ancient coins and from any similar sources, is elsewhere fully discussed; it remains to examine the actual ruins of the fabric, in order to extract from them what internal evidence there may be as to the date of the various portions from the style of workmanship and the methods of construction therein employed.

It will be easier to follow this examination in connection with the plan if we systematically pursue it from the south-west corner northwards. There are two great divisions into which the work may be separated—pre-Roman and Roman. In the first of these there are certainly three subdivisions, and the Roman work shows two main divisions denoting two great periods of restorative work; but the work of all these five distinct periods is so interwoven that it is not possible to separate and make them clear on a small scale plan. The two main divisions are indicated by differences in shading on the plan opposite, and the position of the more minute subdivisions will be referred to in order as they occur.

The plan itself for the present we may divide into two sections, not however corresponding entirely with the two main epochs. The south wing, of which very imperfect remains exist, and which contains all the work of the two earliest sub-periods together with a little Roman work, is the first of these, and is shown in the photograph, Pl. IX. Fig. 1, which is taken from a point a little to the west of the south entrance. This wing embraces all the walls that exist south of the portion marked on the plan as the south stoa, and consists of the remains of a large open court with two irregular chambers and a double row of pier bases extending in a northerly direction.

The second division consists of a great quadrilateral enclosure whose sides are about 210 feet long, within which area are included, the south stoa, several chambers of various sizes, the north stoa, a large open court, and the central hall, all of which will be found marked on the plan. The work here belongs to a considerable extent to the third of the earlier periods, but has been repaired, altered, and added to very largely in Roman times.

The three earlier periods of work have this common characteristic, that all the work is set without mortar, but in other respects they differ considerably. In the first we find polygonal masonry employed in the lower part of the walls, but of a very regular and careful kind; this is combined with the use of very large squared and finished stones in the upper parts of the walls. In the second we have basement walls of very careful and regular construction, moderate-sized squared stones being used, and each stone having on its face a chisel draught round the edge, leaving a raised central panel.

The only portion of superstructure remaining is a square monolithic pier similarly treated. The third period exhibits basement walls of carefully squared and fitted stones of moderate dimensions, on which stood a deep course of large stones on the outer side, corresponding to two or more smaller courses on the inside. In the Roman work we find the use of mortar in the walls and piers, the employment of old materials, and a much more slovenly and careless construction, especially in the lower part of the walls, and this is even more marked in the second period than in the first.

Starting from the south-west corner and examining the walls in detail as proposed, we find first of all, a very large massive wall extending for some eighty-five feet in a nearly northerly direction, with a short return at the south end. It consists of a basement of polygonal blocks mostly of massive proportions brought to a fairly even face, and with a carefully wrought and levelled upper bed, on which rest a series of magnificent rectangular blocks, the largest of which measures seven feet by over fifteen. These blocks are of limestone and have been laid with their beds vertical, so that they have suffered severely from the effects of weather. The stones both of the basement and upper parts of the wall are pierced with holes for the purpose of hauling them; the larger stones have two holes, but some of the smaller ones in the basement are pierced with a single hole only. In the upper stones these holes run from the vertical face at one end in a quadrant form up and down to the upper and lower beds of the stone; in the basement stones, which of course were below the pavement level, these holes generally run from the face backwards to the vertical joints. About fifty feet from the south-west corner two socket-holes for door-posts are cut in the basement stones, and two steps lead down from them: this is the only remains or distinct evidence of the position of a doorway on the whole site. Some fragments of stone pavement in large flat slabs exist to the east of this wall, but in a very uneven and irregular condition. These walls appear to have belonged to a large rectangular enclosure and to be the earliest walls on the site, belonging to the first period of early work; nowhere else do we find the polygonal basement or the pierced holes. There are no remains of any east wall, as the rock comes so close to the surface at the point where one would expect to find it, that no doubt all trace of it has long since vanished. It does not seem that this court was divided into chambers, but it probably formed the earliest shrine and took the form of an open court containing no doubt a sacred cone, an arrangement similar to that shown on the coins of Byblos. No trace of the cone was found here however, and it may probably have been moved to the larger court when that was built.

The north wall of this court is indicated at its west end by a few blocks only, which however serve to fix its position; further to the east the direction of the wall has been slightly changed, and it has been reconstructed in a totally different manner. The stones employed are of smaller and more regular dimensions than those used in the other walls of the court, and they are very evenly laid without mortar; each stone has a broad draught along the upper edge and down the two sides of its outer face leaving a rough panel in the centre:

but where this wall terminates at its east end, there is a large block the full thickness of the wall 9′ 6″ long, and occupying the height of two ordinary courses and intended at its extremity to form the base for a square pier. Running northwards in a line with the end of this base are a series of seven square bases; the first two have been restored in Roman times, the third is entirely missing, but the other four are *in situ* and on the last the vertical block or square pier is still standing. This has on its north, east, and south sides a treatment similar to that of the wall just described, that is to say a broad draught running round the edge, and a central slightly raised panel; the upper part of the stone moreover is prepared to receive a lintel or architrave, the soffit of which would be at a height of 7′ 6″[1] above the top of the base; these bases are 10′ 5″ centre to centre, and at a distance of about ten feet in the clear to the west is a second range of similar bases not however absolutely corresponding with the front row; this all belongs to the second of the early periods.

In Roman times this second range appears to have been filled up with intervening walls, merely leaving access to the chambers either previously existing or then formed behind them; these chambers are of irregular form and very imperfect and have been partly obliterated by later mediaeval constructions. Between the two rows of bases, which stand directly on the rock, and towards the north end, there is a sinking cut out in the rock 11′ 6″ long, averaging some 4′ 6″ wide and about 2′ 0″ deep; in the bottom is a small circular sinking 9½″ deep and in the sides are two grooves. The exact purpose of this sinking seems uncertain, but it may either have been connected with an altar or have formed part of a bath used for ceremonial purification.

This double range of bases seems to point to an important approach to the court first described from the north side, and it seems likely that originally there were two more rows of piers further to the east, though no traces of them remain; we should then have a great triple avenue leading up to the court, and some such arrangement is indicated by the walls at both its ends running up to the most eastern range of bases now existing, and there in each case stopping definitely under the base as though for an important opening or doorway. The southern of these two walls has already been described, and appears in the photograph, Pl. IX. Fig. 1, in the foreground; the northern wall is similar to it in construction, and no other walls exist on the site that can be referred to the same period.

The great quadrilateral enclosure which is not rectangular, though the Romans when they dealt with it seem to have made an effort to make it so, remains more perfect in its arrangements; it seems originally to have consisted of a range of buildings extending along the whole of the eastern side with a great open court to the west of it which was flanked on the north by a wide stoa extending along its whole width and probably originally by a similar stoa extending along the south front. Whether this court ever had a west wall it

[1] The abbreviations ′ and ″ used here and elsewhere in the paper, stand for the words feet and inches respectively.

is impossible to say with certainty, no traces of it were found *in situ* except at the west end of the stoas, but it seems probable that such a wall existed; unfortunately it was not possible to open up the land along its whole length, but trenches were dug across its supposed site every here and there without yielding any results.

When the Romans restored the temple after its destruction by earthquake on two separate occasions they destroyed all traces of any south stoa that may have existed, and built in its place an entirely new one of large proportions. Towards the south-east the rock slopes away rapidly and here, where the foundations were deeper, we have the traces of three walls of a square chamber, having a base in its centre either for an altar or a central pier; but over the greater part of the area the finished surface of the mosaic floor is so near the level of the rock that it must have been necessary to clear the site of any previous walls. There is no trace of a south wall to this chamber; but 12′ 6″ south of the central base the rock is cut away into a vertical face, parallel to the line of its north wall, to a depth of three feet, below which a practically level platform was formed which dies out in the slope of the hill.

Disregarding for the present the existing south stoa, which is entirely of Roman construction, and the central hall north of it which is also Roman, we will follow up the east wall and the line of chambers running up the east side which all belong to one period, the last prior to the Roman work. To the same period may be assigned the walls of the north stoa, and we may conclude that the whole formed one great scheme and was erected at some one period either as a new shrine or to afford increased accommodation to the priests, temple attendants, and worshippers when the great fame of the temple had enriched it and attracted to it increasing crowds of visitors.

We first come to two chambers, south and central chambers on the plan, which may be considered together. The east wall has three courses of smallish stones from 9″ to 1′ 3″ deep, and not exceeding three feet long; they are very carefully fitted and laid without mortar but have not a finished surface on the face, thus forming a basement wall 4′ 6″ wide; this terminates at its north extremity in a square pier 7′ 0″ wide. On the outer edge of this wall stood a range of great stones 3′ 0″ thick, 4′ 6″ high, the longest being about 7′; they are now incomplete and tilted over, possibly by earthquakes, and there is no backing to them, but this must have consisted originally of similar work to the basement, only with a finely finished surface.

The south chamber is now very irregular in form owing to the alteration of the direction of the south wall by the Romans. The eastern part of the wall separating this chamber from the central chamber, and the cross wall running south from it, which even in Roman times evidently extended right across the chamber, are similar in construction to the east wall, but of the western part a very large portion has been rebuilt in Roman times; the construction here is much less careful, old material appears to have been re-used, and the work is set in a hard white mortar with thick joints. The west wall, of which only a part remains, the rest having been apparently demolished, at any rate rebuilt, by the Romans, is of similar construction to

the earlier walls, and does not course regularly with the Roman work. This wall however is laid for part of its length in very fine mortar with close joints and must have been repaired or rebuilt prior to the Roman period.

The central chamber, the east and south walls of which have already been referred to, is the most perfect of all; the north and south walls are throughout of the same period and style of construction as the other early walls; over the western portion a rough stone pavement set in mortar was found at about five feet above the rock level; although this may not improbably have been at about the same level as an older pavement it cannot have been the original one, for underneath it were discovered the bronze gilt pin, the Cypriote tablet, and other fragments. A small portion of similar rough stone paving exists in the north-east angle of the south chamber, but at a very much lower level.

To the west of these two chambers is a wall of early construction nowhere more than two courses high and very imperfect; between these two walls is a passage 9 feet wide, which may in early times have formed a portico; but in the Roman times the west wall was demolished and the space thrown into the central hall and covered with a mosaic pavement, traces of which in the form of a concrete bed of sea-beach pebbles still exist over part of this wall. At the same time a portion of the east wall was reconstructed to fall in with the new lines adopted by the Romans, and to serve as the dividing wall between the south chamber and the central hall.

Immediately north of the central chamber is what appears to be a great passage or entrance, of almost exactly the same dimensions as the central chamber itself, but without either east or west walls; there is distinct evidence from the finish of the north and south walls that they never existed. This passage, called east entrance on the plan, is shown on the photograph, Pl. IX. Fig. 2. At the east end there are two large piers about 7 feet square terminating the north and south walls at that end. The south wall of this passage is the best bit of work of this, the third, period of early work on the site; there is a basement of three courses of the ordinary masonry already described, and above this is a deep course of very finely worked masonry, with close joints, usually without mortar, but it is traceable in some of the joints. This course is not of uniform height throughout; at the east end it ranges with the deep stones of the east wall, but after the angle block drops down to stones 3 feet high and further on to a height of only 2′ 4″. In the last two blocks at the west end, at the bottom, occur two small rectangular cavities into which bits of stone were let and fixed with mortar; these were opened but nothing was found in them; possibly they may have been repairs to some flaw in the stone, but from the depth of the sinking and the fact that there was some space behind the filling-in stones it seems more probable that they had at one time some definite purpose.

The line of the under side of these tall blocks must have closely corresponded with the floor level of this passage, which is considerably lower than the rough pavement of the central chamber. About three feet north of this wall runs a carefully formed drain 1′ 3″ wide, with walls and bottom of

stone lined with a fine hard cement; this turns southwards just west of the passage already described and again turns west running under the centre of the south half of the central hall; the fall is from west to east, but the point from which it started is uncertain as the west end of it has been destroyed. The north wall of the east entrance at the east end corresponds with the south wall, but the basement only exists; further west the wall has been repaired in Roman times, and has a very rough basement of old material, and for a short distance a course of tall stones, but these are not so large as those on the south side.

The chambers north of this wall are less clearly defined than those already considered, but three parallel walls run in a northerly direction. The east wall remains for some distance, and is of the same character as in the south and central chambers, and continues the same general line; but only the basement exists, and for a length of forty-seven feet even this is missing. A second wall starts northwards a little further west but only runs for fourteen feet, a single block however exists in the same line further north; finally the west wall of these chambers runs up till it meets the wall of the north stoa, continuing the line of the west wall of the central and southern chambers. None of these walls exceed two courses in height, and in some places they consist of only a single course. The walls, as far as they remain, seem to point to the existence of two large chambers, of which the eastern one is the larger, but it is quite possible that either or both may have been subdivided in some way. The western chamber near its north extremity contains a rough base of Roman construction similar to those in the central hall.

We have now considered in detail the various chambers stretching along the eastern side, and there remains to be considered of the early work only some portions of the north stoa. At the east end this stoa was altered by the Romans, who made this part of it parallel to the line of the south stoa; but for a considerable portion of its length such remains as are left, are of early date. The south wall of this stoa is very fragmentary, but near the middle of it some portions of wall exist; further west is another small stretch of similar work but bearing traces of repair. At the junction of this wall with the west wall is a very large angle block, out of the perpendicular and very much cut about and destroyed. This stone alone of any found in the great quadrangle has traces of a hole for hauling similar to those at the extreme south end of the building, but the foundations beneath it do not correspond, and it appears to be an earlier block re-used. The west wall of the stoa is traceable throughout its length but is much narrower than the north or south walls and very imperfect. It has evidently been used as the foundation of a later building, as a modern rough stone pavement extends along the west side of it for some distance. A little further north are the remains of a small oblong Roman bath, with rounded angles, the whole carefully lined with cement and provided with a terra-cotta drain; this lies entirely outside the great quadrangle.

The north wall of the stoa starts from its junction with the west wall, and is tolerably perfect for a distance of over forty feet, but is only one course high; it is similar however to the other early walls of the quadrangle

Standing on this wall are a few blocks belonging to an upper course but very much broken: they are however similar in appearance to the upper blocks on the south side of the east entrance. Where the wall recommences it is of very uncertain character; its direction points to its being an early wall, and it is so shown on the plan. In any case there is merely a small course to form a level bed for the larger blocks above, and this may be a Roman repair to the wall which did not affect the direction of it.

The eastern portion of this wall is undoubtedly Roman and extends for nearly sixty feet in an unbroken line, but has not the same bearings as the western. The basement is of irregular stones set in white mortar, upon which stands a very regular course of large stones five feet high, and 18 inches thick, the largest one (now in three pieces) being thirteen feet long. A square projecting plinth nearly two feet high is worked along the whole length of these blocks, and the upper parts have square sinkings of various sizes and shapes cut into the stone to the depth of about a foot; the most probable explanation of them is that they were intended for the inserting of mural tablets. Close to the wall and with a very rapid fall runs a Roman terra-cotta drain, and north of the wall there was a small court of Roman date which this may have drained. The north stoa was paved with a coarse Roman mosaic formed of large tesserae and for the most part of plain white marble, but traces remain here and there of a coloured border. The mosaic is laid on a thin layer of concrete composed of small stones, on a levelled surface consisting of earth and broken stone. In the centre of the stoa and twenty-four feet from the east end, let in flush with the pavement, is a small stone $2'\,4'' \times 1'\,3''$, from which a stone channel-drain leads off underneath the mosaic, running in a northerly direction as far as the north wall. The alteration and repair of the north stoa seems to belong to the second great period of Roman restoration; the work is very hurried and irregular, and there is a marked difference between it and the work of the south stoa, part of which is laid on a levelled bed of very coarse concrete, and which, though in itself inferior in finish to the earlier work, and for the most part constructed of any old materials that were to hand, has the appearance of better and more regular work than this later portion.

The south stoa and the central hall adjoining it are the only important portions left for us to consider, and they form the chief part of the Roman work. They are not in any sense repairs or additions to existing work, but thorough and complete reconstructions, differently orientated from the earlier work of which remains already described exist on the same site; the stoa occupies a much larger area than any former one could have done, as it extends the whole length of the south front and includes in its area the space at the east end formerly occupied by various chambers.

All four walls of this great hall are traceable throughout a great portion of their length, and it is curious that for some reason, when everything else was altered, the west wall was left in its former position. These outer walls enclose an area of about 200 feet by 50, but within this area there exists a low wall all round, which seems to have former a raised ambulatory some two feet above the central portion; from the face of this wall, which was covered

with a thin coating of stucco, project a series of corbels to carry a seat. Down the centre of this stoa runs a series of roughly constructed piers on which stood columns of the Roman Doric order, and their position seems to indicate that the stoa was covered with a roof; it is therefore likely that a row of shorter columns, possibly of a different order, stood on the low raised wall, otherwise the span would be very great.

To the south of the stoa exist the remains of a projecting portico, which we may assume formed its principal entrance; at the west end is a flight of steps leading from the lower level up to the ambulatory. A considerable portion of the mosaic pavement exists; this is of much finer work than that of the north stoa, the tesserae being smaller, with a very elaborate border of very varied design in beautifully coloured natural marbles. The whole area beneath it was filled in with rubbish, including however fragments of inscriptions, bronzes, the marble head of Eros, &c.; it was then covered with a bed of concrete composed of sea-beach pebbles, and upon this was laid a bed of fine cement $1\frac{1}{4}''$ thick in which the tesserae were set. Nearly opposite the second pier from the west end and about 2′ 6″ from the north wall there is a curious triangular stone of a hard greenish material, all the angles and edges of which are much rounded; it forms roughly an equilateral triangle having sides of about 2′ 4″ long, and it looks as if it may have been the base of a tripod, but no marks for feet occur on its upper end. From the irregular way in which it is set, and from the fact that it does not stand on the floor but penetrates through it, we may conclude that it is considerably older than the Roman times, and was for some reason very carefully preserved in its original position.

The most extensive piece of walling is at the angle of the east and south walls where the rock had been artificially cut away in earlier times: the basement here consists partly of two enormous blocks, of which one is 10′ × 8′ × 4′, and which doubtless belong to some earlier structure, partly of a wall constructed of good-sized blocks of earlier material, finished at the top with a couple of courses of more carefully finished and fitted work; these two courses exist along the whole extent of the east wall and also towards the west end of the south wall, but towards its east end traces of the rougher basement only exist; at the angle are two large blocks belonging to a great upper course 3′ 4″ high, and nearly 3′ 0″ thick; all these walls except these two large blocks are set in a hard white mortar. The north wall of this stoa has a concrete foundation nearly level with the finished courses of the basement of the south and east walls, and this extends, though not everywhere complete, along the whole of the north side; upon this through part of its length is a course of large irregular-sized stones, and a few blocks of a second more carefully finished course are *in situ*, with a rounded upper edge and apparently intended to receive a course of vertical stones. Of the west wall a short bit of the lowest basement course alone exists, and this is in the line and appears to be a portion of an older wall.

North of this stoa at the east end are the early chambers already described; towards the west end is a great court or peristyle called on the plan the central hall, of which only the rough lower bases of the columns

exist; this also is of Roman work and, like the stoa, was of the Doric order, the bases being similar in all respects to those in the south stoa, and formed of small blocks roughly put together with hard white mortar. A few fragments of a poor cornice and several drums of columns and caps belonging to the south stoa and this hall were found, but they form almost the only architectural features that were recovered, and are of inferior style and workmanship. This hall had a range of nine columns along the north side, four each at the east and west ends; the south wall is part of the north wall of the stoa, and another range of nine columns extends down the centre. The west wall of the passage between this hall and the early chambers, as has been already mentioned, was in Roman times reduced to the pavement level, and the mosaic floor was extended over it, and up to the west wall of the chambers, which for a portion of its length was altered in direction so as to correspond with the lines of this hall. A roof no doubt covered this hall, which must have been open on the north and west sides, and it may not improbably have extended up to the chamber walls; so that if the chambers were approached from the west, as seems probable, they would in Roman times be entered from this central hall. A wall very nearly, though not absolutely, in a line with the east row of column bases of this hall, starts from the north stoa and runs southwards, not parallel to the north chambers but in a line corresponding to the rest of the Roman work, as though an effort had been made to reduce the great open court to something like a square. The irregular space between this wall and the chambers was in all likelihood roofed over and may very well have formed a covered connection between the north and south stoas and the central hall, and have afforded at the same time access to the different chambers.

We have now examined in considerable detail the remains of the temple so far as they actually exist and endeavoured as far as possible to assign them to their different periods; but indicating as they do that building operations were carried on over a considerable period of time we cannot look upon the building as other than a Phoenician temple. Its plan is entirely unlike either a Greek or Roman one, and with its comparatively small chambers and the series of large courts, either open or covered in, serves to remind us of Solomon's Temple at Jerusalem, which is almost the only shrine erected by Phoenician workmen of which there is any detailed record remaining. And though the different nature of the worship and other circumstances no doubt produced striking differences, we can trace a very strong family resemblance between the two.

As far then as we can gather from the plan, the earliest building consisted of a large square enclosure, with possibly some small shrine within its walls, though of this no evidence remains. To this, later, was added an important approach from the north, consisting of a long colonnade, probably of three parallel avenues, with chambers on either side, which underwent some alteration in Roman times; and there is no difficulty in assigning this work to Phoenician builders. It seems certain that the great quadrangle with its halls and chambers was designed and carried out at one fixed period, and from the character of the work it looks as though it was influenced by Greek

methods of construction, though we cannot attribute it to Greek design. The careful work and fitting of the stones in the basement, and their comparatively small and uniform size, with the use of a course of extra depth as the commencement of the upper and visible portions of the wall, seem special marks of Greek methods of work.

It is a matter of some difficulty to identify the use and purpose of the various courts and chambers of this great block. It seems at least likely that, in its original state, the portion marked on the plan as south chamber was rectangular in form and was the central one of three parallel chambers of the same size or very nearly so; there is just sufficient room for two such chambers between the present central chamber and the small square one under the east end of the stoa; the cross wall at the back of the south chambers would then provide for an inner naos of special sanctity. This arrangement would agree well with the Roman coins, allowing for the middle chamber of these three being raised to a greater height than the others to denote its importance; but it cannot have existed in this condition at the time the coin was struck. It is quite conceivable that these coins may merely reproduce the design of older ones, and perhaps too much reliance must not be placed upon them as a record of the actual condition of the temple at any given time; but when we consider that the temple was actually restored by the Romans with very great splendour and magnificence, according to the records, it seems more likely that the coins should represent some portion of the building as it stood in Roman times. If this view of the case be accepted, then it seems most likely that the portion described as the east entrance forms the central feature of the design, the chambers on either hand being represented by the lower buildings. We should then be looking at the building from the open court, of which the boundary walls are represented as semicircular in order to get them on to the coin; the great cone stands in the foreground and behind the great piers, the foundations for which exist at the east end of the entrance, are seen towering up above the roof.

We may assume that this great entrance leading direct into the inner court was used for great processions or important occasions. The general body of worshippers would probably approach from the south—or sea—side, where the road of communication, such as it is, between the port of New Paphos and the districts along the south coast still runs. They would enter by the portico into the south stoa, which would thus correspond with the outer court of Solomon's Temple; from the floor of this stoa a flight of steps must have led up to the central hall, which is raised three feet above the stoa, and from this point access would be gained to the open court or the various chambers. The present floor of the central chamber is raised a foot above that of the central hall, and there can be little doubt that in Roman times at least this formed the most important of the series of chambers, in fact the cella proper. Of the exact purpose of the remaining chambers it is not possible to speak with certainty, but they were no doubt connected with the administration of the temple and were used principally or entirely by the priests or the temple attendants.

R. E. S.

IV.—The Temple:

Results of the Architectural Evidence.

Any attempt to present to our imagination the temple of Aphrodite as it once stood, and to realise the various changes which the building underwent at various periods, must be preceded by a short enquiry. Before entering upon what seems to be entirely new ground, one must ask who, if any, are those that have already explored it, and how far their investigations may help to guide a later venture. Fortunately in the present case no long or detailed criticism will be necessary; all previous reconstructions of the temple have been based upon evidence so slender or erroneous that a mere indication of that evidence will suffice to show how little attention need be paid to the theories based upon it.

All the earlier reconstructions and plans, given by Münter[1] and Gerhard,[2] and reproduced in the various handbooks, from Müller[3] to Perrot and Chipiez,[4] are admittedly derived from the description and plan given by von Hammer;[5] the description in Engel's *Kypros* comes from the same source. Now since all the essential features of the plan we have recovered were completely concealed and buried in several feet of earth, it is obvious that von Hammer's plan must be just as conjectural as those that are based upon it; for he does not himself claim to have made any excavations or to have recorded more than was visible to all who passed by. His plan may be based upon what seemed to be probable inferences; but excavations have proved that those inferences were erroneous. We need not therefore spend any long time in discussing any of the theories that are founded entirely upon them; it is only necessary to state that we failed completely to recognise the court surrounded by a colonnade, the basins, and other remains described by travellers[6] or inserted in conjectural plans. Without excavation nothing of the sort really belonging to the temple could have been found; and we could not even discover what remains of later periods could have been visible upon the surface, and have given rise to such erroneous views as to the ancient temple, itself hidden beneath the soil. Ross,[7] who saw the same remains as other travellers, but with less imagination and a truer estimate of what could be done without excavation, writes that 'the importance of the ruins of the supposed temple

[1] *Tempel der himml. Göttin zu Paphos Restoration by Hetsch.*

[2] *Akadem. Abhand.* p. 41.

[3] *Archaeol. d. Kunst.* 239.

[4] p. 267.

[5] *Topogr. Ansichten*, p. 150. cf. also Ali Bey, *Voyages*, II. 127, 143, Atlas, Pl. xxxiii-iv.

[6] Von Hammer is not responsible for much that has been inserted on his authority. Thus the 'basins' he rightly describes as holes, perhaps wells, filled with fragments. We cleared these all out: one was a deep well; others were granaries, certainly of a period later than the destruction of the temple; there were many others beside those which he saw.

[7] *Reisen auf d. gr. Inseln.* IV. 180.

of the Phoenician Aphrodite has been greatly over-estimated, in accordance with the accounts of earlier travellers; not much can be inferred from their present state. All attempts to reconstruct the plan of the temple from them, by comparison with the well-known Cypriote coins on which the sanctuary is represented, seem to me to be without any certain basis.' Perhaps this account by so skilled an explorer may suffice, without further comment, to show that we are justified in ignoring, at least for the present, the purely conjectural plans and elevations that some have thought it worth while to publish.

It is to be regretted that it is impossible to pass thus lightly over all previous writers, and to abstain from individual criticism; such criticism is superfluous, where there are no facts to combat; and it is invidious, when circumstances have given to any writer a knowledge of the facts which was inaccessible to his predecessors, for him to use those facts for the sake of attacking theories which must fall of themselves. But unfortunately one of the authorities who has described the site of Paphos claims a more complete knowledge, and quotes the evidence of excavation. Since this evidence is entirely at variance with that which we are now publishing, it becomes our duty to briefly indicate the points in which we have found it to be erroneous.

General di Cesnola in his *Cyprus*[1] makes the following assertion: 'I went several times to Paphos to dig. I superintended excavations there in 1869, for several months, with a score of diggers, but without discovering anything of importance. I repeated the experiment with the personal assistance of Dr. Friederichs of the Berlin Museum, with a larger number of workmen, but with no better success.' Had General di Cesnola confined himself to this statement that he discovered nothing of importance, it would be unnecessary to say more of his work.[2] But he gives a plan with measurements as the result of his researches; and a plan cannot be passed over without a comment, if it purports to be not a mere conjecture, but the result of months of study upon the site. According to that plan the temple forms a rectangle of 221 feet by 167 feet; and outside this is a peribolus wall also forming a rectangle of 690 feet by 533 feet; the temple is exactly in the middle of this larger rectangle. Now, as far as can be judged from General di Cesnola's description and measurements, he obtained the size of his temple from four large stones, visible without excavation. It has been found by excavating that not one of these stones is at the corner of the temple proper, and that two of them are not at the corner of any structure whatever, but are simply parts of continuous walls that happen to have remained visible above ground after the parts on each side of them had been buried or destroyed. Again, the four large stones in question would form the corners not of a rectangle at all, but of an irregular trapezium. But if only two of the sides of this trapezium were measured, and if it were then assumed that the other two sides were parallel and so equal to these two, a figure would result much like that given by General di Cesnola

[1] P. 206.

[2] For a full and careful criticism of di Cesnola's statements, see *The Nation*, Sept. 6 and 13, 1888.

as the outline of his temple. As he ventures on no details within this outline, enough has, I think, been said to show that the external measurements that he gives for the temple may fairly be regarded as superseded by a more accurate survey.

If we turn next to General di Cesnola's peribolus wall, the case is different. Let us first examine his authority for the very remarkable measurements that he gives. 'The south-east wall,' he says, 'I ascertained by excavating its whole length, was 690 feet long. The length of the west side I could only trace as far as 272 feet.' The rest of this side, as well as the north and east sides, was lost among the houses of the village. It is obvious then that this enormous quadrangular peribolus is a mere inference from the assumption that the temple was placed symmetrically in the middle of such a peribolus. The south-west angle is the only one extant. Now of the 690 feet 'ascertained by excavation' on the south side, only about ten feet really exist: no trace of anything beyond this can now be seen; and the line of wall, if it existed, would cross first a depression in the soil, and farther on a valley, which sometimes forms the bed of a torrent, and has steep or even precipitous sides. Yet nowhere is there a trace of any substructions on which such a wall could have rested; indeed, the absurdity of the suggestion that a wall once existed along this line is apparent to any one who visits the site. As regards the west side there is no such impossibility, but we could not trace it from the corner more than about ninety feet, though we cut the line in several places farther on. This wall again, even if it did exist in its whole length, could not be more than fifty feet distant from the 'temple' wall. But, as may be seen from Mr. Elsey Smith's plan, there is no reason for supposing that either of the walls that join at the south-west corner were of any great length. They belong to an isolated court or wing, and certainly not to a vast surrounding wall. It would be easy to add further details to prove that General di Cesnola's plan is neither accurately drawn out nor based upon thorough exploration of the site: but I think enough has been said to justify us in setting aside this plan as well as Von Hammer's, and working only from the results of our own excavations and measurements.

Let us then, with Mr. Elsey Smith's plan before us, endeavour to gather from it what information we can as to the various parts of the temple, their age and use, and the various modifications that they underwent at various periods of their existence. We have no certain evidence to tell us when the temple was first built; but its foundation goes back to a very remote period. Various conflicting traditions are preserved; thus Tacitus says, 'Conditorem templi regem Aërian vetus memoria, quidam ipsius deae nomen id perhibent. Fama recentior tradit a Cinyra sacratum templum.' On the other hand Pausanias states, '*Ἰλίου δὲ ἁλούσης ὁ τοῖς Ἕλλησι κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν τὸν οἴκαδε ἐπιγενόμενος χειμὼν Ἀγαπήνορα καὶ τὸ Ἀρκάδων ναυτικὸν κατήνεγκεν εἰς Κύπρον, καὶ Πάφου τε Ἀγαπήνωρ ἐγένετο οἰκιστὴς καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης κατεσκεύασατο ἐν Παλαιπάφῳ τὸ ἱερόν· τέως δὲ ἡ θεὸς παρὰ Κυπρίων τιμὰς εἶχεν ἐν Γολγοῖς καλουμένῳ χωρίῳ.*' This is, however, inconsistent with the statement of Pausanias himself, doubtless from another authority, in I. 14, where

he says the Assyrians were the first to worship Aphrodite Urania, and next after them the Paphians and the Phoenicians of Ascalon, from whom the cult passed to Cythera. Indeed, but for his comment about Golgi, one would be disposed to think that Pausanias, like many other writers of ancient and modern times, had confused New and Old Paphos; for the foundation of New Paphos by Agapenor is given by other authorities. But in any case the traditions[1] in favour of a non-hellenic origin of the temple preponderate; and most of them assign the foundation to some one contemporary with the heroes of Troy. In the *Odyssey*, Demodocus sings of a τέμενος βωμός τε θυήεις of Aphrodite at Paphos. We cannot indeed trace the worship of Aphrodite in Greece to a time before it recognised Paphos as its chief centre. And a centre of worship could not exist without a temple, if we use the word temple in its original sense—a place consecrated and set apart, but not necessarily implying a covered building, though usually enclosed by walls. A temple, then, of this kind must have existed at least since Homeric times; but we know for many centuries no details whatever about it; for we cannot at once draw any inference as to its appearance or arrangement from the very late evidence that we do possess—the coins of Roman emperors.

From tradition then, and from what we know of the origin and history of the worship of Aphrodite, we are led to expect a temple of a non-hellenic type; and there can be little doubt that Phoenician influence was paramount in Cyprus when the earliest temple at Paphos was founded. If we assume that the plan of the temple followed a Phoenician model, we shall probably not be wrong. But such an assumption will probably neither help us much in our investigations nor prejudice us in favour of any particular arrangement. For to say that the plan of a temple follows a Phoenician model is nearly equivalent to saying we know nothing about it. All we can be said to know from other evidence than that of excavation is that there was a sacred cone and some sort of enclosure round it, and it may just as well have stood in an open court as in a closed building. It would doubtless in any case be neces sary to have rooms for the storage of valuable articles and for other purposes, but these need not have formed an essential part of the sanctuary itself.

We may now turn to the only certain evidence we do possess, that of excavation. What we have now to consider are the black lines only (Plan, p. 193), and the restored portions corresponding—that is to say, the pre-Roman work. How old this work may be it is impossible to decide definitely; it must for us represent the earliest attainable evidence as to the plan of the temple at Paphos. We can divide this earliest plan into two parts; firstly, the south wing, and secondly the great court with various chambers upon its eastern side. It must be at once acknowledged that of these two parts the south wing at first glance appears the older and more important. It is this which has always attracted the attention of travellers, and has figured as the most prominent feature in all plans. The colossal size of the blocks that still remain *in situ* may well account for this fact. But those large blocks are laid

[1] For other traditions see Mr. James' paper.

upon a carefully levelled foundation of smaller stones, such as we have found everywhere in the pre-Roman walls; and large blocks remain isolated in other parts beside the south wing, for instance at the west end of the north stoa, at its north-east corner,[1] and at the east end of the central and south chambers. It would seem therefore that the structure of the south wing was not very different from that of the rest of the earlier portions of the temple, and that the different appearance it now presents is due in part to mere accident, or to the caprice of the destroyer, though, as Mr. Elsey Smith has pointed out, we may recognise various sub-periods in the early work. But we may safely distinguish it from the Roman restoration in attempting to recover the original plan. We have, then, on the south a massive wall, probably once forming part of a chamber or a court, connected with the main building by a wall and a double colonnade. The main building seems to have consisted of an open court and chambers, on the north are the remains of a stoa, which probably extended to some extent round other sides also, but has there been superseded by Roman work. Among the chambers the most central and important seems to have been that marked 'central chamber' in the plan, and it is possible that this may have been the inmost sanctuary, and have contained the sacred cone itself; it is however quite as likely that the cone stood in the midst of the open court. Such essential points as this, however, would not have been altered in any restoration, and therefore it will be best to leave the discussion of them till we have also considered the arrangement of the temple in Roman times. We must only add for the present, that no positive evidence was forthcoming as to the use or purpose of any of the chambers marked in the plan, whether restored in Roman times or, like the small one to the south-west, hidden beneath later constructions.

We must next consider the accidents that befell the temple and led to its restoration. Paphos seems to have suffered very severely from earthquakes. The chief disaster happened under Augustus, who, as we learn from Dio Cassius,[2] 'Παφίοις σεισμῷ πονήσασι καὶ χρήματα ἐχαρίσατο καὶ πόλιν Αὔγουσταν καλεῖν κατὰ δόγμα ἐπέτεψε.' That Paphos suffered thus on more than one occasion may be learnt from Seneca, *Nat. Qu.*, VI. 26, "Sic Paphus non semel corruit"; he says also, *Ep.* 91, "Quoties in se Paphus corruit?" but in a rhetorical passage, for he has just before uttered the somewhat hyperbolical question "Quoties Asiae, quoties Achaiae urbes uno tremore ceciderunt?" It is true that in all these passages there is no proof that Old Paphos[3] is meant; and in historians, at least, a simple reference to Paphos usually means the capital of the district, New Paphos. But these earthquakes seem best to explain the necessity which led to so much rebuilding in Roman times; a temple of such ancient and universally acknowledged sanctity would hardly be altered and repaired in its essential parts

[1] In these first two instances, however, the large blocks rest on an apparently later foundation, and may have been used a second time.

LIV. 23.

[3] All the inscriptions mentioning Σεβαστὴ Πάφος have been found at Kouklia or Old Paphos; but the great temple would perhaps be the natural place for exhibiting documents belonging to either town.

without some such reason. We have, I think, enough evidence to justify us in supposing that the temple was rebuilt under Augustus, in the year 15 B.C.: such a restoration is shown by the remains to have taken place on more than one occasion, but this is not proved by literary evidence.

A remarkable mistake must here be mentioned, which has found its way into some recent works. In Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, for instance, *s.v.* Paphos, a rebuilding under Vespasian is mentioned, and none under Augustus. The mistake may be traced back to Engel, who, however, does not pass over in silence the true restoration by Augustus, though he imagines that of Vespasian to have been more important. In order to understand the origin of this opinion we must examine Engel's own statement[1]: 'A most fitting opportunity for a repeated rebuilding of the temple was offered by its destruction by earthquakes, particularly under Augustus and Vespasian. The emperors' liberality restored the building. This last construction formed such an epoch for Cyprus, that on the coins of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian was placed the year of the new sanctuary in which they were struck. But the year of the rebuilding cannot yet be fixed from these coins; the manner of reckoning is not clear, since *e.g.* the year θ' appears on coins of Vespasian, as also on those of Titus and Domitian. Either this refers to different temples or to the beginning and ending of the building, or—as seems to me most probable—the numbers are so indistinct and worn that numismatists have read them wrong.' The difficulty of explaining this fact about the numbers on the coins might have led those who compiled from Engel, if not himself, to suspect that his own interpretation was wrong to begin with: the fact is that there is no reference on these coins to any new temple at all, and therefore that the whole theory about a rebuilding by Vespasian collapses. Engel has fallen into a very natural mistake in translating ἔτους νέου ἱεροῦ as 'the year of the new sanctuary,' a mistake in which he is not alone among scholars. But ἔτους νέου ἱεροῦ is simply one of the various ways of expressing the year of the emperor, and is found on other coins besides those of Cyprus—*e.g.*, on those of Antioch on the Orontes.[2] There is no occasion for us to discuss here the meaning of this phrase, or any difficulties that may arise in connection with it. All we have to notice is that it has nothing to do with the temple, and therefore affords no evidence that is pertinent to the subject now before us. But before we leave this matter, we may take warning from it, if the true explanation be that here suggested. Almost all who have recently written about Paphos have, on the authority of standard works, assumed that the temple was rebuilt by Vespasian. And now we find that the only authority for this assumption is an inference drawn by Engel from a mistaken translation of the legend on certain coins; and this inference, quoted by others as an ascertained fact, has hitherto been allowed to pass unchallenged, and has been placed beside, or even instead of, facts such as the rebuilding of the

[1] *Kypros*, I. 130.

[2] See Head, *Hist. Num.* pp. 627, 657. To Mr. Head I am indebted for first calling my attention to this error.

temple by Augustus, for which we have historical authority. Such are the snares that attend an incautious use of compilations or books of reference.

The last two or three paragraphs have been purely negative in their results; but they have not been superfluous if they have cleared out of our way a delusion of some standing and authority. We have then, from literary and other evidence, exclusive of that of excavation, no particular reason to assume more than one rebuilding of the temple, that of the year 15 B.C. From Seneca's statement we may perhaps suppose that more than one rebuilding had been necessary before his time; but he gives us no precise facts or details. If, then, the evidence of excavation did not require us to suppose that the temple was rebuilt more than once in Roman times, there would be no other evidence to lead us to such a supposition; as, however, the appearance of the site makes it certain or probable that there were successive rebuildings, the evidence of literature is by no means contradictory, though the only restoration positively recorded thereby is that of Augustus.

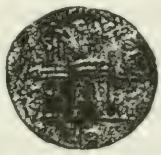
As to the appearance and arrangement of the temple in Roman times, after its restoration, we have but little literary evidence. Poetical references, such as the 'hundred altars' of Virgil[1] and Statius,[2] can hardly be literally interpreted; but Tacitus[3] gives some valuable information. After some interesting statements as to the foundation and rites of the temple, he adds 'Sanguinem arae offundere vetitum; precibus et igne puro altaria adolentur, nec ullis imbribus, quanquam in aperto, madescunt. Simulacrum deae non effigie humana, continuus orbis latiore initio tenuem in ambitum metae modo exsurgens; et ratio in obscuro.' Had Tacitus only known what we wished to learn, he might have added a word or two to solve many of our difficulties; but we must be thankful he has told us so much. We can hardly doubt that the altar[4] which, 'though it stands in the open air, is never wet by rain,' must have stood in the open court of the principal group of buildings, that marked 'court' on the plan. Did the sacred cone, mentioned immediately after, stand in that court also? Though Tacitus does not expressly say so, probability and analogy alike are in favour of such a supposition; but it probably can never now be proved. It is most unfortunate that the large hole quarried in the ruins has completely destroyed and obliterated the very place where we should have expected to find the foundations of altar and cone alike. We have only the negative evidence that no such foundations were found in the one or two other places that seem to offer a possible position for the sacred stone. But we are at present only concerned with the evidence afforded by Tacitus; we may further note that the temple was, as might have been expected, rich in treasures and gifts from princes, and in various objects even then regarded as antiquities. These objects must have required fitting chambers to contain and to protect them. And this doubtless was the purpose served by the various chambers upon the north and east of our plan.

[1] *Aen.* I. 415.
[2] *Theb.* V. 61.
[3] *Hist.* II. 3.
[4] It is unfortunate that Tacitus here uses the difficult word 'altaria.' In this passage it seems practically identical with ara. Cf. *Ann.* XVI. 31. altaria et aram complexa.

In the same passage Tacitus mentions the practice of divination by the inspection of the entrails of animals, and also the prescribed victims. Since no blood was allowed to be poured on the altar, some other accommodation must have been provided for the sacrifice of the victims; probably in an outer court or in the gates, as was the case in the temple at Jerusalem.[1]

From the evidence of literature we must next turn to that of coins; this evidence could not be used before, because the coins, dating entirely from the Roman period, could not be used as certain indications of the appearance of the temple before its restoration, though we may hereafter see reason for supposing that the restoration did not introduce any essential alterations. Four coins of Cyprus have been selected and engraved, as giving the most important variations of the type. The first two of these (*a* and *b*), on a

(*a*) Bronze Coin: Vespasian.



(*b*) Silver Coin: Domitian.

bronze coin of Vespasian and a silver coin of Domitian, are practically identical, though to some extent they supplement and explain one another; and accordingly they may best be considered together. They are also interesting as bearing the legend ἔτους νέου ἱεροῦ η′ and θ′ respectively, the legend which has, as we have seen, given rise to so widely accepted an error. On these coins we see, as is universally acknowledged, a view of the temple at Paphos, with the sacred cone in the midst; we have to ask what view or what part of the temple is represented, and how we are to understand the various parts of the elevation here before us.

There can hardly be any doubt that the object in the middle of the building is the sacred cone itself; but beyond this one fact all is conjectural. We may distinguish three possible methods of interpreting the two high towers, joined together by a bar or roof, and the lower construction on each side, as follows.[2]

(1) We may regard the coin as representing the façade or porch of the temple. In that case the high pillars or towers will be characteristic of the entrance of a Phoenician temple.[3] The lower structures at the side will represent the chambers beside the gate. The appearance of these structures

[1] Ezekiel, xl. 39, &c.

[2] Two at least of the interpretations here given have been often before published; they are so obvious that it does not seem worth while to quote authorities.

[3] *E.g.* Ezek. xli. — xliii., assuming, with Perrot and Chipiez, that we have in that passage a picture based on Solomon's temple, which was built under the guidance of Phoenician workmen from Tyre.

is, as will be observed, very peculiar. On the outside of each of the gate-towers is an opening, perhaps a door; beyond this the roof of the side-chamber is supported by two slender pillars resting on a basis which reaches more than half the height of the building: it seems not impossible that we have a door leading into each of the side-chambers, and a small window in the wall beside it. We may observe also on coin *a* an ornamentation in the beams joining the towers above the cone; it is hard to make out, and may represent either carving or drapery. As to the cone itself, we must suppose either that it was really visible from outside through the gateway, or that, by a not uncommon license, it is represented as so visible in order that the most important object in the temple may be represented, though actually one could not see it until within the building. The first theory might be reconciled with the extant remains by supposing the view to be taken from outside the east entrance. There actually exist square foundations at the sides of that entrance on which slender towers or pillars could have been built; the chambers on each side will fairly correspond with the coin, the position of their doors being uncertain, since nothing above the floor level seems to remain. Thus it would be quite possible to see from outside through the open gateway the sacred cone itself, if it stood in the middle of the open court.

(2) The second method of interpretation is different. It starts from the presence of the sacred cone; and arguing that it could not have been in such a position as to have been visible from outside the temple, it asserts that we must see on the coin the immediate surroundings of the cone itself. The cone must have stood in the innermost shrine, which therefore is here represented, with its adjacent chambers. Hence the view on the coin must be from inside the temple, facing the central shrine itself. This theory seems to err from its insisting on a too literal interpretation of what must be taken as a more or less conventional picture. It must be confessed that at a certain point in the excavations, when only the general disposition of the walls could be traced, we were tempted to adopt this second theory, and to imagine that the 'central chamber' was the shrine containing the cone.[1] But what we then supposed to be the side-chambers have proved, one to be distorted by Roman restoration, the other to be a gateway; and thus the suitability of the 'central chamber' as a shrine is greatly impaired. Moreover, we found in it no trace of foundations such as the cone would be mounted upon.

(3) A third possibility must now be mentioned. This is that the structure represented on the coin cannot be traced in any of the remains of the plan we have recovered. If this theory be adopted, the best explanation seems to be that we here see round the cone a construction, probably of wood or some other destructible material, designed to protect and surround it. In this case the cone may very well have stood in the 'court.'

It is difficult to decide finally between these three theories. We must, however consider the other types on our coins *c* and *d*. These have hitherto

[1] Or we might still suppose, as Mr. Elsey Smith suggests, that the south chamber was the central one, having yet another to the south of it, now destroyed.

been neglected, because they complicate the discussion without deciding it one way or another.

c is a coin of Trajan, *d* of Caracalla. In these a new feature is added, a court or enclosure [1] in front of the building itself. Some have inferred from the coins that the court was semicircular; but the shape of the field at the designer's disposal necessitated the form which we see on the coin, and I do not think we can infer anything from it as to the actual shape of the court which is here represented; the court is enclosed in one case by a plain wall, in the other by an open fence with a double gate. The front of the building itself varies considerably. Upon *c* we have only the central portion with the cone and the two towers; a garland is hung across between them. On each side of the cone is a star, and it also seems to have some ornamentation about the top. At each side, above the extreme edge of the court, is a pillar, on which, however, nothing seems to rest; it seems very difficult to regard these as representing the pillars of the portico on each side, but it is hard to find any other explanation: if they were free-standing columns, perhaps of metal like Jachin and Boaz,[2] their position does not seem a natural one, and it is curious that they appear on this type and no other.

(*c*) Coin of Trajan.

(*d*) Coin of Caracalla.

Type *d* is more complicated, but also more intelligible. In it we see a recurrence in general arrangement to the front of the building seen on type *a*, here, however, the part that joins the two towers is broader and has three apertures like windows or metopes in it; the towers themselves are finished at the top in a very peculiar manner, forking into two pinnacles each crowned with a ball. The lower parts of the structure on each side no longer resemble chambers, but take the form of open porticoes, supported by Doric or Ionic columns, and covered with a roof on which the ridges of the tiles are distinctly visible. Various details are added. Squared blocks in the court may be variously interpreted as a stone pavement or as a substructure on which the temple rests; an objection to the latter view is that no steps or other means of access to the temple can in that case be seen; for whatever the object beneath the gateway be, it certainly does not resemble a flight of steps. The cone itself has some excrescences added at the top that make it

[1] Or, as some say, a cistern; see below.

[2] I. Kings vii. 21; for other examples see Perrot and Chipiez, III. p. 119.

rudely resemble a human form. Under each of the side porticoes is a candelabrum or a low column supporting a large lamp of ordinary form. The crescent and star above the centre of the design are doubtless merely a symbol of the presence of the goddess, not intended to represent anything visible in the actual building. The doves are probably to be considered as having a similar import, though some have suggested that they are large ornaments, perhaps in metal. The balls and the other object in the court are hard to explain. Some have suggested that this object is a fish, and the court a cistern; but if so both the paving-stones and the open fence with a gate seem hard to explain, though of course a cistern with sacred fish is a fitting enough adjunct to a temple of the Phoenician Aphrodite.[1] Besides this, I have failed to discover any resemblance to a fish in the examples of this type which I have seen.

It remains for us to consider the relation of the various types we have considered. In the first place, I think we may at once dismiss the theory that various temples are represented. The coins form a connected series, and it seems incredible that they should not all be meant for pictures of the same building. We must not forget that such a picture can only be a conventional abbreviation, and that various designers were sure to select various features as what seemed to them the most essential. We shall therefore be justified in assuming that all the features represented on the various coins probably resemble something that could be seen in the temple itself; but we need not and cannot proceed to establish the relative positions of these various parts of the construction. Least of all need we, because, for instance, a chamber appears on one coin in the place occupied by a portico on another coin, infer that the chamber was destroyed and a portico built during the interval between the two. Some general notion of the appearance of the shrine is all that we can hope to attain; and as to the variations in detail, we must be content to remain in ignorance.

We are now in a better position to utilise the evidence that we possess; and having considered the indications that unquestionably refer to the temple of Aphrodite at Paphos, we may now go one step farther, and try to discover if there are any other, and especially any earlier, sources of information that we are justified in using. So far we have assumed only that the coins represent the temple as it appeared in Roman times; may we now infer that its appearance was essentially the same before its restoration? We have already seen that this restoration does not seem to have essentially altered the plan of the temple; hence we might infer as a probability that it did not materially alter the elevation either. Fortunately we are not left here to a mere inference; for we have another representation of a temple, almost beyond a doubt a shrine of the Phoenician Aphrodite, which is all but identical with those we have just been considering. It is indeed separated from them in time by an interval of more than 1,000 years; a strange fatality seems to have left us instances

[1] Cf. the quaint inscription about the sacred fish, probably of Atergatis, from Smyrna, Dittenberger, *Syllog. Inscr.* 364, and Lucian *Syr.* 45.

of so characteristic a type only at the two extremes of its history, having destroyed all records of the intervening period. On page 267 of Schliemann's *Mycenae* may be seen an illustration of the thin gold plate with a design resembling the temple of Paphos. This resemblance is so obvious that it cannot fail to strike any observer at first glance; but it is not merely superficial, and a careful examination only tends to confirm the view that the same model was imitated both by the artist of the Mycenae plate and by the designer of the Roman coin. We can hardly suppose that both had seen the same building; but the type of the Phoenician shrine must have remained almost unchanged: if the gold plate does not represent the temple of Paphos itself, then it must reproduce a type of which Paphos was, at least in later times, the characteristic representation. Dr. Schliemann notices the resemblance; his words are of interest for our present investigation. Speaking of these gold plates, he says, 'They are too small for dwelling-houses, and I suppose, therefore, that they were intended to represent small temples or sanctuaries. In this belief I am strengthened alike by the four horns at the top, by the pigeons with uplifted wings which are sitting at either side, and by the column with a capital, which is represented in every one of the door-like niches.' As to the buildings represented being 'too small for dwelling-houses,' I suppose this conclusion is drawn from the relative size of the pigeons. These pigeons cannot indeed represent ornaments, for they are found hovering round similar figures, in gold plates, of the goddess herself;[1] but even though they represent the birds themselves, I do not think that relative size is a consideration that would much trouble an artist of so primitive a period. If we were obliged to believe that the shrines found on the Mycenae plates are meant to be of small size, an analogy, at least, is brought to confirm our third theory as to the coins, that a small shrine surrounding the cone itself is represented, and not the front of the temple. But this is an argument that must not be pressed too far, especially as it rests on what is, perhaps, a mistaken view as to the practice of an early artist. However this may be, the resemblance, not indeed in detail, but in general features is so strong between the gold plate and the coins, that I think we are justified in concluding what we should certainly have expected to be the case, that the temple at Paphos must have preserved from the earliest times its characteristic form; and that though sometimes repaired or restored, it was never completely reconstructed after a different model.

There is another analogy of which we may perhaps make use in our attempt to realise what the temple of Paphos was like. Perhaps the completest picture of a Phoenician temple we possess is that upon the coins of Byblus, where the sacred symbol, as at Paphos, was a cone. On this coin we see the sacred cone, protected only by a low balustrade, standing in the midst of an open court surrounded by porticoes. One of these porticoes is approached by an entrance and a flight of steps from the outside; and apparently backing on to another of the porticoes is a chamber constructed after the manner of

[1] *Mycenae*, p. 180.

an ordinary Greek temple, also approached from its front by a flight of steps. It would be tempting to trace similar entrances and chambers in our plan at Paphos; but we must not forget that the details of the arrangement must have been prescribed in each case by the conformation of the ground or by other considerations. But in essential matters, such as the position of the sacred cone in an open court surrounded by porticoes, it is extremely probable that the two temples were similar.

COIN OF BYBLUS.

It is not, and probably never will be, possible to make a complete restoration of the great temple of Aphrodite at Paphos. But with the help of the various indications we have discussed, we may be able to gain some notion of its original appearance and of the position of its most essential parts. We are at least justified in supposing that the court surrounded by porticoes and approached by regular entrances contained both the sacred cone itself, and the altar which, though in the open air, was never wet by rain.

E. A. G.

V.—Contents of the Temple.

As a supplement to the description and discussion of the Temple itself, a few words must be added as to the movable antiquities found upon its site. This is a section that we might have hoped to prove rich in treasures and full of interest. But all such hopes were destined to be disappointed, from what reason it is not now easy to discover. At Tochni, at Cyprus, is a well, into which tradition says St. Helena cast all the devils in the island; does this mean that the statues of 'heathen gods' were thrown in it? Perhaps at Paphos too, some zealous iconoclast may have similarly striven to abolish all the sacred objects of ancient worship—or perhaps mere considerations of gain or utility may have led to a most complete destruction. So we might easily account for the disappearance of all bronze statues: stories of the discovery of such linger about the neighbourhood. But it is harder to account for the vanishing of all the marble statues that probably were once here. We can hardly suppose that the absence of suitable marble in the island can have led to the exclusive use of bronze except for small works: offerings were brought to Paphos from all quarters of the ancient world. And if any marble statues ever existed, we should expect to find portions of them built into houses and walls, even if they were mostly reduced to lime. Why should inscriptions have been so much more fortunate? The preponderant use of bronze, shown by the bases, may serve in part as an explanation, but it seems necessary also to assume some general destruction of statues such as would probably have taken place if the worship were forcibly suppressed. The sacred cone itself has totally disappeared.

Some hope of discoveries was offered by a disused well and various granaries upon the temple site. But the well, though cleared out to a great depth, yielded nothing even sufficient to show if it belonged to ancient times; for wells are even still constructed in Cyprus in the same way as of old; this one was cut in the solid rock. The granaries, some of which were seen and described by von Hammer, are holes in the form of a truncated cone; they are cut in the rock or the earth, and in the latter case the surface is baked by fire inside. These may easily deceive an explorer, but undoubtedly belong to a period later than the destruction of the temple. They were all filled with various fragments and *débris* from the temple, but hardly anything of value was found in them. Indeed, almost all that was found had been buried beneath the Roman Mosaic: and what has become of all that remained above that pavement remains an insoluble problem. It will suffice then to briefly enumerate and describe the few objects that seem to deserve such notice.

(1) Only one set of statuettes was found that could in any way be connected with the primitive worship of the temple. These were lying just outside the north wall. They are of a type common enough on the most

primitive sites in Cyprus and elsewhere, and seem to represent the earliest form of those statuettes, sometimes intended as images of the goddess herself, sometimes of her worshippers, that are found in such great numbers on almost all Cypriote temple sites. Sometimes the terra-cotta of which these figures from Paphos are made is rough and plain, sometimes it is painted with light red ornaments, mostly simple lines, on a yellow ground. The figure represented is in many cases distinctly female; the face is indicated in the most primitive fashion; the arms are extended and usually rise slightly from the shoulders so as to produce the well-known crescent-shape; the lower part of the body is either cylindrical or slightly flattened at the front and back, and swells out a little at the base. Usually the features consist merely of excrescences for the nose and ears, and depressions for the mouth and eyes. In one case the eyes are represented by small punctures with a raised circular rim round them, thus producing the much-discussed owl-like appearance. The head-dress is sometimes a flat close-fitting cap, also continued down the back and sides of the head: more often it is a high erection, thin, but presenting a broad front view, larger at the top than the bottom. It is certainly a very remarkable fact that these early terra-cottas were the only representatives that we found of the population of statues that usually fills a Cypriote temple: one is certainly inclined to infer that General di Cesnola must have made a mistake in recording that he found stone statues of Cypriote style upon the site—a mistake not without parallel in his work.

(2) One small image of stone, however, was found, though it can hardly be said to be of Cypriote style, for it was so rough and uncouth as to be devoid of any style whatever. It was roughly shaped to represent a human figure, apparently a draped female, with one hand raised to her breast, the other holding together her drapery in front. From some lines indicating the fall of this drapery I should rather have supposed the statuette to be an excessively bad work of a late period; but in that case its position, deep down on the temple site, is not easy to explain. It is certainly not an object of any importance, whatever be its age.

(3) A marble head, of archaic Greek style, about half the scale of life. It is broken off at the neck, and very much damaged about the nose and chin; otherwise in good condition. By the narrow eyes, with strongly marked projecting lids, and by the expression of the mouth, with its corners drawn slightly down rather than up, this head distinctly attaches itself to that series of archaic works of which we now possess many examples, dating from the first half of the fifth century—a series best known in its later development by the type known in the "Apollo on the Omphalos" and other kindred works. The hair waves over the forehead, and is confined by a broad band just above it, much as in the one of the Acropolis statues (*Mus. d'Athènes*, pl. XIV.; *Jahrb. d. d. Inst.* 1887, pl. XIV.) which belongs to this type, and is perhaps its finest example. This head from Paphos is an ordinary specimen of its class; its interest chiefly lies in the place of its finding. It does not seem to show any distinct trace of Cypriote influence, and thus proves that

early in the fifth century dedications from Greece were offered in the temple. It is now in the University Galleries at Oxford.

Nos. 4—10 inclusive were found in a hole under the Roman Mosaic between two of the columns in the middle of the S. Stoa. This does not however necessarily prove that they were of contemporary origin, but only that they were all among the contents of the old temple when it was destroyed by the earthquake, and so were buried here, probably at the time of the Roman rebuilding.

(4) Marble head of a boy, about three-quarters life-size (see Pl. X.). This head is of Greek style, and the work is careful and not lacking in originality. The upper ridge of the teeth, showing through the half-open mouth, forms a noticeable feature in the expression. From the place where this head was found, one may readily conjecture that it comes from a statuette of Eros; more than one such figure, either alone or with Aphrodite, was found upon the temple. The head is more roughly worked on the right side, and seems to have been intended to be seen from the left. This fact makes it almost certain that it was part of a group.

The style and execution of this head are remarkable enough to require a detailed discussion. But the style does not offer a close resemblance to that of any well-known type; and the absence of similar examples with which to compare it, while increasing the interest that attaches to this head, at the same time increases the difficulty of arriving at any definite and certain conclusions as to its period. One may more easily decide what it is not than what it is. If the head be that of an Eros—as is by no means certain—it is very unlike the youthful, but not boyish type, associated with the name of Praxiteles; it is equally far removed from the chubby baby-like forms of Hellenistic and Roman times. If we regard it merely as the head of a boy, our circle of comparison is wider, but the results are not much more definite. Here it is natural at first to compare the numerous series of children that date, at least in the original types, from the earliest years of the Hellenistic period,[1] the boy playing or struggling with a goose, and others. But I doubt if any of these can be adduced which in character or expression shows much resemblance to our head. They are mostly more rounded, and represent younger children; the best-known boy with a goose is only about six years old,[2] or even younger; whereas one would probably call this Paphos boy about eight or ten. It may be suggested that in this difference of age we may find the reason for the difference in forms and treatment that we find; and this is to some extent true. But on the other hand it is an acknowledged fact that the age of the subject—when the subject is selected for its own sake—is in itself an indication of period. In the age of Praxiteles a favourite type is a youth of about fifteen,

[1] I understand that there is some consensus of authority for the attribution of this head to the Hellenistic period. If this prevail, the opinion here expressed must be given up. But I think it may as well be placed on record, to secure some discussion before such a work be finally relegated to later times.

[2] Whether we read 'sex annis' in Pliny xxxiv. 84 or not is a detail; others can guess at the age as well as he.

whether an Eros or a young Satyr,[1] as the bronze head at Munich; while as art grows older, the children it prefers to represent become gradually younger, till it reaches the baby Cupids of Roman times. Of course this is not a rule that can be pressed to exactness; but it indicates a tendency which may serve to guide where other evidence is lacking. Children of other ages may of course at any period be required by circumstances: but if so, they are not treated with a care that shows they are the artist's own choice.

A more detailed examination of the head before us may help us. In the first place we may notice in the delicate modelling of the surface, and the soft and varied play of light and shade[2] that is thus produced, the clear indications of an original marble work, and not a copy from some other material; it is hardly too much to say that this treatment is so carefully and feelingly carried out that we must have here the work of the original artist himself. The expression intended is also caught with an accuracy hardly to be expected in a copyist; the faint smile of the half-shut eyes and half-open mouth would be particularly liable to be lost or exaggerated. It is in the treatment of these two features, together with the rounded modelling of the rest of the face, that the charm of this head chiefly lies. In the eyes the balls are narrowed by lids which, lightly drawing together, do not project strongly; the upper is much in advance of the lower, so that the eye in profile has a decided downward slope: in shape and consequent expression the nearest resemblance may be seen in the Praxitelean head of Aphrodite from Olympia (Mitchell, *Ancient Sculpture*, p. 452, &c.). The mouth and lips are clearly shaped, but without too hard a definition; the ends are rounded off with a slight swelling. The ears are small and well modelled, and the nose well developed, but not too hard in its outlines. In these respects the contrast is strong to the various types of children's heads of Hellenistic time, which almost always show either the hardness and definition of outline that are here, as in the best marble work, so carefully avoided, or else a chubby roundness, especially in the lower part of the face, which distinguishes the baby from the boy. The hair is peculiar for its extremely flat and sketchy treatment—at the back it is only blocked out and quite unfinished. Such extreme shortness is not usual for a young boy; in later, as well as in earlier times, long hair is far more common, and especially in later times a kind of top-knot is often introduced.

To sum up this description, it is hard to find in this boy's head any of the characteristics of Hellenistic work. On the other hand, though it shows some affinity of treatment, especially in the eyes, to good fourth century models, we are hardly justified in carrying it back so far. But it seems more to resemble the work of the younger Attic school, which excelled in the soft treatment of marble, than any other with which it can be compared; and it seems better to find its place among the later developments of that school than

[1] The 'infant Dionysus' has a very subordinate position to the Hermes; and even apart from the bad preservation, the face seems to show that a type so young was not yet carefully worked out: in the copies of the infant Plutus, the head is doubtless made to conform to later types.

[2] Well reproduced in our plate.

among the different types which were introduced at the beginning of the Hellenistic period.[1] It is worth observing that some of the other objects found in the same hole with this head unquestionably belong to the fourth century, while none of them can be much later.

We cannot finally decide the subject of the statue to which the head belonged. The expression is probable for an Eros; for a portrait of a boy, hardly conceivable. It might indeed be possible in a *genre* group such as those of Hellenistic time; but if we are right in rejecting its attribution to that style and period, this explanation loses its probability. On the whole, it is perhaps not too rash to call the head, for the present at least, the Eros of Paphos. In any case, it may take its place among the finest and most pleasing representations of children that have survived to us from ancient times. This head is now in the British Museum.

(5) The face of a terra-cotta mask, or possibly of a statue. This also is of good Greek style, though of ordinary execution. It is considerably damaged, one side of the face only being nearly complete, while the other is broken away. It is about life-size. It is now at Haileybury College.

(6) A small hollow bronze Silenus-mask, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. This was, in its workmanship, which was wonderfully careful and delicate, one of the best things found, though it was broken by an unfortunate accident.

(7) Various terra-cotta figurines of common Greek types, of good period.

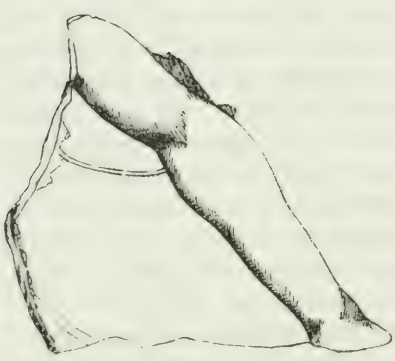


Fig 1.

Fig. 2.

(8) Three fragments of a rhyton[2] of fine red-figured Attic work of about B.C. 400. The form of the vase appears, from an extant fragment of an arm

[1] The view here expressed is confirmed by the fact that the head most nearly resembling the Paphos boy is the one on the stele of Cephisodotus at Argos, with a fourth century inscription. For confirming my own recollection as to the resemblance of this head I am indebted to Mr. J. A. R. Munro.

[2] For the restoration of the form of the vase and the interpretation of the lower row of figures, the reader is indebted to Mr. A. S. Murray: Mr. Cecil Smith first identified the subject in the upper row of figures.

(Fig. 1), to have been like that of a vase in the Branteghem collection, roughly figured in the text for purposes of illustration (Fig. 2), in which the vessel is supported by a crocodile seizing a negro. The drawing on the vase consists of two rows of figures (Fig. 3) divided by a band of decoration consisting alternately of maeanders and stars. In the upper row is the lower part of a male figure standing between two female figures, of whom that on the right faces the spectator in a stiff attitude. Behind the latter is a female figure leaning on a spoar, behind whom again is a fragment of drapery belonging to

Fig. 3.

a fifth figure. It seems probable that the male figure is Hephaestus, and the stiff figure behind him Pandora, at whose birth Athena, leaning on her spear, and other goddesses are present. In the lower row is a bearded hunter wearing taenia (red) and lion's skin; in his right hand, which is missing, he probably held a stone or other missile, in his outstretched left hand is a club. Before him a boar plunges to right. In these figures we may see Meleager and the Calydonian boar; unless, indeed, the obvious identification as Herakles and the Erymanthian boar be accepted. Inner markings in the case of both

hunter and boar are drawn in light-coloured paint. The drawing is very fine, such details as the bristles of the boar being carefully rendered. The cut is on the scale of $\frac{7}{8}$ of the actual size.

(9) A small fragment of a Panathenaic vase, the letters A⊙ being clearly visible at the side. This fragment comes from a vase of the fourth century of that archaistic class of which several specimens have been found at Capua, Benghazi, and other places. Dimensions: $5\frac{1}{8} \times 2\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

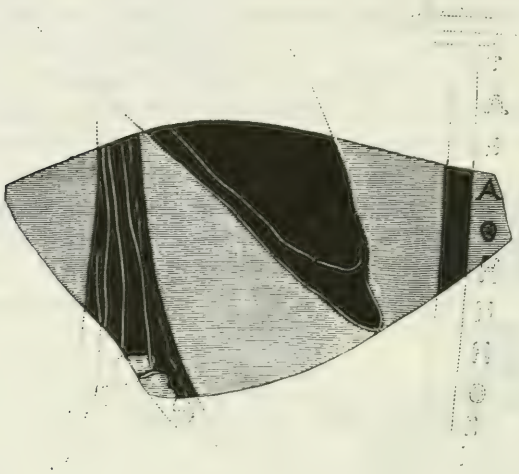
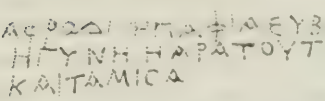


Fig. 1.

(10) A vase with a terra-cotta group on the neck; an arm, as usual, attached to the spout which is itself a miniature vase. The group represents a boy and a girl in the attitude of the well-known 'Cupid and Psyche' groups. Many vases of this type, with statuettes above the spout, were found in the excavations at Poli-tis-Chrysochou and elsewhere, so that it has been assumed with some probability that they were made in Cyprus.

It will thus be seen that the objects 4—10, though found together, do not necessarily show any connection either of period or of other association. Most of them seem to be of fourth century work, but there seem to be exceptions; and if they were merely thrown away here at some destruction of the temple, we cannot draw any inference as to their date, except that they must all belong to pre-Roman times—a fact already obvious from their nature.

(11) A pin, seven inches long, made of bronze overlaid with a thin gold plate (see Plate XI.). It was found in the central chamber near the foundation level of the walls. It ends in a long and sharp point; then follows a plain shaft bearing the dedication, written in letters of the Ptolemaic age formed by a succession of punctured dots:—



Ἀφροδίτη(ι) Παφία(ι) Εὐβούλα εὐχὴν
ἡ γυνὴ ἡ Ἀράτου τοῦ συγγενοῦς
καὶ Τάμισα.

Συγγενὴς or *συγγενὴς τοῦ βασιλέως* is a well-known title of honour of the Ptolemaic court. The last word appears to be a proper name added as an afterthought. Mr. Hicks, without seeing the pin, suggested *καὶ τἄλλ' ἴσα* (and the others like it); this gives a satisfactory meaning, but the last letter but three is clearly Μ. The most noteworthy part of the pin is however its head, which resembles a very ornate capital of a column, and is a good example of the best Greek goldsmith's work. The base is surrounded with acanthus leaves. It is ornamented at the four corners by four goats' heads; between these are open cups or flowers, as water-lilies, forming the ends of tubes which run down to the leaves at the base of the capital. Above the goats' heads are four doves with outspread wings bending down to drink from the cups. Above and below each cup is a rosette of fine granulated work. The whole is surmounted by a large bead of Egyptian porcelain, which was found separately, but seems to belong to the pin; it is held in between two cups of thin gold with foliated rims; a smaller bead, which appears to be a pearl, is attached to the top.

(12) Marble statuette, 12½ inches high, representing a female figure, perhaps Aphrodite, and Eros. She stands on her left leg, her right slightly bent at the knee; her right arm is lowered, her left raised from the elbow. She is dressed in a chiton, a himation drawn over her left shoulder and brought across her breast in front and thrown over the left elbow, and close shoes. The Eros floats close to her right side, resting his arms on her right shoulder, his body pressed close to her right arm, while his feet reach about to the level of her hand. The heads of both figures are lost, both hands of the female figure, and both feet of the Eros, with the parts of the leg and arm nearest to them. The execution is rather poor.

(13) Various fragments of marble reliefs and statues, hardly worth separate classification. One relief, of the knees and part of the legs of a fully draped female figure, is of very good work in the style of the Attic reliefs, early fourth century. A basis of a statuette, with the feet and lower portion of the drapery of a female figure, bears the dedication *Ἀρτεμίδωρος Ἀφροδίτη(ι)* in letters of Roman period. There is also the lower part of a nude statuette of a boy, probably Eros.

(14) A relief of Leda and the Swan, in very bad and soft stone, and accordingly much worn away.

(15) Two late Roman statues, of very poor work, and in coarse and rough stone; both were headless. They were life-size, and represented draped female figures, probably portraits.

(16) Lastly may be mentioned a curious slab of white marble of the shape of a right-angled triangle, with the other angles of about 60° and 30°. On it was incised, in broad lines, a circle with two parallel marks running out from its circumference at the top and bottom, and also at each side. There was no indication of the manner in which this stone was placed, or if it was built into a wall. May it perhaps represent a solar symbol?

Probably the most remarkable thing about this short inventory is its meagreness, as contrasted with the importance of the site and the number of the inscriptions found. But the whole earth upon the site was turned over in such a way as to make it certain that we have recovered whatever antiquities were to be found on the site of the temple at Paphos.

E. A. G.

VI.—Inscriptions of Kuklia and Amargetti.

The following inscriptions were found this season in the Temple of the Paphian Aphrodite; in the village of Kuklia; and on an ancient site north of the village of Amargetti. They are here published with scarcely any explanatory notes, and with no attempt at chronological order, this imperfect publication having been rendered necessary by the general wish that they should appear in this volume of the *Journal*.

A.—The Temple: Greek Inscriptions.

1. Pedestal of coarse pink marble lying in the south-western approach broken top and left. This was probably found by Gen. di Cesnola, but not copied owing to its extreme difficulty.

Ι ΙϿΔΙΤΗΣ
ΣΙΛΕΩΣΚΑΙΣΤΡ/. . . . ΙΟΝ
ΗΓΟΝΤΗΣΝΗΣΟΥ
ΙΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΑΝΤΗΝ
ΝΤΗΣΕΙΣΕΑΥΤΟΥΣ

'Αφρ]οδίτης
Τὸν δεῖνα τὸν συγγενῆ τοῦ βα]σιλέως καὶ στρ[ατηγ]ὸν
. . . . . στρατ]ηγὸν τῆς νήσου
. . . . . καὶ 'Ηλιοδώραν τὴν
γυναῖκα, εὐεργεσίας ἕνεκε]ν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτούς.

It is impossible to restore this further, as the genitive in the case of the name of the goddess and the repetition of *στρατηγὸν* show that we have not to deal with the ordinary formula, and that a large portion of the inscription is wanting.

2. Pink pedestal lying on the surface, known since Ali Bey's time: surface gone in the middle, used twice.

ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΝΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥΤΟΝΣΥΓΓΕΝΗΤΟΥΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
ΤΟΝΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΝΚΑΙΝΑΥ/ ΑΙΑ . . . .
ΤΟΚΟΙΝΟΝΤΩΝΕΝΤΗΙΝΗΣΩΙΤΑΣΣΟΜΕΝΩΝΚΙΛΙΚΩΝ
ΕΥΕ . ΓΕΣΙΑΣΕΝΕΚΕΝΤΗΣΕΙΣΕ ΤΟ

Θεόδοτον Σελεύκου τὸν συγγενῆ τοῦ βασιλέως
τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ ναύα[ρχον κ]αὶ ἀ[ρχιερέα
τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τασσομένων Κιλίκων
εὐε[ρ]γεσίας ἕνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἑ[αυ]τό.

For the reading of the last word of line 3 we can all vouch, and Nos. 20 and 44 confirm it. M. Waddington (*Voy. Arch.* iii. p. 644) asserts with equal confidence that it should be read Μακῶν; but he read his κ as a χ on the stone, and it will be noticed how easily ΚΙΛ might be read ΜΑ: after the Λ there is certainly an Ι. Nothing more is known of Macians in Cyprus, whereas Cilicians appear twice again, and other Anatolian peoples, Lycians and Ionians, are also *τασσόμενοι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ*. Against M. Waddington's great authority we can only place our three months' acquaintance with this inscription in all sorts of lights and positions.

3. Feb. 9. Fragment of pink pedestal: broken right and top line.

ΓΛΜΙ . . ΙΙΛΜ
ΙΠΠΕΩΝΚΑΙΕΥΩΝΥΜ
ΤΟΥΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣΤΩΝΤ
ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΩΝΚΑΙΕΣΤΡΑ
ΕΥΝΟΙΑΣΤΗΣΕΙΣΒΑΣΙΛΕ
ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΝΤΗΝΑΔΕΛΦ
ΚΑΙΤΗΣΕΙΣΕΑ . . ΗΝΕΥΕΡΓ

. . . . . .
ἱππέων καὶ εὐωνύμ[ων . . . . . .
τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν . . . . . .
στρατηγῶν καὶ ἐστρα[τηγηκότων . . .
εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς βασιλέ[α Πτολεμαῖον καὶ βασίλισσαν 5
Κλεοπάτραν *τὴν ἀδελφ[ὴν θεοὺς φιλομήτορας* (?)
καὶ τῆς εἰς ἑα[υτ]ὴν εὐεργ[εσίας ἕνεκεν.

The title Philometor (I. 181–146 B.C.) is probable though not certain; for Physcon's wife for a short time was his sister Cleopatra; cf. No. 11. If it refers to him, the title is Euergetes (II.).

4. Feb. 10. Pink pedestal, lying close to south wall: broken top and left.

ΝΙΑΙΖ_Δ
ΩΝΗΣΥΝΑΡΧΙΑΤΩΝΕΝΠΑΦΩΙ
ΗΚΟΤΩΝΑΡΕΤΗΣΕΝΕΚΑΚΑΙ
ΤΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΝΚΑΙΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΝ
ΗΝΘΕΟΥΣΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΡΑΣΚΑΙΤΑΤΕΚΝΑ
ΕΣΙΑΣΚΑΙΠΡΟΣΑΠΑΝΤΑΣΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗΣ

. . . . . .
. . . . . *ων ἡ συναρχία τῶν ἐν Πάφῳ*
. . . . . *? γεγυμνασιαρχ]ηκότων ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ*

εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς βασιλέα]Πτολεμαῖον καὶ βασίλισσαν
Κλεοπάτραν τὴν ἀδελφ]ὴν θεοὺς φιλομήτορας καὶ τὰ τέκνα
αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς εὐεργ]εσίας καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας δικαιοσύνης.

Philometor I., 181–146 B.C.; married 165. Philometor II. was forced to divorce his sister Cleopatra at his accession in favour of Selene; her name would be too short for the space, the restoration of the line above being certain.

5. Feb. 11. Pink pedestal found in *débris* outside east wall. Inscribed on two sides (*a*).

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΝΘΕΟΝ
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΣΙΔΩΡΟΣΕΛΕΝΟΥ
ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΥΣΟΣΥΓΓΕΝΗΣΚΑΙ
ΑΡΧΕΔΕΑΤΡΟΣΕΥ . . . ∠ . ΑΣΕΝΕΚΕΝ

Βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον θεὸν
Ἀλέξανδρον Ἰσίδωρος Ἑλένου
Ἀντιοχεὺς ὁ συγγενὴς καὶ
ἀρχεδεατρὸς εὐ[εργεσί]ας ἕνεκεν.

Ptolemy IX., Alexander I., ruled in Cyprus 114–107 B.C.

For this Isidorus cf. No. 94. For Helenus Nos. 20, 109. ἀρχεδεατρὸς = chief taster, an office originally Persian (?).

6. *Ibid.* Inscription (*β*).

ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΙ ΠΑΦΙΑΙ
ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΝΚΑΙΣΑΡΑΘΕΟΥΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥΥΙΟΝ
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝ
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΣΠΑΦΟΥΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣ
ΤΟΝΕΑΥΤΩΝΣΩΤΗΡΑΚΑΙΕΥΕΡΓΕ ΗΝ
ΤΙΒΕΡΙΕΙΟΥΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥΑ

Ἀφροδίτῃ Παφίᾳ
Τιβέριον Καίσαρα θεοῦ σεβαστοῦ υἱὸν
σεβαστὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχιερέα μέγιστον
σεβαστῆς Πάφου ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος
τὸν ἑαυτῶν σωτῆρα καὶ εὐεργέ[τ]ην
Τιβεριείου σεβαστοῦ α′

Probably erected in gratitude for a decision as to right of asylum granted to the embassy under Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* III. 62). The era cannot therefore be that of the emperor's accession, but probably dates from this event.

7. Pink, lying on surface, south of site: broken at top and bottom: correctly published by Lebas and Waddington, No. 2792.

'ΡΟ ⋏ Π ϽΙΑ'
ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΝΚΑΙΣΑΡΑΘΕΟΥΣΕΒΑΣΤϹ
¯ΕΒΑΣΤΟΝΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑΑΡΧΙΕ
ΡΑΣΤΗΣΠΑΦΟΥΗΡ

'Αφ]ρο[δίτῃ] Π[α]φίᾳ
Τιβέριον Καίσαρα θεοῦ σεβαστ[οῦ υἱὸν
σ]εβαστὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχι[ερέα μέγιστον
σε]βαστῆς Πάφου ἡ β[ουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος

8. Feb. 11. Small pink pedestal (used twice), found near centre of southern stoa.

ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΙΠΑΦΙΑΙ
ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΣΛΑΜΠΩΝΟΣ
ΠΗΛΟΥΣΙΩΤΗΣΕΡΜΟΓΙ·ΝΗ
ΙΟΝΥΙΟΝΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ

'Αφροδίτῃ Παφίᾳ
Διόδωρος Λάμπωνος
Πηλουσιώτης Ἑρμογένη
τὸν υἱὸν Ἑρμογένους

9. Feb. 17. Fragment of white tablet: broken right and left.

ΤΡΑΤ . . . σ[τρατ[ηγὸν . .
ΡΗΝΗΣϹ Κυ]ρήνης ὁ [δῆμος
ΑΜΙΑΔΟ
ΛΛΗΚΑΙΑ
ΧΑ εὐνοίας] χά[ριν

10. Fragment of white tablet, Feb. 17. Thick coarse marble: broken bottom, right, left.

ΔΕΙΤΗΙ . Π 'Αφρο]δείτῃ Π[αφίᾳ
ϽΚΤΑΟΥΙΟϹ 'Οκταούιος
ΙΑΤΡΟϹ ἰατρός

11. Fragment of pink pedestal, found Feb. 17: broken left and slightly on right.

ΙΛΕΩΣΚΑΙΙΕΡΕΑΤΗ
¯ΥΓΓΕΝΟΥΣΚΑΙΣΤΡΑΤ
ϽΙΤΑΣΣΟΜΕΝΩΝΔΥΝΑΜ
ΑΣΙΛΕΑΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟ
ΦΗΝΘΕΟΥΣΕΥΕΡΓΕ
¯ΥΕΡΓΕΣΙΑΣ

τὸν δεῖνα τὸν συγγενῆ τοῦ βασ]ιλέως καὶ ἱερέα τῆ[ς νήσου,
τὸν τοῦ δεῖνος τοῦ] συγγενοῦς καὶ στρατ[ηγοῦ
τῆς νήσου, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσ]ῳ τασσομένων δυνάμ[εων,
ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐνοίας ἕνεκα τῆς εἰς β]ασιλέα Πτολεμαῖο[ν καὶ
βασίλισσαν Κλεοπάτραν τὴν ἀδελ]φὴν θεοὺς εὐεργέ[τας
καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν, καὶ τῆς εἰς ἑαυτὸ] εὐεργεσίας.

Ptolemy VII., Euergetes II.; Cleopatra his sister was his wife for a short time after his accession in 146. Euergetes I. did not marry his sister.

12. Feb. 17. Pink marble pedestal. Parts of two inscriptions, that on left much more deeply cut. Both are under one headline.

ΓΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΤΟΥΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣΤΟΝΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΝΚΑΙΝΑΥΑ
ΓΟΥΚΑΙ ΚΑΙΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑΤΟΚΟΙΝΟΝΤΩΝΕΝΤΗΙΝΗΣΩΙΤΑΣ
ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΛΥΚΙΩΝΑΡΕΤΗΣΕΝΕΚΕΝΚΑΙΕΥΝΟΙΑΣΤΗΣΕΙΣΒ
ΛΝΛΥΚΙΩΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΝΚΑΙΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΝΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΝΤΗΝΑ
ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΝΚΛΕΩΠΑΤΡΑΝΤΗΝΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΘΕΟΥΣ
ΚΑΙΤΑΤΕΚΝΑΑΥΤΩΝΚΑΙΤΗΣΕΙΣΕΑΥΤΟΕΥΕΡΓΕ

τὸν δεῖνα
τοῦ δεῖνος τοῦ συ]γγενοῦς
τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ στρατη]γοῦ καὶ
ναυάρχου καὶ ἀρχιερέως τὸ] κοινὸν
τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τασσομέν]ων Λυκίων

τὸν δεῖνα τὸν συγγενῆ
τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ ναύαρ[χον
καὶ ἀρχιερέα τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τασ[σομένων
Λυκίων, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς β[ασιλέα
Πτολεμαῖον καὶ βασίλισσαν Κλεοπάτραν τὴν ἀ[δελφὴν καὶ
βασίλισσαν Κλεωπάτραν τὴν γυναῖκα θεοὺς [εὐεργέτας
καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν, καὶ τῆς εἰς ἑαυτὸ εὐεργ[εσίας.

Ptolemy Euergetes II., after he had divorced his sister for his niece, and after his reconciliation with the former; therefore between 127 and 117 B.C. or 141–132.

13. Feb. 18. Thick white marble tablet found in the central chamber: broken left. Inscribed in Cypriote character; *v. infra.*

14. Feb. 18. White marble tablet, with raised pilaster on each side, small fine letters. Broken left diagonally. Found under mosaic pavement. Complete at the bottom. Now in the British Museum. Sometimes Λ for Α.

ΛΣΙΛΕΥΣΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΩΙΤΩΙΚΑΙ (complete)
ΕΞΑΝΔΡΩΙΤΩΙΑΔΕΛΦΩΙΧΑΙΡΕΙΝΕΙΕΡΡΩΣΑΙΕΙΗΑΝΩΣΒΟΥ
ΘΑΚΑΙΑΥΤΟΙΔΕΥΓΙΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΚΑΙΣΟΥΕΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΥΟΜΕΝ
ΟΡΓΩΣΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΙΣΤΟΥΣΕΝΠΙΕΡΙΑΙΤΗΣΙΕΡΑΣΚΑΙΑΣΥΛΟΥ
ΛΕΝΤΩΙΠΑΤΡΙΗΜΩΝΠΡΟΣΚΛΗΡΩΘΕΝΤΑΣΚΑΙΤΗΝ
ΛΝΕΥΝΟΙΑΝΜΕΧΡΙΤΕΛΟΥΣΒΕΒΑΙΑΝΣΥΝΤΗΡΗΣΑΝ
ΙΤΑΣΔΕΚΑΙΤΗΠΡΟΣΗΜΑΣΦΙΛΟΣΤΟΡΓΙΑΙΚΑΙΤΑΥ
ΙΚΑΙΚΑΛΩΝΕΡΓΩΝΚΑΙΜΑΛΙΣΤΕΝΤΟΙΣΕΠΕΙ
ΟΤΑΤΟΙΣΚΑΙΡΟΙΣΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΑΜΕΝΟΥΣΚΑΙΚΑ
ΟΨΥΧΩΣΚΑΙΑΥΤΩΝΑΞΙΩΣΕΠΑΥΞΗΣΑΝΤΕΣ
ΟΗΓΑΓΟΜΕΝΑΞΙΩΜΑΚΑΙΝΥΝΙΔΕΤΗΣΠΡΩ
ΣΙΑΣΚΑΤΑΞΙΩΣΑΙΣΠΟΥΔΑΣΟΝΤΕΣ
ΣΤΟΝΑΠΑΝΤΑΧΡΟΝΟΝΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΥΣ
ΑΙΣΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΜΕΘΑΠΡΟΣΑΛΛΗ
ΩΣΚΑΙΤΟΠΡΟΣΤΗΝΠΑΤΡΙΔΑ
ΚΦΑΝΕΣΤΕΡΟΝΕΣΕΣΘΑΙ
ΟΛΟΥΘΗΣΚΑΛΩΣΕΧΕΙΝ
ΣΘΕΙΓΓΟΡΠΙΑΙΟΥΚΟ
ΩΝΕΝΠΙΕΡΙΑΙΤΗΣΙΕ
ΥΛΗΚΑΙΤΩΙΔΗΜΩΙ
ΙΩΣΒΟΥΛΟΜΕ
ΗΣΗΣΓΕ
ΩΜΑΙ
ΚΟΛΟΥ

Β]*ασιλεὺς Αντίοχος βασιλεῖ* Πτολεμαίῳ *τῷ καὶ*
Ἀλ]*εξάνδρῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν· εἰ ἔρρωσαι εἴη ἂν ὡς βουλόμε]θα, καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ ὑγιαίνομεν καὶ σοῦ ἐμνημονεύομεν φιλοστ]όργως. Σελευκεῖς τοὺς ἐν* Πιερίᾳ *τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ ἀσύλου ἐγνώκα]μεν τῷ πατρὶ ἡμῶν προσκληρωθέντας καὶ τὴν τῶν πατέρ]ων εὔνοιαν μεχρὶ τέλους βεβαίαν συντηρήσαντας ἐκλάμψαν]τας δὲ καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλοστοργίᾳ καὶ ταύτης ἐνέργειαν] καὶ καλῶν ἔργων καὶ μάλιστ' ἐν τοῖς ἐπείγουσιν τότε δειν]οτάτοις καιροῖς ἀποδειξαμένους καὶ καλῶς καὶ πάνυ μεγαλ]οψύχως καὶ αὐτῶν ἀξίως, ἐπαυξήσαντες καὶ πάλαι εἰς μέγα πρ]οηγάγομεν ἀξίωμα καὶ νυνὶ δὲ τῆς πρώτης εἰς τὸν πάτερα εὐεργ]εσίας καταξιῶσαι σπουδάζοντες τὴν ἡμῶν ἀνταπόδοσιν, εἰ]ς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐλευθέρους κατεστήσαμεν, καὶ σπονδαῖ]ς αἷς ἐποιήσαμεθα πρὸς ἀλλήλους] καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα εὐσεβὲς] ἐκφανέστερον ἔσεσθαι ἀ]κολούθης καλῶς ἔχειν*

. . . . γς' Γορπιαίου κ'. ὁ

Σελευκέων τ]ῶν ἐν Πιερίᾳ τῆς ἱε-
ρᾶς καὶ ἀσύλου . . . . . τῇ βο]υλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
ἀξ]ίως βουλόμε-
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

Ptolemy Alexander reigned in Cyprus 114–107 B.C.

Seleucia in the mountainous region of Pieria, near the mouth of the Orontes in Syria, was a most important strategic point, and earlier an object of contention between the kings of Syria and Egypt. The Antiochus is probably either Grypus or Cyzicenus, who were at this time contesting the crown of Syria. It would require a lengthy discussion to consider the probable relations of these two princes and their respective fathers to the Seleucians.

15. Feb. 18. Found with 14. White marble tablet with pediment and pilasters. Incomplete, but not broken except at lower edge slightly. Now in the British Museum.

ΛΚΔΟΙΕΠΗΓΓΕΛΜΕΝΟΙΕΙΣΤΟΕΛΑΙΟΧΡΙΣΤΙΟΝ
ΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΟΣΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΟΥΞΑΝΘΙΟΣ ⊬ Ρ
ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣΦΙΛΩΝΟΣΜΙΤΥΛΗΝΑΙΟΣ ⊬ Ρ
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣΝΙΚΑΝΟΡΟΣΛΙΜΥΡΕΥΣΟΨΩΝΙΟΝ
ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΣΣΗΝΟΔΟΤΟ/////ΚΑΔΥΑΝΔΕΥΣΟΨΩΝΙΟΝ
ΤΕΙΣΕΑΣ////////ΟΣΤΛΩΕΥΣΟΨΩΝΙΟΝ
ΕΥΠΟΛΕΜΟΣΕΥΠΟΛΕΜ ΥΠΑΤΑΡΕΥΣΟΨΩΝΙΑΔΥΟ
ΚΑΛΛΙΠΙΔΗΣΚΑΛΛΙΠΙΔΟ//////////ΤΕΥΣΟΨΩΝΙΟΝ
//////// ϽΣΕΥΕΠΟΥΜΥΡΕ//////////////////////////ι

Λκδ' οἱ ἐπηγγελμένοι εἰς τὸ ἐλαιοχρίστιον
Λύσανδρος Λυσάνδρου Ξάνθιος ⊬ ρ'
Ἀντίοχος Φίλωνος Μιτυληναῖος ⊬ ρ'
Διονύσιος Νικάνορος Λιμυρεὺς ὀψώνιον
Διόδοτος Ζηνοδότο[υ] Καδυανδεὺς ὀψώνιον
Τεισέας . . . . . ος Τλωεὺς ὀψώνιον
Εὐπόλεμος Ἐυπολέμ[ο]υ Παταρεὺς ὀψώνια δύο
Καλλιπίδης Καλλιπίδου . . . . τεὺς ὀψώνιον
. . . . ος Εὐέπου Μυρε[ὺς ὀψώνιο]ν

< = drachma, Hultsch, *Metr. Gr.* (p. 220, fr. 52, &c.).

If we reckon from the era of the Lagidae, 323, 24 gives us the date 299; the letters and cutting seem as early as this, but the era may be another local one.

16. Feb. 21. Broken pink pedestal found near west end of southern stoa.

////////ΙΟΝΚΑΙΡΑΣΙΛΕ	*καὶ βασιλέ[ως*
////ΕΟΓΑΤΡΑΣΘΕ////	*Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης* Κλ]*εοπάτρας θεῶ[ν . .*
////////ΛΕ////////////////	. . . . .
///////////////ΙΟΙΑΣΚΑΙ	*εὐ]νοίας καὶ . . . .*

17. Feb. 23. Broken pink pedestal found near west end of southern stoa.

ΛΕ	. . . . . *βασι*]λέ[*ως Πτολεμαίου καὶ*
ΑΤΡΑΣ	*βασιλίσσης* Κλεοπ]*άτρας*[*θεῶν*
ΝΑΙΕΝΚΥΓΓ	. . . . .]*ν αἱ ἐν* Κύπ[*ρῳ τασ-*
ΙΚΑΙΔΥΝΑΜΕ	*σόμεναι πεζ*]*ικαὶ δυνάμε*[*ις*
ΣΕΝΕΚΕΝΤΗΣΕ	*εὐεργεσία*]*ς ἕνεκεν τῆς ε*[*ἰς*
	ἑαυτάς.]

18. Feb. 23. Pink fragment, first line

ΚΛΗΝΚΑΛΛΙΚΛΕΟ	Καλλι]*κλῆν* Καλλικλέο[*υς*

19. Feb. 23. Calcareous fragment.

ΡΟΔΗΝΤΑ	. . . *ρόδην Τα* . . . . . (possibly Τ*αμιράδην*?)

20. Pink pedestal.

ΤΟΚΟΙΝΟΝΤΩΝΕΝΤΗΙΝΗΣΩΙΤΛΛΟΥΜΕΝΩΝ
ΚΙΛΙΚ ΝΕΛΕΝΟΝΤΟΝΣΥΓΓΕΝΗΚΑΙΤΡΟΦΕΑ
ΤΟΥΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣΚΑΙΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΝΚΑΙΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑ
ΤΗΣΝΗΣΟΥΦΙΛΑΓΑΘΙΑΣΕΝΕΚΕΝΤΗΣΕΙΣΕΑΥΤΟΥΣ

Τὸ *κοινὸν τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τασσομένων*
Κιλίκων Ἕλενον *τὸν συγγενῆ καὶ τροφέα*
τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ στρατηγὸν καὶ ἀρχιερέα
τῆς νήσου φιλαγαθίας ἕνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτούς.

21. Pink pedestal found outside east wall, Feb. 29. Broken at top and right and surface gone here and there.

ΑΙΕΝΚΥΠΡΩΙΤΑΣΣΟΜΕΝΑΙΠΕΛΙΝΑΙ
ΑΡΕΤΗΣΕΝΕΚ////////ΕΥΝΟΙΑΣΤΗΣΕΙΣΒΑΣΙΛΕΑΠΙ
ΚΛΙΒΑΣΙΛΙΣ////ΝΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΝΤΗΝΑΔΕΛΦΗΝΘΕΟΥΣΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΡΑ
////ΜΙΤΑΤΕΚ . . . ΑΥΤΩΝΚΑΙΤΗΣΕΙΣΕΑΥΤΑΣΦΙΛΑΓΑΘΙΑΣ

Αἱ ἐν Κύπρῳ τασσόμεναι πεζικαὶ [*δυνάμεις τον δεῖνα*
ἀρετῆς ἕνεκ[*εν καὶ*] *εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς βασιλέα* Π[*τολεμαῖον*
καὶ βασίλισ[*σα*]*ν* Κλεοπάτραν *τὴν ἀδελφὴν θεοὺς φιλομήτορα*[*ς*
κ]*αὶ τὰ τέκ*[*να*] *αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς εἰς ἑαυτὰς φιλαγαθίας.*

Ptolemy Philometor I., married his sister Cleopatra in 165; therefore the date is about 164–146 B.C.

22. White marble tablet found in central chamber, Mar. 1. Broken all round.

ϽΠΓΩ	.....
ϽΛΑΓΠΙΛ	.....
ϼΟΣΤΗΙ	.....
ΙΙΩΜΟΝ	.....
ϽΣΑΡΜΑΤ	Σαρματικῷ
ΑΝ ϽΝΟΡ	.....
ΑΡΔΑΝΟΥΣΤ	Δ]αρδάνους ?
ΤΥΧΕΣΤΑΤ	εὐτυχεστάτῳ
ΣΑΡΙΣΕΒΑΣΤ	Καί]σαρι Σεβαστ[ῷ
ΤΩΙΑΥΤΟΥϾΥ	τῷ αὐτοῦ
ΝΗΜΑΤΑ	

An inscription either of M. Aurelius or Commodus.

23. Pink pedestal, broken at bottom, Mar. 1. Found near No. 4. It is he first block of an inscription. The first three lines must have been short :he last three longer.

ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΝ
ΚΑΙΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟ
ΡΕΑΤΗΣΝΗΣ
ΑΣΗΣΕΧΩΝΔΙΑ
ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΝ
ΤΟΥΣΕΥΕΡΓΕ
ΝΕ'

Θεόδωρον [τὸν συγγενῆ τοῦ βασιλέως
καὶ στρατηγ[ὸν καὶ ναύαρχον καὶ ἀρχιε-
ρέα τῆς νήσ[ου ὁ δεῖνα ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ εὐνοί-
ας ἧς ἔχων δια[τελεῖ εἰς βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον καὶ βασίλισσαν
Κλεοπάτραν[τὴν ἀδελφὴν καὶ βασίλισσαν Κλεωπάτραν τὴν γυναῖκα
θεοὺς εὐεργέ[τας καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς εἰς ἑαυτ . . . εὐερ-
γεσίας ἕ[νεκεν.

Between 127 and 117 B.C.; cf. 12. The restoration is practically certain, from the position of the names.

24. Pink pedestal, Mar. 5. Erasure in ll. 3 and 4.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΝΘΕΟΝΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΡΑ
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥΚΑΙΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣΚΛΕΟΠΑ
ΤΡΑΣΘΕΩΝΕΠΙΦΑΝΩΝ
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΥΣΟΣΥΓΓΕΝΗΣΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙ
ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΣΚΑΙΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣΤΩΝΚΑΤΑΤΗΝΝΗΣΟΝ

Βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον θεὸν φιλομήτορα
βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπά-
τρας θεῶν ἐπιφανῶν ὁ δεῖνα (name erased)
. . . Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ὁ συγγενὴς αὐτοῦ καὶ
στρατηγὸς καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν κατὰ τὴν νῆσον.

Cf. 21. The mention of the parents seems to place this in Ptolemy VI.'s infancy, and before his marriage with his sister; so 181–165 B.C.

25. Blue limestone pedestal, Mar. 6. Afterwards found to be inscribed on the other side: *v. inf.* 28.

ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΗΙΠΑΦΙΑΙ
ΛΟΥΚΙΟΝΟΥΙΤΕΛΛΙΟΝΚΡΙΣ
ΠΕΙΝΟΝΤΙΤΟΣΦΛΑΥΙΟΣ
ΚΡΙΠΕΙΝΙΑΝΟΣΦΙΛΩΝΤΟΝΕΑΤΟΥ
ΦΙΛΟΝ

Ἀφροδείτῃ Παφίᾳ
Λούκιον Οὐιτέλλιον Κρισ-
πεῖνον Τίτος Φλαύιος
Κρι(σ)πεινιανὸς Φίλων τὸν ἑα(υ)τοῦ
φίλον.

26. White marble tablet, Mar. 6. Broken all round?

ΠΑϹΜϹ
ЄϹΗ·ЄΠΙ·ΠΛ
ΥΛΟϹΟΤ

27. Mar. 6. Fragment of pink pedestal found just outside east wall. Broken right and left. Ill cut.

ΛΑΓΟΡΟΙ
ΙΤΟΙΣ
ΙΜΑΝΤΙΑΡΧΗΝ — το]ν μαντιάρχην
ЄΝΤΗΣ
////Σ

28. Other side of 25. Some considerable space between the Latin and Greek.

PH-NEGOTIANTVR — Qui Pa]phi negotiantur
ΠΑΦΙΑΙ — Ἀφροδίτῃ] Παφίᾳ
ΠΑΦΩΙ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΙ — οἱ ἐν] Πάφῳ Ῥωμαῖοι

The identity of the dedication seems to point to the Latin and Greek lettering being contemporary in spite of the later appearance of the former.

[But if we consider—as we are probably justified in doing—that the Latin must be much later, we must suppose that the block was used twice for similar purposes. The Latin letters are of later appearance than type can show, while the Greek is regular and well-cut.—E. A. G.]

29. Mar. 5. A pink pedestal with inscribed surface almost entirely gone.

ΗΙ ////////////////////////
ΛΑ//////////ΑΙΚ////////
ΤΗΓ//////////ΣΙΕ////////

τὴν δεῖνα τὴν γυν]αῖκ[α τοῦ δεινὸς τοῦ
στρα]τηγ[οῦ καὶ ναυάρχου καὶ ἀρ]χιε[ρέως

30. Mar. 6. Pink pedestal. Broken right, left, bottom.

ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥΤΟΥΣ	*Θεοδώρου τοῦ σ[υγ-*
ϽΥΣΤΟΥΒΑΣΙΛ	*γεν]οῦς τοῦ βασιλ[έως καὶ στρατ-*
ΣΑΙΝΑΥΑΡΧΟ	*ηγοῦ] καὶ ναυάρχο[υ καὶ ἀρχιερέως*
ΓΑΤΕΡΑΓ	*τὴν θυ]γάτερα . . . . .

31. A bit of a bronze tablet found in central chamber, thin and broken and letters showing at the back.

ΕΠΙΑ

32. Mar. 6. Pink pedestal. Inscribed towards right.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕ	*βασιλέυ[ς*
ΚΑΙΕΥΧΑ	*καὶ . . . . .*
ΠΟΛΥ	. . . . .
ΣΣΤ	. . . . .

33. Mar. 7. In the "pavement of inscriptions." Pink pedestal.

ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΙΠΑΦΙΑΙ	*Ἀφροδίτῃ Παφίᾳ*
ΑΝΔΡΩΝΚΑΙΗΓΥΝΗ	*Ἄνδρων καὶ ἡ γυνὴ*
ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΙΚΗ ΤΗΝ	*Στρατονίκη τὴν*
ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑΟΝΑΣΙΟΝ	*θυγατέρα Ὀνασίον*

34. Mar. 7. *Ibid.* Pink pedestal with erasure of two lines below. Broken left.

ΓΠΑΤΟΡΑ	Ε]*ὐπάτορα*
////////////////	
////////////////	

If this refers to the unfortunate boy Ptolemy Eupator, we may date it 146 B.C. He was assassinated almost immediately on his accession.

35. Mar. 7. Found in two parts. *Ibid.* Blue, very well cut.

ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΙ	Ἀφροδίτῃ
ΦΙΛΟΚΙΟΝΤΟΝΥΙΟΝ	Φιλοκίον τὸν υἱὸν
ΤΟΝΑΥΤΗΣΕΔΩΣΙΘΕΟΝ	τὸν αὐτῆς Δωσίθεον

36. Mar. 7. Found *ibid*: in two parts, has a moulding.

(*a*)

ΙΛ ΙΙΗΝΟΡΟϹ	.....Ἀγα]πήνορος
ΥΤΗϹΘΥΙΙΑΤΕΡΑ	τὴν α]ὐτῆς θυγατέρα
ΓΟΡΑΤΙΝ	Εὐα]γορατὶν
ΙΤΗΙΓΑΦΙΑΙ	Ἀφροδ]ίτῃ Παφίᾳ

(*b*)

ΕΧΕΤΙΜΗ	Ἐχετίμη [Ἀγαπήνορος
ΑΓΑΓΗΝΟΡ	Ἀγαπήνορ[α τὸν υἱὸν
ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΙΓ	Ἀφροδίτῃ Παφίᾳ.

Possibly this Agapenor was a descendant of the founder of New Paphos.

-ιν = ιον is not very uncommon in female names with diminutive terminations.

37. Mar. 7. Blue tablet found in central chamber. Broken right.

ΗΛΥΘΑϹ·Ω	Ἤλυθας ὦ . . . . .
ΤΗΝΓΕΝΕΑΝ·	τὴν γενέαν . . . . .
ΦΙΛΙΑΝ·ΠΑΡ/	φιλί(α)ν παρὰ . . . . .
ΑΔΥΤΩΝ·ΤΕ	ἀδύτων τε. . . . .
ΠΡΗΞΙΝ	πρῆξιν . . . . .

38. Marble fragment, white.

ΙΠΑΦ	Ἀφροδίτῃ] Παφ[ίᾳ
ΕΓΓ'	

39. Mar. 7. Calcareous pedestal. Moulding at top.

\ΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΙ ΓΑΦΙΑΙ	Ἀφροδίτῃ Παφίᾳ
ΤΙΜΑΓΟΡΑΣΕΥΑΓΟΡΟΥΚΑΙ	Τιμαγόρας Εὐαγόρου καὶ
ΗΓΥΝΗΤΡΥΦΑΙΝΑ	ἡ γυνὴ Τρύφαινα
ΖΩΙΔΑΤΗΝΕΑΥΤΩΝ	Ζωΐδα τὴν ἑαυτῶν
ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ	θυγατέρα
ΕΥΧΗΝ	εὐχήν

40. Blue pedestal. Broken top left corner. Mar. 7.

ΑΦ////////ΙΙΗ ΠΑΦΙΑ
ΛΟΙΝΟΝ ΚΥΠΡΙΩΝ
ΛΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΝΚΡΑΤΕΡΟΥΚΑΙΤΟΝΤΑΥΤΗCΑΝΔΡΑ
ΠΑΤΡΟΚΛΕΑΠΑΤΡΟΚΛΕΟΥCΤΟΥCΚΤΙCΤΑCΤΟΥ
ΤΥΧΑΙΟΥΚΑΙΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙCΔΙΑΒΙΟΥΤΗCΤΥΧΗC
ΤΗCΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩCΠΑΦΟΥΥΠΕΡΤΗCΙCΤΗΝ
ΕΠΑΡΧΕΙΑΝΦΙΛΟΤΕΙΜΙΑCΚΑΙΤΗCΠΡΟCΤΗΝ
ΠΑΤΡΙΔΑ ΕΥΝΟΙΑCΧΑΡΙΝ

'Αφ[ροδίτ]η Παφίᾳ
κοινὸν Κυπρίων
'Απολλωνίαν Κρατέρου καὶ τὸν ταύτης ἄνδρα
Πατροκλέα Πατροκλέους τοὺς κτίστας τοῦ
Τυχαίου καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς διὰ βίου τῆς Τύχης
τῆς μητροπόλεως Πάφου ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰς τὴν
ἐπαρχείαν φιλοτειμίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὴν
πατρίδα εὐνοίας χάριν.

Cf. *C.I.G.* 2024: *τὸ τυχαῖον κατασκευάσαντα* (at Perinthus).

41. Mar. 8. In the pavement and face up. A blue pedestal, badly cut.

ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ ΠΑΦΙΑΙ
ΓΑΙΟΝΟΥΜΜΙΔΙΟΝΠΑΝΤΑΥ
ΧΟΝΚΟΥΑΔΡΑΤΙΑΝΟΝΑΡΧΙΕ
ΡΕΑΓΑΙΟCΟΥΜΜΙΔΙΟCΚΟΥΑΔΡΑΤΟC
ΚΑΙΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΡΟΔΟΚΛΕΙΑΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙΑ
ΤΟΝΥΙΟΝ

'Αφροδίτῃ Παφίᾳ
Γαΐον Οὐμμίδιον Πάνταυ-
χον Κουαδρατίανον ἀρχιε-
ρέα Γαῖος Οὐμμίδιος Κουάδρατος
καὶ Κλαυδία 'Ροδοκλεία ἀρχιερεία
τὸν υἱόν.

Cf. inscription in church-wall.

42. *Ibid.* Of the same kind. Mar. 8.

ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΗΠΑΦΙΑΙΜΗΤΡΩ
ΗΚΑΙΣΩΤΙΟΝΚΑΙΓΑΙΟΣΙΟΥΛΙ
ΟΣΕΡΜ°ΓΕΝΗΣΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΝ
ΤΟΝΕΑΥΤΩΝΥΟΝΤΙΜΗΣ
ΧΑΡΙΝ

'Αφροδίτῃ Παφίᾳ Μητρὼ
ἡ καὶ Σωτίον καὶ Γαῖος 'Ιούλι-
ος 'Ερμογένης Φίλιππον
τὸν ἑαυτῶν ὑὸν τιμῆς
χάριν.

43. Pink pedestal. Mar. 8, in two fragments, top line nearly gone and second much defaced.

ΑΝΙΗΙΙΛ ΟΥΡ_ΛΑΙΙ
ΟΥΣΙΙΞΓΙΕΡΙΔΟΣΚΑΙΥΓΕΡΕΙΑΣ
ΚΑΙΥΠΟΜΝΗΜΑΤΟΓΡΑΦΟΥΚΑΙΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥ
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣΤΗΣΘΗΒΑΙΔΟΣΤΟΚΟΙΝΟΝ
ΤΩΝΕΝΤΗΙΝΗΣΩΙΤΑΣΣΟΜΕΝΩΝΛΥΚΙΩΝ

. . . . . .
. . ουσ(ης) Πιερίδος καὶ Ὑπερείας
καὶ ὑπομνηματογράφου καὶ στρατηγοῦ
αὐτοκράτορος τῆς Θηβαΐδος τὸ κοινὸν
τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τασσομένων Λυκίων.

The middle of line 2, as well as all line 1, is much worn, and Πιερίδος cannot be said to be certain, nor can its meaning be determined without the lost parts of the inscription. If it is right, it may best be connected with Mount Pieria in Syria; cf. No. 14. Ὑπερείας is however certain.

44. Mar. 8. Near 48. Pink pedestal.

ΙΕΝΤΗΝΗΣΩΙΤΑΣΣΟΜΕΝΩΝΙ
ΚΑΙΕΥΝΟΙΑΣΗΣΕΧΩΝΔΙΑΤΕΛΕΙΕΙΣΤΕΒΑΣΙΛΕΑΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙ
ΚΑΙΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΝΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΝΤΗΝΑΔΕΛΦΗΝΚΑΙΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΝ
ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΝΤΗΝΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΘΕΟΥΣΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΣΚΑΙΤΑΤΕΚΝΑ
ΚΑΙΤΗΣΕΙΣΕΑΥΤΟΥΣΕΥΕΡΓΕΣΙΑΣ

[τὸν δεῖνα τὸ κοινὸν]
τῶ]ν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τασσομένων Κ[ιλίκων ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα
καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ εἴς τε βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖ[ον
καὶ βασίλισσαν Κλεοπάτραν τὴν ἀδελφὴν καὶ βασίλισσαν
Κλεοπάτραν τὴν γυναῖκα θεοὺς εὐεργέτας καὶ τὰ τέκνα
καὶ τῆς εἰς ἑαυτοὺς εὐεργεσίας.

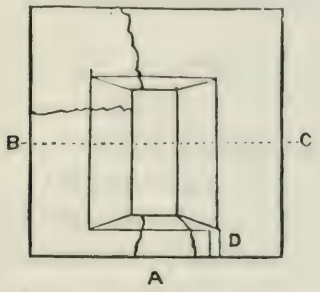
Date 127–114 or 141–132 B.C.; cf. No. 12.

45. Mar. 8. Pink pedestal. Broken at top and right.

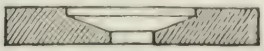
Λ ΙΟΝΟΕΟΥΖΙ
////ΟΥΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣΤΟΥΣΤΡΑΤΗ////
ΝΑΥΑΡΧΟΥΚΑΙΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣΤΟ////
////ΩΝΕΝΤΗΙΝΗΣΩΙΤΑΣΣΟΜΕΝΩ

[τὸν δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος τοῦ συγγενοῦς]
τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ στρατη[γοῦ καὶ
ναυάρχου καὶ ἀρχιερέως τὸ[κοινὸν
τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τασσομένω[ν . . . . .

46. Mar. 8. In pavement. White marble, four pieces. Top of an altar. Now in the British Museum. Square: length of sides, 2 ft. 10½ in. Thickness, 5½ inches; aperture 17 × 6 inches. Plan and section below.



Section along *BC*.



At *D* is a Channel; Inscription on Side *A*.

ΕΥΡΥΧΟΡΟΣΠΟΛΙΣΑΔΕΤΕΑΙΝΙΚΟΚΛΕΕΣΟΡΜΑΙ
ΥΨΗΛΟΜΠΥΡΓΩΝΑΜΦ////ΘΕΤΟΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΝ
ΙΟ<Τ////ΛΕ<Ε

Εὐρύχορος πόλις ἅδε τεᾷ Νικοκλέες ὁρμᾷ
ὑψηλὸμ πύργων ἀμφέθετο στέφανον
? τέλεσε[ν

Nicocles revolted against Ptolemy B.C. 310.

47. Mar. 9. Pink pedestal. Gone right and left.

ΗΝΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥΤΟΥ
ΩΣΤΟΥΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥΚ
ΛΣΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΤΟΚΟΙ
ΤΑΣΣΟΜΕΝΩΝΛ

. . . . . *ην Θεοδώρου τοῦ[συγγενοῦς τοῦ*
βασιλέ]ως τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κ[αὶ
ἀρχιερέ]ως γυναῖκα τὸ κοι[νὸν τῶν ἐν
τῇ νήσῳ] τασσομένων Λ[υκίων.

48. Mar. 9. Upper left corner of white marble tablet; cf. 53.

ΤΑΝ *τάν[δε . . .*
ΕΙΚ *εἰκό[να . . .*

49. Mar. 9. Pink pedestal, broken left.

ΤΗΙ ΠΑΦΙΑΙ
ΑΡΙΟΝΡΟΥΦΟΝΤΟΙΙΙΑΝΟΥ
ΙΟΣΟΠΑΦΙΩΝΤΟΝΕΑΥ (complete)
ΛΔΙΙΛΙΟΣΥΝΗΣΧΑΡΙΝ

'Αφροδί]τῃ Παφίᾳ
. . . Οὐ]άριον 'Ροῦφον τὸν ἀνθύ-
πατον ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆ]μος ὁ Παφίων τὸν ἑαυ-
τῶν εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρ]α δικαιοσύνης χάριν.

50. Mar. 9. *Ibid.* Pink pedestal, broken left.

ΑΨΙ . ΔΙΤΗΙ ΓΑΦΙΑΙ
ϽΛΙΣΗΓΑΦΙΩΝΟΝΗΣΑΝΔΡΟΝΝΑΥΣΙΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ
ΥΝΓΕΝΗΚΑΙΙΕΡΕΑΔΙΑΒΙΟΥΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣΓΤΟΛΕΜΑΙ
ϽΤΗΡΟΣΚΑΙΤΟΥΙΔΡΥΜΕΝΟΥΥΓΑΥΤΟΥΙΕΡΟΥΓΤΟΛΕ
ΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΑΤΗΣΓΑΦΙΩΝΓΤΟΛΕΩΣΤΕΤΑΓΜΕΝΟΝΔΕ
ΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΙΜΕΓΑΛΗΣΒΥΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗΣΕΥΝΟΙΑΣ
ΕΝΕΚΕΝ

'Αφ[ρο]δίτῃ Παφίᾳ
Η π]όλις ἡ Παφίων 'Ονήσανδρον Ναυσικράτους
τὸν σ]υνγενῆ καὶ ἱερέα διὰ βίου βασιλέως Πτολεμαί-
ου θεοῦ σ]ωτῆρος καὶ τοῦ ἱδρυμένου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἱεροῦ Πτολε-
μαείου, τὸν] γραμματέα τῆς Παφίων πόλεως, τεταγμένον δὲ
ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν 'Α]λεξανδρείᾳ μεγάλης βυβλιοθήκης εὐνοίας
ἕνεκεν.

From the character of letters and offices mentioned, certainly Ptolemy VIII., Soter II., Lathyrus; he reigned in Cyprus 117–88, and till 81 over the whole kingdom. Probably Onesander obtained his office in Alexandria after his patron's return to Egypt in 89.

51. Mar. 9. Fragment of large blue pedestal: *ibid.*

ΗΡΑΚΛ

52. Mar. 9. Near 52. Thin tablet of whitish marble. Letters 4 in. long. Broken right and left.

Caesar
Dom]itianu[s?

53. Mar. 9. White marble tablet in four fragments, found near the surface, near 52. Broken left and right.

ϹΟΝΑΤΑΝΔΕ *εἰ]κόνα τάνδε . . .*

54. Mar. 9. Pink pedestal. Complete, beginning an inscription. Well cut.

ΠΑΦΙΩΝΗΠΟΛΙΣ
ΚΑΙΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑΤΟ
ΚΑΙΤΑΤΕΚΝΑΚΑΙΤΟ
ΜΝΑΣΙΑΔΑΣ

Παφίων ἡ πόλις [τὸν δεῖνα τὸν στρατηγὸν
καὶ ἀρχιερέα τὸ[ν ἑαυτῆς εὐεργέτην
καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὸ[ν πατέρα
Μνασιάδας [ἐποίησεν

This inscription seems from its form to contain an artist's signature. No sculptor Mnasiadas is otherwise recorded.

55. Mar. 10. Blue pedestal inscribed on two sides.

a. Broken right.

ΑΦΡΟΔ	*Ἀφροδ[ίτῃ*
ΤΙΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣΔ	*Τιμοσθένης [τοῦ δεῖνος*
ΤΗΝΑΥΤΟΥΓΥΝΑ	*τὴν αὐτοῦ γυνα[ῖκα τὴν δεῖνα*
ΤΙΜΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣΘ	*Τιμοκράτους θ[υγατέρα.*

56. *β*.

ΟΥΚΙΟΝΣΕΡΓΙΟΝΚΑ	*Λ]ούκιον Σέργιον . . . .*
ΑΡΡΙΑΝΟΝΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΙΚΟΝΤΡΙ	*Ἀρριανὸν συνκλητικὸν τρι-*
ΒΟΥΝΟΝΣΕΡΓΙΑΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΑ	*βοῦνον Σεργία Δημητρία*
ΤΟΝΑΔΕΛΦΟΝ	*τὸν ἀδελφόν.*

57. Mar. 10. From the pavement. Blue pedestal.

ΦΑΝΙΟΝΒΟΙΣΚΟΥΙΕΡΕΙΑ	*Φανίον Βοΐσκου ἱερεία*
ΤΟΝΑΥΤΗΣΥΙΟΝΒΟΙΣΚΟΝ	*τὸν αὐτῆς υἱὸν Βόϊσκον*

58. Mar. 10. *Ibid.* White marble pedestal. Late letters.

ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΙ ΠΑΦΙΑΙ	*Ἀφροδίτῃ Παφίᾳ*
ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣΤΟΝΤΟΥΥΙΟΥ	*Πλοῦτος τὸν τοῦ υἱοῦ*
ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΥΥΙΟΝΠΛΟΥΤΟΝ	*Ἀμμωνίου υἱὸν Πλοῦτον.*

59. Mar. 12. Two bits of a tablet. White marble.

ΠΤΟΚΛ
ΔΑΚΛΕΙΝΟΤ

60. Mar. 13. White pedestal, slightly broken top left.

ΛΕΩΣΚΑΙΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΝΚΑΙΝΑΥΑΡΧΟΝ
ΙΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑΤΟΚΟΙΝΟΝΤΩΝΕΝΤΗΙΝΗΣΩΙ
ΑΣΣΟΜΕΝΩΝΙΩΝΩΝΚΑΙΤΩΝ
ΣΥΝΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΟΜΕΝΩΝΕΥΕΡΓΕΣΙΑΣ
ΕΝΕΚΕΝΤΗΣΕΙΣΕΑΥΤΟ

τὸν δεῖνα (on upper block) *τὸν συγγενῆ τοῦ*
βασι]λέως καὶ στρατηγὸν καὶ ναύαρχον
κα]ὶ ἀρχιερέα τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ
τ]ασσομένων Ἰώνων καὶ τῶν
συνπολιτευομένων εὐεργεσίας
ἕ]νεκεν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτό.

61. Mar. 13. A long pinkish block, much worn. Large letters.

ΕΝΛΙΟΥΙΑΝΘΕΑΝΝΕΑ *Εἰ]λί(θ)υιαν θεὰν Νεα . . . .*

62. Mar. 13. Part of a white marble pedestal with sunk top, broken right and left.

ΣΙΚ
ΣΓΑΤΡΙΛ . . ΛΙΗΛ *πατρίας*
ΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ . . . . . .

63. Mar. 14. Blue fragment. First line much smaller than the following ones.

ΤΗΓΑ *Ἀφροδί]τῃ Πα[φίᾳ*
ϽΚΥΙ *Κύπ[ρου?*
ΛΕΩ *βασι]λέω[ς*
ΝΤ . . . . . .

64. Mar. 14. Pink pedestal. Broken right.

ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝΜΝΗΜΟΝΟ////
ΝΟΥΜΗΝΙΟΝΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥΣΟΛΕ/////
ΙΑΤΡΟΝ

Ἀρίστων Μνήμονο[ς
Νουμήνιον Δημητρίου Σολέα
ἰατρόν.

65. Mar. 14. Pink pedestal.

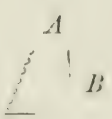
ΤΟΚΟΙΝΟΝΤΩΝΕΝΤΗΙΝΗΣΩΙ
ΤΑΣΣΟΜΕΝΩΝΛΥΚΙΩΝΔΙΑΣΘΕΝΗ
ΤΟΝΣΥΓΓΕΝΗΤΟΥΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
ΦΙΛΑΓΑΘΙΑΣΕΝΕΚΕΝ

τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐν τῇ νησῳ
τασσομένων Λυκίων Διασθένη
τὸν συγγενῆ τοῦ βασιλέως
φιλαγαθίας ἕνεκεν.

66. Mar. 14. White marble tablet in four pieces.

////ΛΑ////	. . . . .
ΣΕΒΑ	*Σεβα*[*στ* . . .
ΜΕΓΙΣ	*ἀρχιρέα* . . .] *μεγισ*[*τ* . . .
ΓΙΛ	. . . . .

67. Mar. 15. Blue pedestal. Inscribed on two sides. *A* much broken.



ΓΡΙΤΩΙΕΤΕΙΓ

Line erased.

ΓΛΙ . . . . . ΟΙΣΙΡΛΙ_ . ΑΙΕΥΕΡΓΕΣΙ
//////////////////// (erasure)

68. *B.* Second side of same pedestal. Very roughly cut.

ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΙ ΠΑΦΙΑΙ
ΗΠΟΛΙΣΗΠΑΦΙΩΝΛΕΥΚΙΟΝΚΟΙΛΙΟΝ
ΤΑΡΦΙΝΟΝΤΟΝΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΝΚΑΙ
ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΝ

Ἀφροδίτῃ Παφίᾳ
Ἡ πόλις ἡ Παφίων Λεύκιον Κοίλιον
Τάρφινον τὸν ἀνθύπατον καὶ
στρατηγόν.

In l. 3 there is a space for an I between P and Φ, and the name may be *Γαρίφινον.* *Τάμφιλον,* a well-known Roman name, is not impossible.

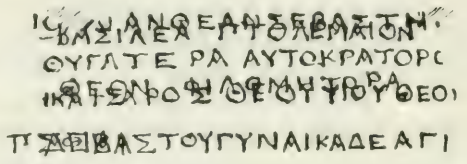
69. Mar. 15. Pink pedestal found in late structure abutting on north wall of central chamber. Palimpsest.

ΙΟ//// ΛΝΘΕΑΝΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΙ	*Ἰ*[*ου*]*λίαν θεὰν σεβαστὴ*[*ν*
ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟ	*θυγατέρα αὐτοκράτορο*[*ς*
ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣΘΕΟΥΥΙΟΥΘΕΟ	*Καίσαρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ θεο*[*ῦ*
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΔΕΑΓΙ	*σεβαστοῦ, γυναῖκα δὲ Ἀγ*[*ρίππα*

70.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΝ	*βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον*
ΘΕΟΝΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΡΑ	*θεὸν φιλομήτορα*
ΠΑΦΙΑΙ	*Παφίᾳ.*

The two combined.



71. Mar. 16. White. The top quarter of a pedestal (right).

ϽΜΑ	*Ἀριστ]όμα[χον*
ΤΡΑΤΗΓ	*. . . . . σ]τρατηγ[ὸν*
ΔΟΣ	*αὐτοκράτορα τῆς Θηβαΐ]δος*
ΙΣΩΙ	*τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐν τῇ ν]ήσῳ*
Ι	*τασσομένων]. . . . . .*

72. Mar. 17. Part of a shallow white marble dish. On the flat edge.

ΛΡΙCΤΗΡΙΟΝ	*χ]αριστήριον*

73. Mar. 19. Pink pedestal. Lines ruled.

ΝΙΚΙΟΝΤΟΝΠΑΤΕΡΑ	*Νικίον τὸν πατέρα*
ΤΟΝΑΥΤΗΣΒΟΗΘΟΝΗΓΗΣΩΝΟΣ	*τὸν αὐτῆς Βοηθὸν Ἡγήσωνος*
ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΙ	*Ἀφροδίτῃ*

74. Mar. 19. Left half of a pink pedestal. Cut *στοιχηδόν*. Found outside east wall.

ΟΠΕΚΤΟ	
ΚΑΛΛΙΚΛΕ	*Καλλικλέ[ους . . . . . .*
ΟΑΡΧΙΣΩΜ	*ὁ ἀρχισωμ[ατοφύλαξ καὶ . . .*
ΤΩΝΕΝΑΛΕ	*τῶν ἐν Ἀλε[ξανδρείᾳ . . . . . .*
ΚΑΙΔΙΔΑΣ	*καὶ διδάσ[καλος μαθημάτων*
ΤΑΚΤΙΚΩΝ	*τακτικῶν [εὐεργεσίας ἕνεκα*
ΤΗΣΕΙΣΕΑ	*τῆς εἰς ἑα[υτόν*

75. Mar. 19. Stone pedestal. Cut off at the top.

ΠΕΚΠΙΟΣ	
ΤΟΝΥΟΝΠΡΟ	*τὸν υἱὸν Πρό-*
ΚΛΟΝΕΥΞΑΜΕΝΗ	*κλον εὐξαμένη*
Φ	

76. Mar. 20. Pink pedestal. Nearly all surface gone.

ΟΔΙΙΗΙΙΙ	*Ἀφρ]οδίτῃ Π[αφίᾳ*
Υ !	
ΝΙΙΛ=Ω/	
. . . . . ?	
ΛΥ⊂−	

77. Mar. 20. Inscribed on two sides. Pink.

a. Broken right and left.

ΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ ΠΑΦΙΑ	Ἀφροδίτῃ Παφίᾳ
ΚΛΩΔΙΑΝΑΡΙCΤΟΚ	Κλωδίαν Ἀριστοκ[ράτους

78. *β*. Broken left and top.

////ΛΣ	. . . . .
ΑΑΥΤΟΥ	. . αὐτοῦ
ΣΠΑΝΤΑΣ	. . . πάντας

79. Mar. 20. White marble tablet. ? Whole at top.

ΛΕSΑRΙ	C]aesari

80. Mar. 20. Long white marble pedestal. One word at each end.

ΕΡΜΙΟΝΗ	ΖΕΥΞΩ	Ἑρμιόνη	Ζευξώ

81. Mar. 20. Pink pedestal. In three bits. Broken top and left.

	////ΚΑΙ
	////////ΕΝΟΣ
ΑΡ′	ΥΡΗΝΑΙΟΣΤΩΝ
	//////////////////
ΟΛΛ	////////ΙΚΑΙΕΙΣΑΓΓΕΛΕΩΝ

Ἕλ[ενος
. . . . Κ]υρηναίος τῶν
. . . καὶ εἰσαγγελέων

82. Mar. 20. Pink. Broken left top, right.

//////////////////////ΙΟΖ	
Ο.ΣΤ////////ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓ	. . . τοῦ] στρατηγ[οῦ τῆς νήσου καὶ
ΗΣΓΥ//////////ΝΥΤΟΥΟ	τ]ῆς γυ[ναικὸς α]ὐτοῦ . . .

83. Edge of a white marble pedestal with moulding. Mar. 21.

ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΣ	Ἀρτεμίδω[ρος

84. Mar. 21. White stone pedestal.

//// ΛΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΙΓ ////	Ἀφροδίτῃ [Παφίᾳ
ΝΟ ΗΙΛΙΑΝΝΙΚΗΝΟΙ ΕΥ	Κο[ρυη]λίαν Νίκην οἱ [ἀπελ]ευ-
ΘΕΡΟΙ ΤΗΝΕΑΥΤΩΝ	θεροι τὴν ἑαυτῶν
ΠΑΤΡΩΝΙΣΣΑΝ	πατρώνισσαν

85. Mar. 21. Left fragment of white marble pedestal. Small letters.

ΔHI	....
ΚΑΙΙΕΡ	*καὶ ἱερ*[*έα* .....
ΤΩΝΕ	*τῶν ἐ*[*ν Κύπρῳ κ.τ.λ.*
II	.....

86. Blue pedestal. Mar. 21. Gone at left corner and a little on right; first line in different character from rest.

ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΗΙ· ΠΑΦΙΑΙ
ΕΣΤΟΡΑΤΗΙΠΑΦΙΗΤΟΝΑΟΙΔΙΜΟΝΗΦΙΛΟΜΟΥ⌐
ΡΗΓΙΝΑΣΘΕΝΑΡΩΝΕΞΥΠΑΤΩΝΥΠΑΤΗ

Ἀφροδείτῃ Παφίᾳ
Νέστορα τῇ Παφίῃ τὸν ἀοίδιμον ἡ φιλόμουσ[*ος*
Ῥηγῖνα σθεναρῶν ἐξ ὑπάτων ὑπάτη.

87. Mar. 22. Inscribed face, broken right. 11 in. long × 22 × 8.

ΔHMHT
ΑΡΙΣ

Δημήτ[*ριος τὸν υἱὸν* vel simile quid
Ἀρισ[*τοκράτη.*

88. Mar. 23. Blue limestone pillar. 28½ in. high, diameter 11. Part of bronze fastening on top.

ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΙΠΑΦΙΑΙ	*Ἀφροδίτῃ Παφίᾳ*
ΜϽΚΑΝΙΟΝϽΑΙΛΙΟΝϽ	Μ. *Κάνιον Αἴλιον*
ΜΑΡΚΕΛΛΕΙΝΟΝ	*Μαρκέλλειον*
ΜϽΚΑΝΙΟΣϽΚΥΙΝΤΙΑΝΟΣ	Μ. *Κάνιος Κυιντιανὸς*
ΚΑΙϽΟΚΤΑΟΥΙΑΚΛΩΔΙΑΝΗΙ	*καὶ Ὀκταουία Κλωδιάνη*(*ι*)
ΤΟΝΥΙΟΝ	*τὸν υἱόν*

89. Mar. 23. Pedestal. Broken right, unbroken left, but incomplete. Left-hand block lost. (? letters more crowded towards bottom.)

ΣΕΛΕΥ
ϽΝΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ
ϽΥΗΓΟΛΙΣΗΣΑ
ΤΕΛΕΙΕΙΣΤΕϽ
ΗΝΑΔΕΛΦΗΝΚ
ΤΑΣΚΑΙΤΑΤΓ
ΚΑΙΟΣ

. . . . . Σέλευ[κον τὸν συγγενῆ,
τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ στρατηγ]ὸν αὐτοκρά[τορα τῆς Θηβαΐδος
καὶ . . . . . ἡ πόλις ἡ Σα[λαμινίων
εὐνοίας ἕνεκεν ἧς ἔχων δια]τελεῖ εἴς τε β[ασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον
καὶ βασίλισσαν Κλεοπάτραν τ]ὴν ἀδελφὴν κ[αὶ βασίλισσαν Κλεο-
πάτραν τὴν γυναῖκα θεοὺς εὐεργέ]τας καὶ τὰ τέ[κνα αὐτῶν καὶ
τῆς πρὸς ἅπαντας φιλαγαθίας καὶ δι]καιοσ[ύνης χάριν

Date 127–117 or 141–132 B.C.; cf. No. 12. The restoration is practically certain.

90. Mar. 23. Pink. Lines ruled.

ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΙ ΠΑΦΙΑΙ
ΟΔΗΜΟΣΟΠΑΦΙΩΝΓΑΙΟΝΡΟΥΤΙΛΗΙΟΝ
ΓΑΙΟΥΥΙΟΝΥΕΛΙΝΑΡΟΥΦΟΝΧΙΛΙ
ΑΡΧΟΝ ΕΥΝΟΙΑΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ

Ἀφροδίτῃ Παφίᾳ
ὁ δῆμος ὁ Παφίων Γάϊον Ῥουτιλήϊον
Γαίου υἱὸν Τελίνα Ροῦφον χιλί-
αρχον εὐνοίας χάριν

91. Mar. 24. *Ibid.* Pink. Broken right and left.

ΛΑΝΙΟΝΙ . . . . . .
ΘΥΠΑΤΟΥΙ ἀν]θυπάτου

92. Mar. 26. Blue. Two pieces. Gone below and on right.

ΚΡΟΚΟΝΤΟΝΣΥΓΓΕΝΗ⁻ Κρόκον τὸν συγγενῆ[τοῦ βασιλέως
ΚΑΙΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΗΝΚΑΙ καὶ ἐπιστάτην καὶ [. . . . . .
ΚΑΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ⁻ᴖ καὶ στρατηγὸ[ν εὐνοίας ἕνεκα τῆς εἰς
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ βασιλέα [Πτολεμαῖον κ.τ.λ.

93. Erasure on back of 86. Five lines.

/ Ι Λ ΤΕ
ΑΥ⁻Ν . . . . ΙΙΓ Ω
ΓΓΕ Ε . Μ ΟΙΤΩΙ συ]γγε[νῆ . . . . . .
ΟΞΡΟΔΙΩΝΕΥΕΡΓΕΣΙ . . . . . ὁ δῆμ]ος (ὁ) Ῥοδίων εὐεργεσί[ας
Σ . ΑΥΤΟΥΣ . . . ἕνεκα τῆς εἰ]ς [ἑ]αυτούς.

94. Mar. 27. White marble tablet, right half of a long inscription.

VXHI
ΩΙΚΑΤΑΚΥΠΡΟΝΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΙΩΙΠΕΡΙΤΟΝ
ϽΣΑΙΤΕΙΣΙΔΩΡΟΝΚΑΙΑΠΟΔΕΞΑΜΕΝΟVΣ

ΕΙΚΟΝΑΓΡΑΓΤΗΝΟΛΟΣΩΜΑΤΟΝΕΝΤΩΙ
ΕΓΙΓΡΑΦΗΝΕΧΟVΣΑΝΙΣΙΔΩΡΟΝ
ΕΤΗΝΑΓΟΜΕΝΗΝΑVΤΟVΑΡ ΙΣΙΟΝ
ΝΤΟVΣΑΕΙΚΑΘΙΣΤΑΜΕΝΟVΣΑ . . ΟΝΤΑΣ
ΟΙΚΗΣΕΩΣΕΓΙΛΟΓΙΣΜΑΑΡΓVΡΙΟ\ . . ΑΧΜΑΣ
ΜΕΡΑΝΑΣVΜΒΟΛΟΝΙΝΑΔΕΦΑΝΕΡ
ΗΙΣΙΔΩΡΟVΚΑΛΟΚΑΓΑΘΙΑΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΑΝΤΑΣ
ΓΑΦΟΝΕΙΣΣΤΗΛΗΝΣΤΗΣΑΙ

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ
. . . . . ἐν τ[ῷ κατὰ Κύπρον γραμματείῳ περὶ τὸν
. . . . . στεφαν]ῶσαί τε Ἰσίδωρον καὶ ἀποδεξαμένους
. . . . . εἰκόνα γραπτὴν ὁλοσώματον ἐν τῷ
. . . . . ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσαν Ἰσίδωρον
. . . . . τὴν ἀγομένην αὐτοῦ ἀρ[χὴν . . .]σιον
. . . . . τοὺς ἀεὶ καθισταμένους ἄ[ρχ]οντας
. . . . . οἰκήσεως ἐπὶ λόγισμα ἀργυρίου[δρ]αχμὰς
. . . . . ἡ]μέραν ἀσύμβολον ἵνα δὲ φανερ[ὰ γένηται
. . . . . ἡ Ἰσιδώρου καλοκἀγαθία, ἀναγράψαντας
. . . . . εἰς] Πάφον εἰς στήλην στῆσαι.

95. Blue fragment. Complete below.

ΨΙ/ . . . . . .
ΑΦΡΟ∠ Ἀφροδ[ίτῃ

96. Mar. 29. Surface gone. Broken left.

\////////////ᴰ ∩
Α∪////////Ρ⁻ΝΑ
ΩΝΑΚΤΑ////////ᵛ Τιμώνακτα Cf. No. 126.
ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΙ////////// Ἀφροδίτῃ

97. Mar. 29. White. Broken left. Large letters.

\ΦΙΑ Ἀφροδίτῃ Π]αφίᾳ
\ΕΙΚΑΙ Δ. Πλαύτιον Φή]λεικα Ἰ
ΝΟΝ ουλια]νὸν
ϽΔΙ-ΜΟϹ τὸν ἀνθύπατον] ὁ δῆμος

Cf. No. 104 (*a*), and 114.

98. Mar. 30. Pink fragment. Complete below.

\ΒΙΟΥ Διὰ]βίου
ΤΗΓΟΝ στρα]τηγὸν
ΙΤΗΣΓΑΦΙ τῆς Παφί]ων πόλεως
ΣΙΑΣΕΝΕΚΕ εὐεργε]σίας ἕνεκε[ν

99. Mar. 30. Yellow stone. Gone left top.

ΙΙΙ . . . ΒΟΙΣΚΟΥ	. . . . . Βοίσκου
ΙΑΥΑΡΧΟΝ	. . . . . *ν*]*αύαρχον*

100. Mar. 31. Blue fragment. Right corner of pedestal.

ΙΙΙ∪Υ	. . . . .
ΙΔΩΡΟΥ	. . . . .
ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ	*τοῦ*] *ἀδελφοῦ*

101. Mar. 31. White marble pedestal. Boken in the middle. Mouldings.

	ΔΙΤΗϹ
ΔΙΟΝΥϹϹ	ΔΙΟΝΥϹΙΟΥ
ΚΙΝΥΡΑΡ	ΛΟΥΦΙΛΟΤΕΙΜΙΑϹ
ΚΑΙΦΙ	ΤΟΝΠΑΤΕΡΑ

'Αφρο]δίτης
Διονυσό[δωρος Διονύσιον τὸν υἱὸν] Διονυσίου
Κινύραρ[χον τὸν εὐεργέτην τοῦ δή]μου φιλοτειμίας
καὶ φι[λαγαθίας ἕνεκεν] τὸν πατέρα.

102. Apr. 2. Blue pedestal.

ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΙΠΑΦΙΑΙΤΟΚΟ////////////////////ΩΙΙ
ΠΟΤΑΜΩΝΑΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥΤΟΝΑΝΤΙΣΙΙΛΙΗΓΟΝΤΗΣ
ΝΗΣΟΥΚΑΙΕΠΙΤΩΝΜΕΤΑΛΛΩΝΤΟΝΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΝ
ΕΥΝΟΙΑΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ

'Αφρο]δίτῃ Παφίᾳ τὸ κο[ινὸν τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσ]ῳ
Ποταμῶνα Αἰγύπτου τὸν ἀντισ(τρατηγ)ὸν τῆς
νήσου καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μετάλλων τὸν γυμνασίαρχον
εὐνοίας χάριν

103. Apr. 2. White marble pedestal, carefully cut. Broken right and left.

Ε/ \ΙΝΕΥΣΚΥΔΡΟΙ	. . . . . Κυδρο[γένους ?
ΑΣΠΕΝΔΙΟΣ	'Ασπένδιος [. . . .
ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΙ	'Αφροδίτῃ [Παφίᾳ

104. Apr. 3. Pink pedestal. Complete. Palimpsest.

(*a*) ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΗΠΑΦΙΑ	'Αφροδείτῃ Παφίᾳ
ΠΛΑΥΤΙΑΝΕΛΠΙΔΑ	Πλαυτίαν 'Ελπίδα
ΠΛΑΥΤΙΟΥΦΗΛΕΙΚΟϹ	Πλαυτίου Φήλεικος
ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΥ	'Ιουλιανοῦ ἀνθυπάτου

(*b*) Earlier inscription, cut the reverse way up.

⌣⌣////ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΩΝΑΙΝ . . . . ΕΙΡΗΝΑΙΟΥΤΡΥΦΩΝΟΣ
ΑΙΤΑ ⌐Ι/ ΣΑΓΓΕ,Τ..Ο . . ΠΑΠΕΙ

105. Blue pedestal, found Apr. 3 in the big pit.

ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΙΠΑΦΙΑΙ
ΤΟΚΟΙΝΟΝΤΟΚΥΠΡΙΩΝΠΟΤΑΜΩ . . ⌐ΙΓΥ!'!
ΤΩΝΕΝΠΑΦΩΙΓΕΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΗΚΟΤΩΝ
ΚΑΙΗΓΗΤΟΡΕΥΚΟΤΩΝΚΑΙΤΩΝΠΕΡΙΤΟΝ
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΝΚΑΙΘΕΟΥΣΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΣΤΕΚΝΙΤΩΝ
ΕΥΝΟΙΑΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ

Ἀφροδίτῃ Παφίᾳ
Τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Κυπρίων Ποταμῶ[να] Αἰγύπ[του
τῶν ἐν Πάφῳ γεγυμνασιαρχηκότων
καὶ ἡγητορευκότων καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν
Διόνυσον καὶ θεοὺς εὐεργέτας τεχνιτῶν
εὐνοίας χάριν.

Cf. Hesych. *s.v.* ἀγήτωρ· ὁ τῶν Ἀφροδίτης θυηλῶν ἡγούμενος ἱερεὺς ἐν Κύπρῳ.

106. Pink pedestal.

⌐Ι ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΣΑΚΡΙΚΟΛΑ ΤΑΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ
ΜΟΔΕΣΤΑ ΤΕΚΝΑ
ΓΑΙΟΝΙΟΥΛΙΟΝ ΓΑΙΟΝΙΟΥΛΙΟΝ
ΚΡΙΣΠΟΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΔΑΜΟΝ

Ἀφροδίτῃ Παφί]ᾳ Ἰουλία Σακρίκολα
Μόδεστα
Γάϊον Ἰούλιον
Κρίσπον

τὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ
τέκνα
Γάϊον Ἰούλιον
Ἀριστόδαμον

See Village Inscription No. 3.

107. Pink pedestal. Palimpsest.

(*a*) ΝΘΕΟΝΕΠΙΦΑΝΗ
ΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΩΝ
ΟΥΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ
ΕΥΣΤΗΣΝΗΣΟΥ

Βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον] θεὸν ἐπιφανῆ
βασιλέως Πτολεμαῖου καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας θεῶν φι]λοπατόρων
ὁ δεῖνα . . . . .]ου Ἀργεῖος
ἀρχιερ]εὺς τῆς νήσου

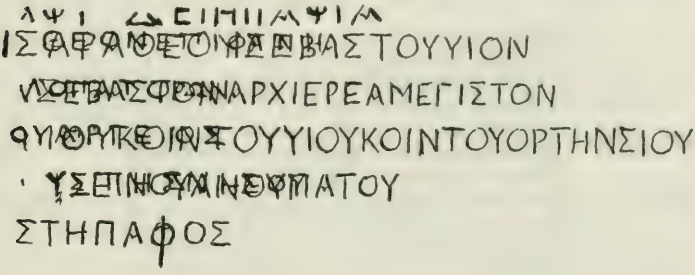
Ptolemy Epiphanes, 204–181.

(*b*) ΛΨΙΔΕΙΗΠΙΑΦΙΑ
ΙΣΑΡΑΘΕΟΥΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥΥΙΟΝ
ΛΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝ
ΙΙΟΥΚΟΙΝΤΟΥΥΙΟΥΚΟΙΝΤΟΥΟΡΤΗΝΣΙΟΥ
ΙΙΣΕΙΝΟΥΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΥ
ΣΤΗΠΑΦΟΣ

'Αφρ[ο]δείτῃ Παφίᾳ
. . . . . Καί]σαρα θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ υἱὸν
. . . . 'Αὐτοκράτορ]α Σεβαστὸν ἀρχιερέα μέγιστον
. . . . Κοίντου υἱοῦ Κοίντου 'Ορτησίου
. . . ἀνθυπάτου
σεβα]στὴ Πάφος

For Hortensius cf. Tac. *Ann.* II. 37.

(*a*) and (*b*) combined.



108. Pink pedestal.

ↄNK, ΑΡΧΙL
ↄΡΟΔΙΤΗ⁻
ΕΙΣΕΑΥ⁻

ὁ δεῖνα τὸν δεῖνα
στρατηγ]ὸν κ[αὶ] ἀρχιε[ρέα
τῶν κατὰ τὴν νῆσον 'Αφ]ροδίτη[ς ἱερῶν
εὐεργεσίας ἕνεκεν τῆς] εἰς ἑαυτ[όν

109. Pink pedestal. Much chipped on the surface but otherwise complete.

ΞΛΞ . . ΝΤΟΝΣΥΓΓΕΝΗΚΑΙΤΡΟΦΕΑΤΟΥ
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣΚΑ . . Τ . ΤΤ . ΟΝΚΑΙΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑ
ΤΗΣΝΗΣΟΥ ΟΙ . . . . ΣΤΗΣΠΑΦΙΑΣ
ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕ . . . . ⁻ΝΕΚΑΤΗΣΕΙΣΕΑΥΤΟΥΣ

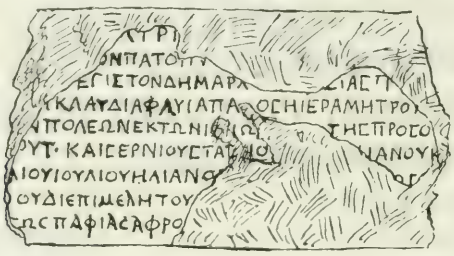
"Ελε[νο]ν τὸν συγγενῆ καὶ τροφέα τοῦ
βασιλέως κα[ὶ σ]τ[ρα]τ[ηγ]ὸν καὶ ἀρχιερέα
τῆς νήσου οἱ [ἱερεῖ]ς τῆς Παφίας
'Αφροδίτης εὐεργε[σίας ἕ]νεκα τῆς εἰς ἑαυτούς.

110. Fragment of white marble, well cut in small letters.

ΟΙΑ
ΝΙΚΟΣ
ΛΑΤΟΣ
ΟΣΖΙ
ϽΣΔΙ
ΤΩΙ⁻
ΤΟΙΣ
ΙΤΑΓ
ΛΛΩ
Σ⁻

The style of this fragment and the occurrence of symbols in lines 4 and 5, similar to those used in No. 15, suggest that had it been complete we should have had another list of subscribers and quotas to the *ἐλαιοχρίστιον* or a similar object.

111. White marble pedestal, well cut, last two lines in different character.



'Αρχιερέα μ[έγιστον δημαρχ[ικῆς ἐξουσ]ίας
Κλαυδίᾳ Φλ(α)υίᾳ Πάφος ἡ ἱερὰ μητρόπολις
τῶν κατὰ τὴν Κύπρο]ν πόλεων ἐκ τῶν ἰ[δί]ω[ν καὶ] τῆς προσό[δου
Καισερνίου Στατίο[υ
Γ]αίου 'Ιουλίου 'Ηλιανο[ῦ
δι' ἐπιμελητοῦ . . . .
τοῦ ἀρχιερ]έως Παφίας 'Αφροδίτης.

112. Pink pedestal; twice inscribed. Surface very rotten. Beautifully cut; the date is 222–209 B.C. as Arsinoe died in 209; this is earlier than most.

ΙΕΡΒΑΣ
ΛΙ⁻⁻ ΣΤϽΥΣΤΡΑΤΗΓ
ΙΣ⁻ ΕΥΝΟΙΑΣΕΝΕΚΕΝ
ΕΧΩΝ Λ ΕΙΣΒΑΣΙΛΕ
ϽΛΕΜΑΙΟΝΚΑΙ . . ΔΕΛΦΙ
ΙΣΣΑΝΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΝΘΕΟΥΣ . . . . ΤΑΤΟΡ
ΙΑΙΤΗΝΓΑΦΙΣ . ΙΓΟΛΙΝ

ὑ]πὲρ βασ[ιλέως
τοῦ στρατηγ[οῦ
τῆς νήσου ἀρετῆς καὶ] εὐνοίας ἕνεκε[ν
ἧς] ἔχω[ν διατελεῖ] εἰς βασιλέα
Πτολεμαῖον καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν καὶ
βασίλι]σσαν Ἀρσινόην θεοὺς [φιλο]πάτορ[ας
κ]αὶ τὴν Παφίων πόλιν

113. Same pedestal as 112, side reversed.

ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΙΗΠΑΦΙ — *Ἀφροδείτῃ Παφί[ᾳ*
. . . . . .
ΛΙΛΙΑ . . . ΝΡΗΓΕΙ — *Ῥηγεῖ-*
ΥΠΑΤΙΚΗΝ — *ναν τὴν] ὑπατικὴν*
ΡΟ ΗΝΕΥΕΡΓ — *εὐεργεσίας*

Cf. No. 86.

114. Pink pedestal, forming the left half of an inscription. Large late letters.

ΛΨΙΟΔΕΙΤΗΙΓ — *Ἀφροδείτῃ Π[αφίᾳ*
Δ . ΠΛΑΥΤΙΟΝΦΗ — *Δ. Πλαύτιον Φή[λεικα Ι-*
ΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΝΤΟΝΑΙ — *ουλίανον τὸν ἀρ[χιερέα καὶ*
ΑΝΘ . ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙC — *ἀνθ(ύπατον) ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ [δῆμος.*

115. Altar of pink marble found in land north of the Temple, Apr. 10. Inscribed in two places; much worn, and broken on one side.

(*a*) ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΗΠΑΦΙΑ — *Ἀφροδείτῃ Παφίᾳ*
ΔC ΑΙ^CCΕΒΑCΙΟ — *? Δο[μιτί]α[νο]ς Σεβαστό[ς*

(*b*) ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΗ — *Ἀφροδείτῃ [Παφίᾳ*
ΟCCΕΒΑCΤΟ — *. . . ος Σεβαστό[ς*

116. Rough stone built into a later wall. Broken right and bottom.

ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΝ — *Τιβέριον*
ΝΕΡΩΝΟCΚΛ — *Νέρωνος Κλ[αύδιον καὶ*
ΝΤΗΝΤΟΥΤΟ — *. . . . ν τὴν τούτο[υ γυναῖκα*

117. Block of limestone, found in the south-west approach.

a. On top a tortoise.

b. On side.

118. Large blue pedestal, found under the pavement outside north wall.

ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΙΠΑΦΙΑΙ
ΖΕΥΞΟΥΝΑΡΙΣΤΩΝΟΣ
ΚΥΡΗΝΑΙΑΝΤΗΝΠΟΛΥΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ
ΤΟΥΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥΚΑΙΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ
ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ
ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΙΚΗΝΙΚΙΟΥΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΙΣ

Ἀφροδίτῃ Παφίᾳ
Ζευξοῦν Ἀρίστωνος
Κυρηναίαν τὴν Πολυκράτους
τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἀρχιερέως
γυναῖκα
Στρατονίκη Νικίου Ἀλεξανδρίς

119. White pedestal roughly cut, found outside the north wall.

ΑΦΙΑΙ — Ἀφροδίτῃ Π]αφίᾳ
=ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ — ἀρχιερέως
ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑΡΟ — ἀρχιερέα Ῥόδου
ΥΙΟΝ ΕΞ — υἱὸν

Cf. Ἀρχιερέα τῆς Ῥόδου on an inscription from Larnaca, unpublished.

120. Stone fragment, broken on both sides.

ΑΦΡΟ — Ἀφρο[δίτῃ Παφίᾳ
ΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΝΤ — Ἀσκ]ληπιάδην . . .
ΕΑΤΟΥΙΛ — ἑα(υ)τοῦ . . .

121. Stone base of a statuette found outside the north wall, broken top, bottom and left.

. . . . . — . . . . . .
ΩΑΡΤΕΜΩΝΟΣΛ — Ἀρτεμῶνος . . .
. . . ΕΑΥΤΙΣ . . . — ἑαυτῆς

122. Beautifully cut on a statuette base found outside the east wall.

ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ — Ἀρτεμίδωρος Ἀφροδίτῃ

123. Pink fragment in wall of Jacob Panaji's house.

ΗΙΡΟΔΩΡΟ — Μ]ητρόδωρο[ς
ΗΔΟΥΤΑΤΟΥ — τὰ τοῦ
ΤΙΚΡΑΤΕΙΑΣ — Στασ]ικρατείας

124. Stone fragment in wall of Hadji Ephraem's yard.

ϽΙ
ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΤΩΝ

125. Blue pedestal, broken both sides.

ΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ
ΠΟΤΕΛΗΝΖΩΗΤΟΣΑΡΧΙΤΕΚΤΟΝΗΣ
ΤΗΝΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΗΡΗΚΑΙΕΙΚ

Β]ασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος
Πυργ]οτέλην Ζώητος ἀρχιτεκτονήσ[αντα
τὴν τριακοντήρη καὶ εἰκ[οσήρη.

Ptolemy Philopator, 222–204 B.C. built these ships. Pyrgotetes probably devised their internal fitting up, which was very gorgeous; cf. *Athen.* V. 203, 204.

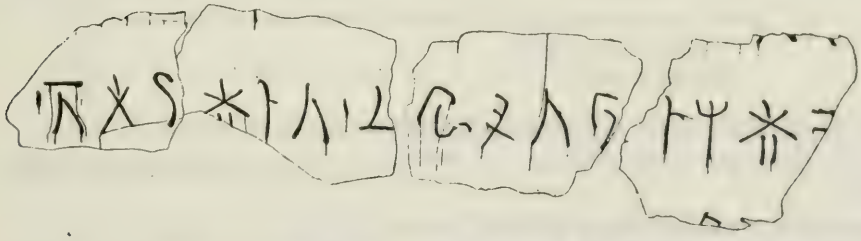
126. Pink pedestal, found outside the east wall, May 4th.

ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΙΠΑΦΙΑΙ	Ἀφροδίτῃ Παφίᾳ
ΦΙΛΩΝΤΙΜΩΝΟΣ	Φίλων Τίμωνος
ΤΟΝΥΙΟΝΤΙΜΩΝΑΚΤΑ	τὸν υἱὸν Τιμώνακτα

B.—The Temple: Inscriptions in Cyprian Characters.

For careful drawings of these inscriptions made from paper impressions, and here mechanically reproduced, we are greatly indebted to Mr. Jan Six of Amsterdam. The transcripts and notes are due to the great kindness of Dr. Deecke.

I. Found in three fragments in the big pit. Parts of a pedestal of blue stone. Now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

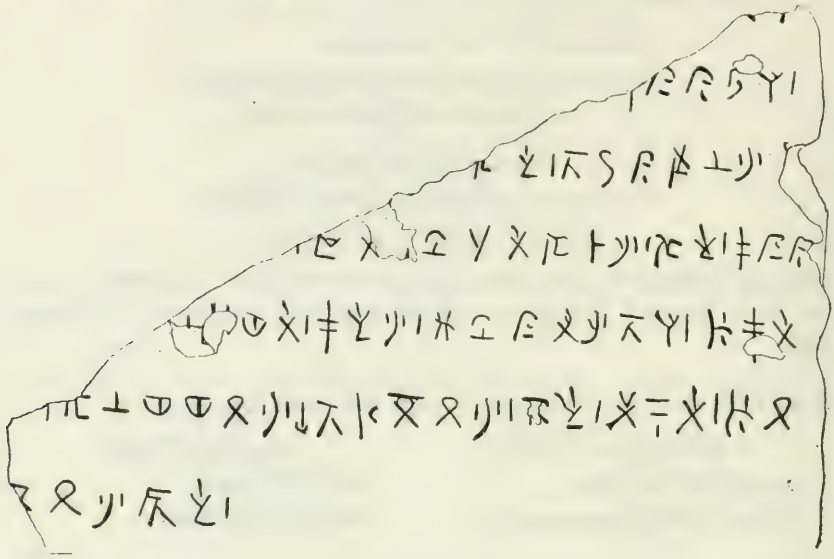


. . . . . | to·i·pe·va·ta·u· | *o*·[me·]ka·ke·u·vo·[te·se· |]ta·se·va·*na*·[sa·se· |]
Name im Nom.[. . . .]*Ϝάταυ ὁ μεγακηυϜώτης τᾶς Ϝανάσ(σ)ας*

Der Name des Vaters scheint nicht griechisch. Man könnte auch—*Ϝάδαυ* lesen; vgl. *Ἀρισταγόραυ*, u.s.w. Der Titel des Hohepriesters steht auch

Schmidt, viii. 5, o·*me*·ka·ke·u·*vo*· ? se; vgl. viii. 4, ... *me*·ka· . . . . ? se·. Das te· ist unsicher. Schon Ahrens, p. 96, hatte *μεγακηνεύς* vermuthet.

II. Thick white marble tablet found in the central chamber. Broken to left. Now in the British Museum.



1. . . . . ? ? . . .
2. . . . . *pa*·si·le·vo·se· |
   βασιλῆϝος
3. . . . . *no*·te· | to·pe·le·pi·o·ne· ?
   . . *ν ὅτε τὸ(ν)* Βλέπιον . .
4. . . . . ? ·ki·*i*· ? ka·sa·i·me·ta·ne· | me·te· | pa·si·le·
   . *κι ἰ(ν)* . . *ξαι μὴ τὰν μηδὲ βασιλῆ*[*ϝα*]
5. . . . . *i*· ? ·mo·i· | pa·te·ne· | e·ka·si·ke·ne·to·se· | e·pa·i·
   μοι ϝάτην ἢ κασίγνητος ἢ παῖ[*ς*]
6. . . . ? me·o·o·mo·mo·ko·ne | to·no·ro·ko·ne· | *to*·te· | ku·na·i· | e·ko·
   [*πρός*] *με ὁμώμοκον τὸν ὅρκον τό(ν)δε . γύναι, ἐγὼ*
7. . . . po·ko·ne·tu·te· |
   [*ὔ*]*ποχον τοῦδε*

II. 3. Βλέπιος ist ein griechischer Name, der viele Verwandte hat.

4. *ἰ(ν)* . *ξαι* wohl Infinitiv Aoristi eines mit *ἰν* zusammengesetzten Verbs.

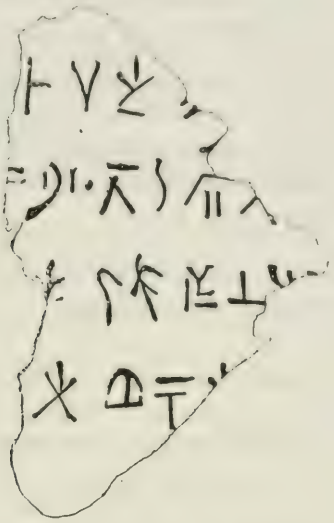
5. *ἐϝάτην* 3 dualis (*sc.* *ἢ κασ. ἢ παῖς*).

6. *ὁμώμοκον* Plusquamperfect mit Aoristendung, wie episch *ἐμέμηκον*, *ἐπέφυκον*, u.s.w.

6–7. Man ergänze etwa: *ἐγὼ* [*οἶδα ἐμὲ οὐχ ὕ*]*ποχον τοῦδε*, "ich weiss mich dessen nicht schuldig."

Es handelt sich um einen Reinigungseid, einer Frau geleistet.

III. Rough limestone tablet built into a yard wall north of the site. Found May 4th. Now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.



1.	ta·sa·te·	3.	*te*·pe·le·pi·o·*se*·
	τάς δε	. . .	[*ὅ*]*τε* Βλέπιος . . .
2.	*na*·ne· | to·pe·re·*i*· . . .	4.	i·ka·na·*i*·
. . . .	*nav, τὸ φέρει*	. . . .	*ἱκαναὶ* . . . .

III. 3. Das 3te Zeichen scheint mir ein le· ; das 4te ist eher pi.; vgl. II. 3, was genau zu Schmidt viii. 5, stimmt, wo Hoffmann mit Recht *ἐπίβασιν* liest.

lese ich pe· (trotz III. 2), da II. 7 po· sein muss.

scheint mir sicher me·, daraus , ; hittitisch .

hat am meisten Aehnlichkeit mit ki.

= tu ist sicher; ebenso = no, s. Sayce, *Abyd.* XL.

II. 5, würde ich für ri halten, wenn dies nicht paphisch andere Form hätte; auch passt *ρι* nicht.

On Dr. Deecke's transcription M. J. P. Six kindly sends the following observations:—

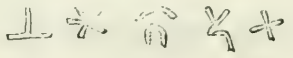
Brit. Mus. II. ligne 7, il me semble qu'il n'y a pas ·po·ko·ne·tu·te· | , comme le croit M. Deecke, mais (o)·ro·ko·ne·to·te· | , comme à la ligne 6, c'est à diro (*ὅ*)*ρκον τό*(*ν*)*δε*. Comme M. Deecke affirme que le tu est certain, ce qui serait vrai, si le dessin de mon fils est exact, je ne puis m'empêcher de remarquer

que la lettre en question me paraît décidément un to', et que les lignes qui la font ressembler à un tu ne sont, à mon avis, que des inégalités de la pierre. A la 3me ligne, où M. Deecke lit: *no*te' | , on pourrait songer à . . . . *mo*te, ce qui donnerait: *μήτε τ(ὸ)ν Βλέπιον.*

Cambridge III. A la fin de la 1e ligne je vois les restes de ni'ne. Je voudrais donc lire *τὰς δέ νιν* . . . . A la fin de la 4e ligne, il y a peut être te, ce qui donnerait *ἱκανὰ δὲ*.

Il est assez curieux que le même personnage Blepios est mentionné dans deux des inscriptions et pourtant ces deux fragments ne font pas partie d'une même inscription. Les lettres sont autres.

IV. Stone slab found in a tomb at Kuklia, and left in Cyprus. Below the letters are traces of red and blue colouring.



This seems to be a proper name in the genitive, read from right to left.

lo . je . re . a . o.

On the back of the slab was rudely scratched

which is not unlike the Trojan 'swastika' (Schliemann, *Troja*, p. 122 *sq.*).

B.

The following inscriptions of Old Paphos were already above ground, in the village of Kuklia, before our arrival. Most of them have been often copied previously, and, where we have nothing to add, we simply quote the copyist's name with whom we agree, without giving the inscription in full.

1. Pedestal of blue limestone, formerly in the churchyard, now removed to the temple site. It has been twice used, but has only one inscription. A good deal worn in places, and consequently much diversity of readings (Lebas and Waddington, No. 2802, Sakellarios, p. 96, Cesnola, No. 7, Kaibel, 254, Pomtow, *Poetae Lyr. graeci*, ii. p. 368). In the following version we were all agreed: about line 2 we have no doubt, and in the beginning of line 3 we can point to the fact that our version, though less probable than M. Waddington's in itself, supplies sufficient letters, which his does not—a very strong argument, as the inscription is cut *στοιχηδόν*.

ΗΝΧΡΟΝΟΣΗΝΙΚΑΤΟΝΔΕΞ ϽΦΩΤΑΤΟΝΕΛΛΑΣΕΚΛΕΙΣΕΝ
ΙΑΤΡΩΜΦΑΙΔΑΜΠΑΙΔΑΔΑΜΑΣΣΑΓΟΡΑ
ΩΙΠΑ ΝΕΔΟΣΠΡΟΓΟΝΟΙΔΟΝΟΜΑΣΤΟΙΑΠ . . ΗΣ
ΕΚΓΟΝΟΙΑΤΡΕΙΔΑΝΕΛΛΑΔΟΣΑΓΕΜΟΝΩΝ

ἦν χρόνος ἤνικα τόνδε σοφώτατον Ἑλλὰς ἔκλειζεν
ἰατρῶμ Φαΐδαμ παῖδα Δαμασσαγορᾶ·
ᾧ πατ(ρὶς ἦν Τέ)νεδος πρόγονοι δ' ὀνομαστοὶ ἀπ' (αἴ)ης
ἔκγονοι Ἀτρειδᾶν Ἑλλάδος ἀγεμόνων.

2. Cut in rough letters on a stone block now built over the chancel arch of the church of St. Luke. Unpublished.

ΕΠΑΓΑΘΗΙΤΥΧΗΙ *ἐπ' ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ*

3. White marble pedestal built upside down into the wall of Hadji Themistokles' house; well-cut but extremely faint, being worn almost smooth. Unsuccessfully tried by Dr. Oberhümmer (*Abhandl. der Münch. Akad. der Wissensch.* 1888), but not copied previously. Cf. No. 106 of the temple inscriptions, which confirms the reading here given of line 4 in the first half. The two inscriptions stand side by side.

ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΙΠΑΦΙΑΙ
ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΣΑΚΡΙΚΟΛΑΝΤΗΝ
ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑΓΑΙΟΥΙΟΥΛΙΟΥΚΡΙΣΠΟΥ
ΚΑΙΛΙΚΙΝΝΙΑΣΜΟΔΕΣΤΗΣ
ΛΙΚΙΝΝΙΑΑΓΑΠΩΜΕΝΗΗΜΑΜΜΗ

ΑΦΡΟ∠ ΠΑΦΙΑΙ
ΓΑΙΟΝΙΟΥΛΙΟΝΠΟΤΑΜΩΝΑ
ΤΟΝΥΙΟΝΓΑΙΟΥΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ
ΠΟΤΑΜΩΝΟΣΚΑΙΛΙΚΙΝΝΙΑΣ
ΙΣΟΥΛΛΙ///ΙΑΣΛΙΚΙΝΝΙΑ
ΑΓΛΠΩΜΕΝΗΗΜΑΜΜΗ

(*a*) Ἀφροδίτῃ Παφίᾳ
Ἰουλίαν Σακρικόλαν τὴν
θυγατέρα Γαίου Ἰουλίου Κρίσπου
καὶ Λικιννίας Μοδέστης
Λικιννία ἀγαπωμένη ἡ μάμμη.

(*b*) Ἀφροδ(ίτῃ) Παφίᾳ
Γαῖον Ἰούλιον Ποταμῶνα
τὸν υἱὸν Γαίου Ἰουλίου
Ποταμῶνος καὶ Λικιννίας
Ἰσουλ(. . . ας) Λικιννία
ἀγαπωμένη ἡ μάμμη.

4. In the penultimate line of the second inscription, ΙΣΟΥΛΑΡΙΑΣ, ΛΙΡΙΑΣ, and –ΛΑΠΑΣ are all possible readings.

5. In the wall of the church of Panagia Chrysopolitissa. *C.I.G.* 2607, Lebas and Waddington, 2801.

6. *Ibid.* Lebas and Waddington, 2795.

7. Formerly in the churchyard, now on the temple site. Lebas and Waddington, 2799.

8. *Ibid.* Lebas and Waddington, 2805; Sakellarios, p. 96.

9. *Ibid.* Lebas and Waddington, 2794.

10. Outside the west end of the church of St. Luke. Lebas and Waddington, 2793.

11. Inside the church. Lebas and Waddington, 2797.

12. *Ibid.* Lebas and Waddington, 2800.

13. Now on the temple site, found by M. Pierides. Lebas and Waddington, 2798.

14. Fragment of grey stone built into a house near St. Luke's church. Broken right, left, and bottom. Unpublished?

ΞΕΒΑΣΤ	Σεβαστ[ῷ
ΗΑΡΧΙΕΡΕ	ἡ ἀρχιερε[ία
ΤΡΙΤΗΒΕΡΙΟΙ	πα]τρὶ Τ(ι)βήριον ?
)TE›M	?

15. Fragments from various houses published by Lebas and Waddington.

C.—Amargetti.

1. Fragment of a pink marble pedestal built into the house of Georgios Panagi. Broken on all sides.

–ΛΖΙ	. . . . .
ΙΝΟΣΤΑΜΙΑΣ	. . . ταμίας
ΚΑΘΙΕΡΩΣΓΙ	καθιερώσει

Probably a fragment of a dedication by the steward of the shrine of Opaon Melanthius.

2. Inscribed in very small letters on the right side of a draped statuette of soft stone; much worn.

ΟΠ////ΝΙ	Ὀπ[άο]νι
ΜΕΛ////Ν	Μελ[α]ν-
ΘΙΩ////ΛΕ	θίῳ ....
ΕΙΡΗ////////ΟΥ	Εἰρη[ναί]ου
ΕΠΑΓ////////Ω	ἐπ' ἀγ[αθ]ῷ

3. Scratched on the right side of a draped statuette of soft stone.

ΙΙΓΑΠΟΛΩΝΙΜΕ	Ιιγ' Ἀπόλ(λ)ωνι Με-
ΛΑΘΙΩΦΑΛΙΑΡΧΟC	λα(ν)θίῳ Φαλίαρχος.

If the first symbols contain a date it is 45 B.C.

4. Deeply cut on a base of soft stone, broken on the right.

ΟΓΑΟΝΙΜΕΛΑ////	Ὀπάονι Μελα[νθίῳ ὁ δεῖνα
ΤΟΝΕΑΥ////	τὸν ἑαυ[τοῦ υἱὸν τὸν δεῖνα

5. Deeply cut on a small base of white marble, broken on the left.

////ΛΑΝΘΙΩ	Ὀπάονι Με]λανθίῳ
////ΑΛΙΕΥC	ὁ δεῖνα ....
////ΟΝΑΤΟΥCΕΑΤΟΥ	τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὸν δεῖνα] τοὺς ἑα(υ)τοῦ
////ΘΕΝΤΕC	υἱοὺς ? ἰα]θέντ(α)ς ?

In line 2 we probably have a local adjective not belonging to Cyprus. The base is of foreign marble and was perhaps dedicated by a native of Asia Minor or one of the islands. It is obviously of a very late period.

6. Scratched on a round base of soft stone, chipped at the top.

ΟΓ//// ////ΛΝ	Ὀπ[άονι Μελ]αν-
ΘΙΩΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟC	θίῳ Ἀρτεμίδωρος
ΕVΧΗΝ	εὐχήν.

7. Scratched on a base of soft stone to which the feet of the statuette are attached. Broken right.

ΟΠΑΟΝΙΜΕ////	Ὀπάονι Με[ανθίῳ ὁ δεῖνα
ΥΠΕΡ////////	ὑπὲρ [τοῦ δεῖνα κ.τ.λ.

8. On a base of soft stone, broken at both ends.

ΛONIME	'Οπ]*άονι* Με[*λανθίῳ*

9. On a base of soft stone, much worn.

⊦C////ΠΛONIME	[- *σ'* ['Ο]*πάονι* Με
////ΥΑΙ////	*λανθίῳ*] . . .

10. On a small base of very soft stone with mouldings, worn nearly smooth and broken at the edges.

////ΠΑο////	'Ο]*πάο*[*νι*
/,///////////	[Μ*ελανθίῳ*]
ΛΑΙοCϕ////	? Φ*ί*]*λαιος* Φ[*ι-*
////οCCTPA⁻	*λ*]*όσστρατ-*
οNTοN	*ον τὸν ἐ-*
ΑΤΟΥΙΟΝ	*α*(*υ*)*τοῦ* (*υ*)*ἱὸν*
VXHN	*ϵ*]*ὐχήν.*

11. On a terra-cotta tablet.

ΑΠοΛΛΩ	'Απολλω-
ΝΙΟΥϕΙΛS	*νίου* Φιλ(*ίππου*) ?

12. On a small basis of soft stone, well cut. Broken left.

ΠΡοϵ	. . . . .
ΛΑΝ	['Ο*πάονι* Με]*λαν*
II	*θίῳ*] . . . . .

13. Scratched between the feet of a statuette of soft stone.

ϵΙΤ HPA K	*ειτ'* . 'Η*ρα*(*κλείου*) ? *κ.*'

Reckoning this date from the constitution of Cyprus as a province, we get 257 A.D. on the 20th day of the month Heraclius (or Heraion ?).

The two inscriptions published in Cesnola "Cyprus," Appendix Nos. 3 and 4, are also from Amargetti, not from Paphos. They appear to have been bought by General Cesnola's foreman, Beshbesh, with many other things out of a find made at Amargetti by the late Bishop of Paphos and M. Aristides, village-judge of Chrysochou. This affords a very good instance of the inventive powers of the General, or of his foreman, the latter of whom alone knows the provenance of a large number of the treasures now in New York.

In conclusion it may be stated that almost all the Kuklia inscriptions were independently copied by us all, and only in one or two instances was there any difference of opinion. A few, which were found after Mr. James's departure in April, and the thirteen Amargetti dedications have been copied by Mr. Hogarth only. We hope to revise and comment upon many of the inscriptions later.

E. A. G.
D. G. H.
M. R. J.

VII.—Tombs.

Tombs of all periods were opened during the past season, a few archaic ones at Leontari Vouno, which have been described by Mr. James in his account of that site, and others at Kuklia of all subsequent ages, down to the very latest. They are usually cut in the rock or earth of a gentle slope, in many cases, as in the Xylino valley at Kuklia, tier above tier: but they are also found in level ground, approached by a sloping passage now filled with earth. The whole plateau to the east of Kuklia above the *Σπήλαιον τῆς Ῥηγινῆς* is honey-combed with earth-tombs of this kind, consisting mainly of one or two vaulted chambers, leading one out of the other, without niches for the bodies, and entered by a vaulted opening closed by a slab. Such are probably tombs of the poor: the richer Cypriotes were for the most part laid in rock-tombs, such as abound in the plain north of New Paphos, and were found by us at Old Paphos on the slopes between the Temple of Aphrodite and the sea. From their greater durability and accessibility the latter were often used two or three times over, being sometimes sanctified at last for Christian burial by innumerable crosses, cut over the niches, as is the case at Cape Drepano: thus they are usually less profitable to the explorer of to-day than the earth-chambers, which were left undisturbed in the possession of their original tenants, and were not so easily detected by the *τυμβωρύχος* of the early centuries of our era. Of the work of the latter we found ample evidence at Kuklia: tomb after tomb was opened on the eastern slopes, in which broken glass and pottery were lying in a huge heap either in the middle or near the door, what the thieves did not want having apparently been wantonly destroyed: the lids of the sarcophagi were either hewn in pieces or wrenched aside, and even, in some cases, in order probably to evade notice, carefully replaced *in statu quo*. The door was by no means the favourite place of ingress, for we often dug down to find the slab quite undisturbed, while the tomb was in the state described above, and search would reveal the presence of a hole or passage cut through the solid rock from above or at the side. In this way a number of tombs on the slope south-west of the Temple are now connected by a labyrinth of connecting-passages, cut with infinite labour by the robbers, who preferred to work thus underground when once safely in a tomb, to exposing themselves to the chance of detection by digging to the proper door from above.

The approach to the tomb is, roughly speaking, wide in the case of archaic tombs, and narrow in those of late date. In the case of pretentious tombs it is often lined with carefully-fitted masonry, sometimes inscribed as in the *Σπήλαιον τῆς Ῥηγινῆς*; inscriptions are also found (most commonly) over the actual door, as in the case of the early graves at *Ἑλληνικά* and *Ἀλώνια τοῦ ἐπισκόπου* near New Paphos; on the wall, as in one of the

Ἀλῶνια tombs: or over the niches, as at Cape Drepano. The tomb-door is a square or vaulted opening in the rock, sometimes, though rarely, ornamented: one of the graves found by us at Xylino had actual doorposts, artificially introduced, and ornamented with mouldings; over the door being a similar lintel. The ornamentation may also be cut in the native rock, and some very fine examples of this may be seen at Meleti, half an hour inland from Cape Drepano. A flight of steps often forms the approach; a previously rifled rock-tomb opened by us at Kuklia was entered by twenty-five such steps, and a smaller specimen in the Xylino valley, lined throughout with masonry, had a flight of seven.

Inside the tombs many varieties occur: the peculiar forms of Leontari graves have been described by Mr. James; those at Kuklia had four varieties of plan according to the disposition of the niches or μνήματα wherein the bodies were laid.

α. The niches radiated from a circular central hall like the spokes of a wheel. It does not follow however that the spokes were complete, *i.e.* in many cases only two or three had been cut thus:

This arrangement was found on the south-western slope at Kuklia, in one or two cases only; the most noticeable being a tomb from which we extracted three figurine-vases and a painted Attic phiale. It is characteristic also of that part of the necropolis at Poli-tis-Chrysochou in which Greek painted ware has been found, and is undoubtedly the oldest of the four forms here enumerated.

β. The niches run out on three sides from a square or oblong hall or halls. This is very common, but as a rule of later period than the first named. The bodies in this case are laid in the niches with feet towards the central hall.

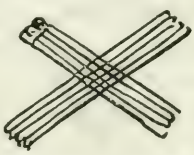
γ. The niches running out from the central hall take the form of secondary chambers, each with a shallow recess at the end containing a shelf, parallel to the side of the chamber, on which the body was laid. This form is rarer, and occurs mainly in very large tombs, such as some of those at the 'Camel's Tail' south-east of the Temple, which contained (though perhaps they had been used twice) gold ornaments, glass and pottery of a not very

early period. The best instance of it on a very large scale occurs in the gigantic caves of Elisis and Galinoporni in the Carpass, and it is probably only a more sumptuous variety of β.

δ. The niches are shallow recesses, each with a shelf, lying parallel to the central hall or halls, and generally vaulted over thus:

In this either a simple body was laid or a sarcophagus. This arrangement appears, in Cypriote tombs, to be a certain mark of a late period.

It should be also mentioned that niches are often found in the sides of the outer approach, closed with a slab. Those inside the tomb were sometimes closed with a slab, sometimes with a plaque of terra-cotta, ornamented with a St. Andrew's cross, drawn in the wet clay with the four fingers held together: thus it presents a quadruple line across the plaque:



This occurs in the Xylino tomb with staircase mentioned above and in many other instances.

The roofs are sometimes highly vaulted, oftener almost flat; and naturally the character of the cutting, evenness of the walls, and regularity of the niches is most various. A fifth variety of tomb without niches occurs only in the poorer variety. Here the bodies are laid upon shelves in the hall itself. The few tombs at Kuklia, made on this plan, were of late period.

Fig. 1.

In very few cases indeed in Cyprus has the tomb any interior ornamentation: the great graves at Meleti, whose niches are elaborately adorned with pilasters and pediments, are almost singular. Some remarkable tombs at New Paphos with Doric fronts are described by General Cesnola in his *Cyprus*,

p. 224, and a very curious example occurs not far from the village of Davlos at the foot of the Carpass.

Certain rock-tombs which we had special opportunities of exploring, although visited previously, may be separately described. The great Σπήλαιον τῆς Ῥηγινῆς at Kuklia, of which a plan[1] is appended (Fig. 1), has lain open for centuries; when von Hammer, Ross, and Count de Vogüé visited it they found it absolutely empty, and the memory of the Kukliotes runneth not to the contrary. As stated in the preliminary narrative we found only the character ⊀ on the right-hand wall. From the annexed plan the arrangement of the three halls and subsidiary chambers can be seen: no shelves exist in it, and only one proper μνῆμα: it is well though somewhat irregularly cut, and has been entered by the riflers through a tunnel from the west, not through the door. It is the largest tomb in Cyprus after those at Elisis and Galinoporni, which are probably of later date: that at Elisis is nearly three times as long.

A very remarkable group of tombs are those near New Paphos known as Ἑλληνικά and Ἀλώνια τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου, and bearing inscriptions copied by Count de Vogüé[2] and others. In the former two very distinct kinds of tombs are found: the first and most important are approached by a long passage with a flight of steps leading down to a door: this leads into the usual vaulted hall with radiating niches. A plan of one group (Fig. 2) (made by Mr. Smith)

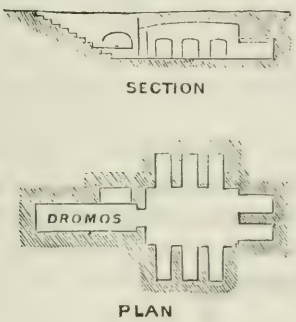


Fig. 2.

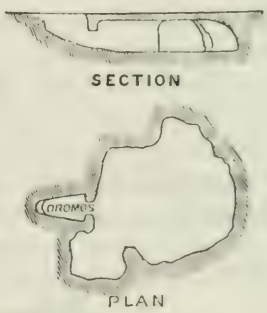


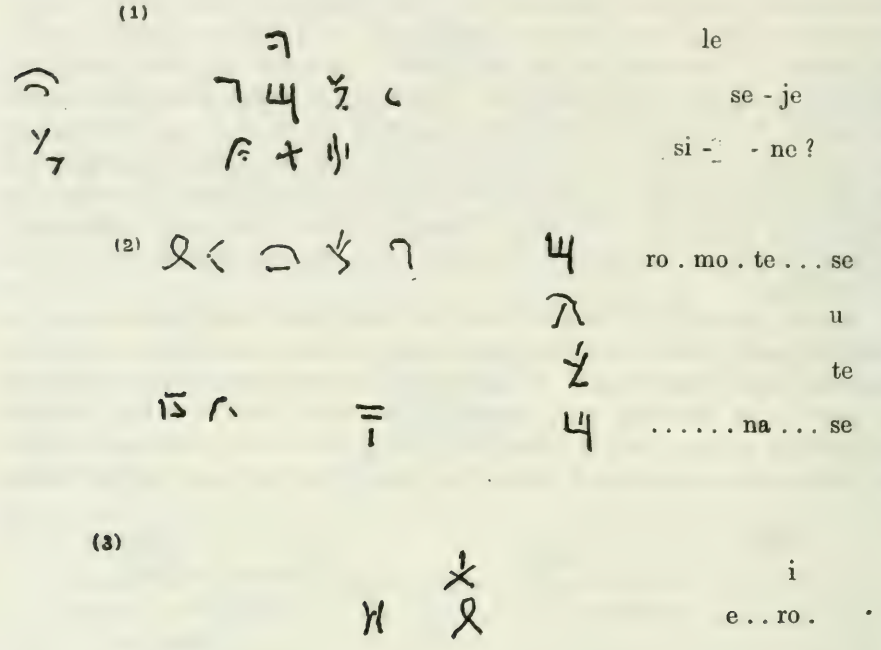
Fig. 3.

is appended. No pottery remains to show the date, but it is safe to conclude from their superior workmanship and the fact that they are inscribed, that they are later than the Paraskeve tombs (Fig. 3). In the same cemetery and often over the larger tombs are small single chambers sunk in the rock and provided with ledges at the side for a roofing slab, an arrangement very similar to that obtaining in certain tombs at Moulos (Macaria) in the Kyrenia district, which have been excavated in the top of the rock and covered with ordinary sarcophagus-lids, still *in situ*. One inscription only is recorded in

[1] All the plans and sections illustrating this paper are drawn by Mr. Smith on a uniform scale of 32 feet to 1 inch.

[2] *Mélanges d'Archéologie orientale*, t. iv. 6, 7, cf. also *Sammlung der gricch. Dialekt-Inschr.* i. nos. 31, 32, 33.

the *Sammlung* as from this group of tombs, and it is indeed the only one really legible ; but there were undoubtedly others to be read before the surface of the rock became so much disintegrated, and we were able to make out a letter here and there ; these mutilated ones run



The other mass of rock, Ἀλώνια τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου, contains only one tomb, inscribed inside and out : the outer inscription seems to have suffered

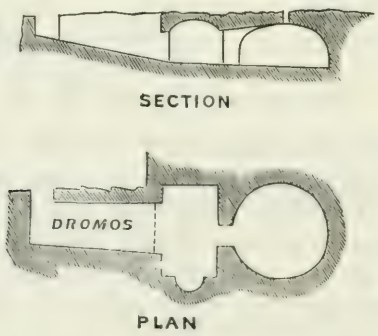


Fig. 4.

a good deal from the taking of a plaster cast. The tomb itself (Fig. 4) consists of a large square chamber, leading into a larger circular one unfortunately partly filled up with stones : it may have had radiating niches, but their mouths

are below the present level of the soil. The inscriptions tell us that it was consecrated to Apollo Hylates.

It will be seen from the sketch map (Pl. vii.) that there were several localities about Kuklia where tombs were opened this year: those at Xylino (Fig. 5) were of poor quality, containing inferior kinds of glass, common native

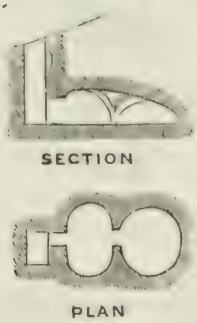


Fig. 5.

pottery and lamps, diamond-shaped leaves of gold, alabaster bottles, a few bronze articles, and not very good gold and silver jewellery.

What the original arrangement of the objects found in the Kuklia tombs had been did not appear in any but a few unimportant cases: a tomb near the Σπήλαιον τῆς Ῥηγινῆς, of very late date, afforded an example of the undisturbed kind. On a raised ledge on each side lay a skeleton, and numbers of plain terra-cotta and glass vessels (between thirty and forty in all) were standing at the head and feet of each. Some few were within reach of the hands, and they were for the most part the terra-cotta vessels of uncertain purpose which bulge in the middle and have a narrow neck at each end. The arrangement of the vessels at head and feet seemed to be guided by no definite principle. On the floor of the tomb and at its entrance lay a number of amphorae. Another tomb (Fig. 6), in 'Loura tou Kamelou,' contained two

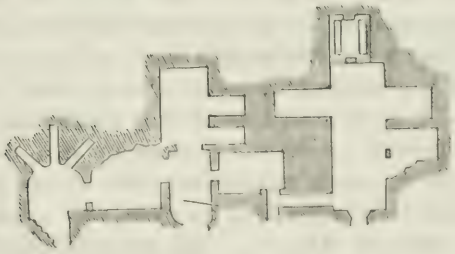


Fig. 6.

roughly-fashioned limestone sarcophagi, unopened; but here too the contents were comparatively uninteresting, and their arrangement not instructive. The heads of the skeletons lay furthest from the door of the tomb, towards the

north. Two glass bottles lay on their sides by the right leg of one skeleton, and a pin near the left foot. The bulk of the pottery and glass was outside the coffins. Another tomb from the same site is shewn in plan and section (Fig. 7).

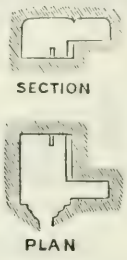


Fig. 7.

In Xylino one tomb roughly vaulted, with a flight of steps leading to it (v. *supra*), contained nearly 200 common clay lamps, and about 300 bronze coins. Certain indications—as the partial falling in of the vaulted passage and the discovery of two skeletons among its *débris*—led to the supposition that the τυμβωρυχοί had been surprised by the descent of the roof during their explorations. In the same cemetery one grave contained a bronze strigil—the only 'trade-mark' of any kind that turned up, unless we are to except the lamps mentioned above. Another was closed by a small slab with two taeniae in red and blue painted on it, and a name in Cypriote characters.

Large numbers of the less ornamental vessels had of course originally contained provisions. Eggshells were the only recognizable relic of these, and they occurred very frequently. It seems doubtful, judging from the poverty of the graves in general, whether all the amphorae can ever have been full of wine.

The fashion of stationing large terra-cotta figures as guardians—in place of original human victims—at the entrance of tombs, which prevailed at Poli, was not affected by the Paphians. With few exceptions, terra-cotta figures did not occur in the tombs. Clay doves and a tortoise were found—familiar symbols of the goddess whose temple overshadowed the dead. But throughout, as a glance at the specimens brought back will show, there was a singular absence of figured representations. The curious bowl decorated with fish, trees, and stars (?) (black on red), now in the Ashmolean Museum, forms an exception; one fragment, again, was picked up in a field with a swan (?) roughly sketched on it, much resembling that on an aryballos figured in 'Salaminia.' A glass cover with Eros, an eagle, and a bunch of grapes upon it is in the British Museum (Fig. 8). This, and a phiale with a dancing female figure and ἡ παῖς καλή, came from the tombs south of the Temple.

The jewellery found was not usually *in situ*. It was dispersed about the dust of the tomb, and recovered by careful sifting. The gold leaf which formed so common a feature had seemingly been scattered all over the bodies, and earlier explorers had not unnaturally neglected it. One gold frontlet of

somewhat thicker leaf came from 'Loura tou Kamelou,' and this was somewhere near its original place on the skull of the corpse. The pottery was mainly of two kinds, (*α*) perfectly plain, and (*β*) decorated with concentric

Fig. 8.

rings and horizontal bands. The second kind marked an earlier set of tombs, but it was probably in common use down to a much later date than has commonly been assigned to it. This point will I hope meet with discussion at the hands of more competent authorities.

In conclusion I may remark that the bones of the Paphians were restored to their resting-place after their graves had been plundered. We hoped by this means to avoid the strictures of St. Gregory. But his words were certainly applicable to our discoveries—

Ὑβριστὴς ἐπ' ἐμ' ἦλθε τὸν οὐ ζώοντα σίδηρος·
καὶ χρυσὸν ποθέων εὗρε πένητα νέκυν.

D. G. H.
M. R. J.

THESEUS AND SKIRON.

PANOFKA has remarked[1] that till 1833 only three works of art were known representing Theseus in the act of hurling Skiron into the sea, and that one of the three was known to us only through the description by Pausanias.[2]

The active wielding of spade and shovel during the last half century has done much for the elucidation of many an ancient myth; yet, with a few exceptions[3] (as the Euphronios cup from Caere[4]), the monuments have told us little of Skiron.

For this dearth two causes have been suggested: the absence of a universal religious importance in the case of such local legend; and, secondly, the unsuitability of the theme for display of artistic power. The death of Skiron, unlike that of the Minotaur, is the close of a drama simple and isolated in plot and action, whereas the fate of the Cretan monster is closely bound up with the fortunes of a heroine, and leads on to her union with an Olympian god. The myths that gathered round the house of Minos were a fruitful field for the artist as well as for the poet.

Again, the adventures of Theseus with the Amazons were shared with the national hero of Hellas. They brought upon the scene a host of combatants whose graceful forms lent themselves to the display of artistic skill, while their foreign dress and equipments admitted of the greatest variety of treatment. The myth of the Centaurs presents a struggle in which savage power combines with heroic types of beauty to produce a vivid and brilliant picture.

No such accessory advantages are attached to the story of Skiron, though there is an opportunity for striking contrast between the supple form of the Attic ephebos and the coarser strength of his uncouth antagonist. The simplicity of the action does not favour the introduction of numerous characters, and there is little opportunity for the display of feminine beauty.[5] The triumphs of Theseus over the robbers who infested the Isthmus are

[1] *Der Tod des Skiron.*

[2] I. 3, 1.

[3] In 1865 Benndorf enumerated sixteen representations of Skiron, viz. the group described by Pausanias, a metope on the Theseion, a fragment of frieze of the Mausoleum, a terra-cotta bas-relief now in the Berlin Museum, and twelve vases. *Bull. d. Inst.*, 1865, pp. 156–160.

[4] Klein, *Euphronios.*[2]

[5] In the Naples vase (Gerhard, *Auserles. Vasenbild.* IV. 234) Hephaestos (or Hermes), Athene and Endeis hardly add to the effect. The dazed appearance of the youths on the Munich cup (*Arch. Ztg.* XXIII. Taf. 195) certainly does heighten the idea of *sang-froid* expressed in the hero's countenance.

perhaps somewhat monotonous, and impress one as mere imitations of the adventures of his greater contemporary Herakles. That the Athenians did their best to place their own peculiar hero on a level with the heroic ideal of the whole Hellenic race has been well shown by Klügmann,[1] and the retribution inflicted by Herakles on Kyknos and other evildoers finds its parallel in the punishment of Periphetes, Sinis, Skiron, Prokrustes, and Kerkyon.[2]

The glorification of Theseus however is a comparatively late growth, resting chiefly on the development of the Attic drama. The epic poets pay little heed to him, and what little is said of him is not much to his credit. He is chiefly heard of in connection with Ariadne, and Diodorus[3] gives a version of the story which represents him as deprived of her by Dionysos. The name of Skiron is not mentioned by early writers. Pollux tells us that a play of Epicharmus was called Σκίρων. Herodotus[4] speaks of the Skironian road. We know that 'Skiron' was the title of a lost satyric drama by Euripides,[5] and Xenophon[6] refers to Skiron, with Sinis and Prokrustes, as a typical highway robber of the olden time.

For details of the story however we must look to writers of the Roman age, since Apollodorus unfortunately breaks off at the very point in question. It is clear therefore that the adventures of Theseus on the Isthmus, unconnected as they were with the more prominent mythological personages, failed to exert much influence on Greek literature in its best days.

In its fullest development the story runs as follows:—

At the most dangerous part of the way across the Isthmus of Corinth, where the rugged path skirted the edge of lofty cliffs, the robber Skiron stopped travellers and compelled them to wash his feet in a basin placed on the verge of the rock. When they knelt to this task he thrust them with a kick over the brink of the precipice into the sea, where a monstrous tortoise devoured their mangled bodies. On his journey to Athens Theseus encountered and slew this wretch, who now himself became the prey of the tortoise.

The earliest extant version of this is found in Diodorus,[7] who lived in the time of Caesar:—

'And he (Theseus) punished also Skiron, who dwelt on the rocks of Megaris, which are called from him Skironian. For this man was accustomed to force passers-by to wash his feet on a certain precipitous spot, and with a sudden kick he used to send them rolling down from the precipice into the sea, over the so-called "Tortoise."'

In this, the simplest form of the legend, two points are to be noted. In the first place we are not told *how* Skiron was put to death. Secondly, the expression 'over the so-called Tortoise' *may* be due to the taste for rational-

[1] *Die Amazonen in der attischen Litteratur und Kunst.*

[2] So Diodorus (iv. 59) speaks of Theseus as ζηλωτὴς τῶν Ἡρακλέους ἄθλων.

[3] iv. 61. See the Hydria from Vulci in the Berlin Museum (No. 2179) published by Gerhard *Etr. camp. Vasenb.* Taf. VI., VII. Cf. the account of Ariadne by the elder Philostratos.

[4] viii. 71.

[5] Pollux, *Onomastikon*, X. 35.

[6] *Mem.* II. 1, 14.

[7] iv. 59.

ising. Yet 'Chelone' is a term which might reasonably be applied to a projection of the shore, and undoubtedly was so applied, *e.g.* in the island of Cos; and the tortoise being well known in the neighbourhood[1] would naturally supply an object for comparison. At all events Diodorus does not admit the tortoise to a share in the action.

Our next authority, Strabo,[2] about a generation later, while speaking of the dangerous road from the Isthmus, says:—

'Here are localised the myths concerning Skiron and the Pinebender (*i.e.* Sinis), who practised their depredations in the aforesaid mountainous districts, and whom Theseus killed.'

This adds nothing to the tale. In Trajan's reign, about 140 years later, we find Plutarch[3] writing as follows:—

'But on the borders of Megaris he (Theseus) hurled Skiron down from the rocks and killed him, for this Skiron, as the common story goes, used to plunder passers-by; but as some say, used through wanton violence and insolence to stretch out his feet to strangers and tell them to wash them, and while they were so washing them used to kick and thrust them into the sea. But on the other hand, the Megarian historians, opposing this tradition, and, to quote Simonides, 'warring with long ages,' declare that Skiron was neither a robber nor a violent fellow, but a punisher of robbers, and a relation and friend of excellent and just men. For Aeacus was considered the most pious of the Greeks, and Kychreus of Salamis received at Athens the honours paid to gods, and the manly excellence of Peleus and Telamon were recognised by every one. Now Skiron was the son-in-law of Kychreus, and the father-in-law of Aeacus, and the grandfather of Peleus and Telamon, as they were sons of Endeis, the daughter of Skiron and Chariklo. It was not therefore likely that persons possessed of such distinguished qualities would form a family connection with the worst of men, receiving and offering what was greatest and most valuable. But they say that it was not when Theseus was first journeying to Athens, but at a later time, that he captured Eleusis from the Megarians by circumventing their commander Diokles, and killed Skiron. Such contradictory versions are given of this affair.'

Here then, for the first time, we are told of the manner of Skiron's death viz., by being hurled over the precipice, and not by the use of a weapon Otherwise Plutarch's own statement is much the same as that of Diodorus, though the 'Chelone' is not mentioned. The Megarian historians, however, as quoted by Plutarch above, give another and a very different version. Their argument for the impeccability of Skiron drawn from his highly respectable connections may provoke a smile. Yet so little is known of the early history of Megara that a germ of historical fact may quite possibly lie hidden in this patriotic legend. In border warfare the patriot of the one side is a brigand in the eyes of the other. Their fellow Hellenes never had a good word for the

[1] Compare the coins of Aegina. According to Professor Robert the tortoise was the symbol of the whole of this district of the Saronic Gulf, as the hind was of Arcadia.

[2] ix. 391.

[3] *Vita Thesei*, X.

Megarians,[1] and the defender of Eleusis may, in the mouths of enemies, have become the bloodthirsty robber of the current legend. Pausanias (who also gives Skiron as the name of the father-in-law of Aeacus[2]) states[3] that a Skiron commanded the Megarians in war, and attributes the making of a road over the Skironian rocks to a Polemarch so named,[4] and presumably the same person. A distinction is commonly drawn between this Polemarch and the opponent of Theseus. Yet it seems strange to suppose that one Skiron made a road over a pass associated with the name of another.

The following is the form of the tradition as it appears in the first book of Pausanias, which was written between 138 and 161 A.D.[5]:—

'But the rocks next to this they consider accursed, because Skiron, when living among them, used to throw into the sea all the strangers he met with. And a tortoise used to swim up under the rocks, and was said to seize those thrown in. . . . Retribution for this came upon Skiron, as he was thrown into the same sea by Theseus.'[6]

Here is the first mention of the active intervention of the tortoise.

In Latin writers we find mere passing allusions to the myth;[7] and the last of our authorities must be the scholiast on Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 979—

οὐδ' αἱ θαλάσσης σύννομοι Σκειρωνίδες
φήσουσι πέτραι τοῖς κακοῖς μ' εἶναι βαρύν.

'Skiron lived in Megara, a tyrant hostile to strangers, whom Theseus threw to the tortoise; and the Skironian rocks are called after Skiron, the keeper of the tortoise, who is mentioned by Kallimachos. This Skiron used to compel passers-by to wash his feet, then, striking them with his foot, he used to make them food for the tortoise. But Theseus swinging him over his head[8] and throwing him into the sea caused him to be devoured by the tortoise.'

Such is the story as we find it in literature.[9] We have no trace of it earlier than the time of Epicharmos,[10] about the beginning of the fifth century before the Christian era; and its first appearance in works of art may also be placed in the same period. Certain ἀγάλματα ὀπτῆς γῆς are mentioned by Pausanias[11] as standing on the roof of the Stoa Basileios at Athens, and

[1] Aristoph. *Ach.* 738, Ἀλλ' ἔστι γάρ μοι Μεγαρικά τις μαχανά, on which Suidas remarks: ἀντὶ τοῦ πονηρά· διεβάλλοντο γὰρ ἐπὶ πονηρίᾳ οἱ Μεγαρεῖς. So Kallimachos, Ep. 25, 6, ὡς Μεγαρέων οὐ λόγος οὔτ' ἀριθμός.

[2] II. 29, 9. So Apollodoros (III. 12, 7) says γαμεῖ δὲ Αἰακὸς Ἐνδηίδα τὴν Σκείρωνος.

[3] I. 39, 6.

[4] I. 44, 6.

[5] In Paus. I, 3, 2 the tense of ἦρχεν shows that Hadrian (who died A.D. 138) was no longer alive; and Pausanias says (VII. 20, 6) that his first book was finished before Herodes Atticus built his Odeion in memory of Regilla, who died A.D. 161.

[6] Paus. I. 44, 8. Cf. I. 3, 1.

[7] Ovid, *Metam.* VII. *Ibis*, 407; Statius, *Theb.* I. 333 and XII. 577. Hyginus, Fab. 38, mentions the washing of the feet, and in *Ciris* 466—8 is the tortoise. Claudian, *De Bello Pollentino* (*Getico*) 188, and *In Rufinum*, I. 253.

[8] Cf. the line from the Skiron of the comic poet Alexis, Ὥσπερ κυλιστὸς στέφανος αἰωρούμενος in Athenaeus XV. 678.

[9] Cf. Gurlitt, *Das alter der Bildwerke des Thesceions*, p. 34.

[10] Pollux, X. 86, 87, Ἐπίχαρμος εἰρηκεν...ἐν δὲ Σκίρωνι. Epicharmos lived (till 484) in the Sicilian Megara, and is said by Aristotle to have used mythological plots.

[11] Paus. I. 3, 1.

consisting of two groups, Theseus hurling Skiron into the sea, and Hemera (Eos) carrying off Kephalos. Of these figures of Theseus and Skiron nothing further is known. Of the other plastic representations of our myth two were attached to buildings erected in the fifth and fourth centuries respectively, and consequently afford an approximate date. Of these two the metope of the Theseion[1] represents Theseus pressing hard on Skiron, who with his left hand clings to the rock on which he is seated.[2] Beneath is a crab (not a tortoise).

The second is a fragment of a relief in panel from the mausoleum, described by Sir Charles Newton[3] as 'the remains of a group representing two male figures, one of whom has thrown the other down on a rock, and appears to be following up his advantage. Of the fallen figure all that remains is the left leg, thigh, and hip: of his adversary only the right leg and left foot; but the subject of this group may easily be recognized. There can hardly be a doubt from the relative position of the two figures, that the group originally represented Theseus killing the robber Skiron.'[4]

Through the kindness of Dr. Kenner and Dr. Robert Ritter von Schneider, Custos of the Vienna Antikensammlung, I have had an opportunity of examining certain blocks from the frieze at Gjölbaschi containing the adventure with Skiron, which will shortly be placed in the magnificent new museum at Vienna. They have not yet been published, but are briefly mentioned in Benndorf's *Vorläufiger Bericht*. On the left Theseus, clad in chlamys and pileus, having seized Skiron by both ankles, is turning him backwards over the rock; Skiron is consequently looking almost straight upwards, in a position different from other representations. Peculiar to this relief is the presence of another man with shaggy hair, a counterpart of Skiron, who advances from the right, bearing on his right arm what appears to be a bow. On the next two blocks are fish, and also a tortoise, looking up indeed, but looking *away from* the scene; obviously therefore no active participator therein. With two fishes (apparently of different kinds) and a dolphin it serves to indicate the sea. Skiron's foot-pan does not appear.

In the Berlin Museum there is a bas-relief in terra-cotta, acquired with other parts of a frieze from Rome in 1865.[5] In this Skiron lies at the foot of a rock, by which stands a tree. Theseus grasps his right leg with his left hand, and with his right raises a club to strike him. The club is evidently a metal one, being too thin for wood.[6] No tortoise or crab appears.

The fragment of terra-cotta mural relief in the British Museum containing Theseus and Skiron is part of a plaque evidently from the same mould as that at Berlin.[7]

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[1] Stuart's *Ant. Ath.* [2] III. 1, Pl. 18. Gurlitt (p. 56) considers that the sculptures of the 'Theseion' were executed after those of the Parthenon, and by pupils of Pheidias.

[2] This metope is imitated in the bronze group of Theseus with the Minotaur. See Furtwängler, *Die Bronzefunde aus Olympia*, p. 101.

[3] *History of Discoveries*, vol. ii. Pt. 1, pp. 246-7.

[4] Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Gr.* Pl. II. p. 76.

[5] *Mon. dell. Inst.* VI. VII. 83, and *Ann.* 1863, pp. 459-468.

[6] It is the κορύνη.

[7] For a description of this fragment I am indebted to Mr. Cecil Smith.

The vases representing the myth may be conveniently arranged (as was done by Benndorf[1]) in three classes. First, those containing the preliminary parley with the robber; secondly, those on which Theseus kills him with some instrument; thirdly, those representing him as being thrown into the sea by Theseus.

To the first class belong—

(1) A 'Stamnos di Basilicata'[2] representing Skiron seated on a rock. His type of face is barbarous, with broad nose and large eyebrows. He leans on a spear, and is partly draped with a lion's skin, whereas he is usually unarmed and naked. Another peculiarity is that an armilla is shown on the left arm of Theseus,[3] which is raised in the attitude of speaking. He holds the *κορύνη* behind his back, and wears the usual chlamys and conical hat. His left foot is raised,[4] in the common attitude of Poseidon, possibly in allusion to his birth.[5] Both tortoise and basin are shown.

(2) The Munich vase from Vulci, described by Jahn.[6] The astonishment and dismay of two bystanders is well contrasted with the *sang-froid* of Theseus, who here, as in the last-mentioned vase, is represented as very young, and with an almost girlish face.[7] He holds two spears. The usual sword is not visible, perhaps hidden by the chlamys. There is no tortoise, but the foot-pan is shown.

Of the second class we have—

(3) In the British Museum[8] a kylix, described and the interior painting published by Cecil Smith in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for 1881.[9] Here Theseus strikes Skiron with the foot-pan. At the bottom of the rock is the tortoise. This kylix contains on the inside seven of the adventures of Theseus, six of which are also on the outside. A tree is inserted only in those with Skiron and Sinis.

(4) A kylix, at Harrow, described by Klein (*Euphronios*, p. 196) as formerly at Siena in a small collection of an artist pensioned by Lucian Bonaparte. On the outside is a repetition of the scenes represented in the interior (as in our No. 3), including a bearded man on whom Theseus dashes a vase. See Welcker in Müller's *Handbuch der Archäologie*, p. 688 (6).[10]

(5) The Munich kylix published by Gerhard.[11] Theseus strikes Skiron with the foot-pan. There is no tortoise. In this case the face of Skiron (in profile) is far more refined than usual. The hair and beard are worked out with especial care.

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[1] *Bull. dell. Inst.* 1865, pp. 156–160.

[2] *Mon. dell. Inst.* III. Tav. 47; *Annali* 1842, pp. 113–122.

[3] On the Euphronios vase he wears a bangle on the right leg.

[4] Cf. Theseus with Sinis on a Naples vase, *Annali* 1865, Tav. H.

[5] See Apollodorus III. 15, 7.

[6] *Arch. Ztg.* 1865, pp. 21–31. Taf. 195. The vase is now (August, 1888) No. 301 in the second vase-room at Munich.

[7] See the story of his being taken for a girl, Paus. I. 19, 1.

[8] *Catal. Vases Brit. Mus.* 824.*

[9] Pp. 57-64, and Pl. X.

[10] Klein (Euphronios, pp. 197–8) dwells on the importance of this kylix. But it appears to be practically the same as our No. 3. The vase is No. 52 in Mr. Torr's *Catalogue of Classical Antiquities* at Harrow.

[11] *Auserlesene Vasenbilder* III. 233. This kylix is now (August, 1888) No. 371 in the third vase-room at Munich.

To the third class belong—

(6) An amphora in the Museo Egizio ed Etrusco at Florence, thus described by Heydemann (*Mittheilungen aus den Antikensammlungen in Ober- und Mittelitalien*). Theseus turned to the right has with his right hand seized Skiron by the right foot and has put his left hand under Skiron's right arm-pit, and is pushing him down; the bearded monster (his face is for the most part wanting) still clings with his right hand to the rock, beneath which stands the foot-pan. In vacant space in one part ΝΥΛΕ. . . . in another ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΣ. Unfortunately imperfect, yet probably identical with the 'intatto stamnos' from Vulci, briefly described by E. Braun (in the *Annali* of 1836) as representing the death of the Minotaur with that of Skiron as a pendant.

(7) The Campana tazza at Paris, described by Benndorf.[1] This and No. 8 (the Berlin tazza), are attributed to Duris. The foot-pan is shown, and also the tortoise, with waves.

(8) The Berlin tazza from Vulci, published by Panofka.[2] The tortoise is already biting Skiron, the foot-pan is not shown.

(9) The Duris vase from Vulci in British Museum (*Catal.* No. 824), published by Gerhard.[3] Both tortoise and foot-pan are shown.

(10) Bologna tazza from Chiusi, described by Benndorf.[4]

(11) De Witte (*Cat. étr.* p. 65, note 1), says, 'Parmi les fragments de vases de la collection de M. le duc de Luynes nous avons remarqué à l'extérieur d'une coupe, *Thésée* précipitant *Sciron* dans la mer.'

(12) Apulian vase at Naples. Described in *Neapels Antike Bildwerke* (311, 540). by Gerhard and Panofka. Published by Passeri (Picturae Etruscorum in vasculis, pl. 248, where wrongly explained), and Panofka, *Tod des Skiron*, Taf. iv. Neither tortoise nor foot-pan to be seen.

(13) Tazza from Orvieto signed by Kachrylion.[5] The inscription is remarkable for repetition of the verb in two forms ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝΕΠΟΕΣΕΝ (note also the forms of letters +, A, and P.) Such repetition may be due to the inscription being treated as part of the ornament.

(14) Euphronios vase from Caere, now in the Louvre; published by Klein [6] (as to Skiron, see p. 200). The foot-pan appears, but no tortoise.

(15) Kylix at Vienna which formerly belonged to the collection of South Italian and Sicilian vases formed at the beginning of this century by Rainer, secretary to Queen Caroline of Naples. It is briefly mentioned in Sachen and Kenner, *die Sammlungen des Münz-und Antiken Kabinets in Wien*, p. 162. no. 70 (see fig. 1). Height 9·5 centimeters, diameter 26. This vase is Italian, and, as in others of its class, the black glaze is bad, and the clay a dull yellowish red. It is to a slight extent painted over by the restorer, but only along the

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[1] *Bull. dell. Inst.* 1865, pp. 156–7, and 160.

[2] *Tod des Skiron.* See also Furtwängler, *Beschreib. d. Vasensamml.* Mus. Berlin. (No. 2288).

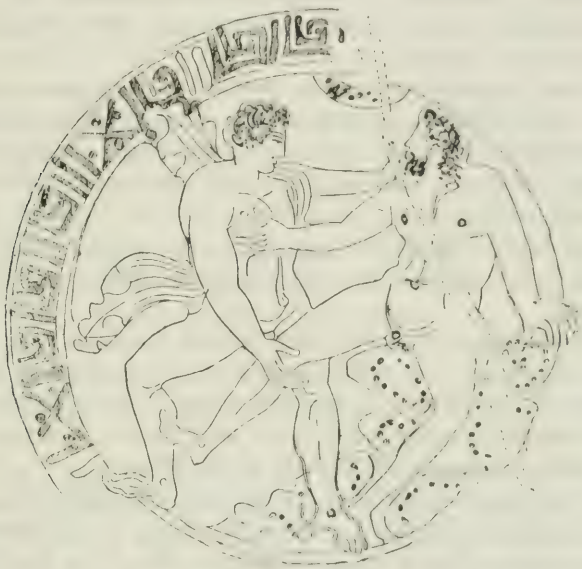
[3] A.V. III. 233, p. 154.

[4] *Bull. dell. Inst.* 1865. See also Heydemann, *Mitth.* p. 55.

[5] Klein, *Euphronios* 196. Helbig *Bull. dell. Inst.* 1882, p. 237. This interesting vase I had hoped to publish in this Journal. It is however about to be published in the Museo Italiano.

[6] See also *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, V. 1.

fracture which runs across Skiron's body. There are no engraved lines, outline, muscles, &c., being expressed by painting. I have examined it carefully but can find no inscription. The exterior has the same subject on both sides, viz. in the middle an ephebos holding a diskos; on the one hand a male figure wrapped in a cloak and holding a strigil, on the other a similar figure with a stick, then next to the handle a palmette with spirals. Under each handle is a palmette. The execution is very rough. Inside is a carelessly painted border consisting of an irregular Maeander interrupted by crosses and perpendicular lines. Within this, on the left, Theseus turned towards the right, and clothed only with a fluttering chlamys, has seized with his right hand the right leg of Skiron, who falls back on a rock, and supports himself with his left hand, while he stretches the right in supplication to his conqueror. With his left



Kylix at Vienna.

hand Theseus grasps Skiron's right shoulder. The right foot of Theseus and Skiron's left hand project beyond the circle.

As in the Munich kylix (our No. 5), Skiron's face is less extravagantly savage than usual. It resembles the type presented in the terra-cotta reliefs in Berlin and London.

The composition is good, the space being well filled. As to the treatment of the hair, the separate locks are successfully rendered in varnish colour, there being no black patch, as in the case of Theseus in Nos. 2 and 5. Both figures however are clumsy, thick-set, and coarse, especially the right arm and the left leg of Theseus. There is no trace of tortoise or of foot-pan.

The subject of this third class appears in different stages in different

vases. In the Apulian vase (No. 12), in the Vienna vase (No. 15, and woodcut), Skiron is still seated on the rock, and is seen in profile as looking at Theseus.

In the Berlin tazza (No. 8), he is lifted from the rock, and faces the spectator, as also in the Duris vase (No. 9). In the Euphronios vase (No. 14) however, he has his head already hanging down, as was probably the case in the group on the roof of the Stoa, as that group had to be seen from beneath.

All these vases are of the red-figured class, and at least five of the fifteen are held to be in the style of one master, Duris. The slaying of Skiron, like most of the adventures of Theseus, is not depicted on the vases with black figures.[1]

As to the *manner* of Skiron's death, the simplest and probably the original conception is the hurling from the rock (ῥίψας κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν[2]) without the use of weapons. This was the motive of the earlier plastic representations, and of the majority of vases, only three of which represent Theseus as striking Skiron.

There is one feature common to most of these representations, viz. the presence of a tree. This does not generally accompany the other adventures, except that with Sinis, where it has a special meaning.[3] In the case of Skiron the tree merely indicates a wild forest district,[4] though Panofka sees in it an allusion to σκιά, and points out how Skiron as Lord of Shade is overthrown by the Lord of Light (Theseus), the tortoise also being treated as a symbol of the heavens, and a connection with the group of Eos and Kephalos being thus established.

We need not however follow the learned professor over the doubtful ground of Kosmic theory. In reference to physical phenomena it is somewhat surprising that no speculative mythologist should have claimed as the origin of Skiron the storm-bringing north-west wind, which, bearing his name, is figured with shaggy locks on the Temple of the Winds.

Of all the adventures ascribed to Theseus that with Skiron is the least improbable. With the Centaurs, or in Crete, there is no chance of shaking off the supernatural. The story of Skiron on the other hand seems little more than a story of border struggles, based indeed on lawless violence and cruelty; but violence and cruelty are not uncommon even now. Violence and strife beween the borderers of Attika and Megara must have been common enough in early times, and from this may well have grown up legends in which the typical Athenian chastised his insolent opponent. To rationalize in such cases is, as a rule, inadmissible; but, if it be ever permitted, the present is a case for such exception.

According to Plutarch, the ordinary story was simply that Theseus killed Skiron by throwing him from the rocks because he robbed wayfarers. Otto

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[1] But see Heydemann, *Arch. Ztg.* 1871, 55 and Klein, *Euphronios*[2], 198.

[2] Plut. *V. Thesei*, X.

[3] The tree which occurs throughout the Euphronios vase, and in our No. 5, is a support for the clothes of Theseus.

[4] Hesychius explains σκ[ε]ίρα as χωρία ὕλην ἔχοντα. As to the etymology of Σκ[ε]ιρων, see Pape, *Wörterbuch d. Gr. Eigennamen*. See also Robert, *Hermes*, vol. xx. p. 349 foll.

Jahn[1] has suggested that the foot-washing was perhaps a comic incident introduced by Euripides in his satyric drama. This would be too late, but may not the *podanipter* date from Epicharmos? When his 'Skiron' was produced, Duris may have been still at work. That the tortoise was originally introduced merely to indicate the sea is suggested by the fact that in the metope of the Theseion its place is taken by a crab, while on the Berlin tazza, as on the frieze of Gjölbaschi, it is accompanied by other marine creatures.

But the possibility of a historical basis for the legend does not rest entirely on the absence of the improbable. In this alone among the similar adventures of the Athenian hero do we meet with a second, and essentially different, estimate of his opponent, taken from a different stand-point. The native historians of Megara have as it were presented a 'Minority Report.'

The prosaic character of the legend of Skiron no doubt is in great measure the cause of its neglect by earlier writers, and the infrequency of its occurrence on works of art.[2] Yet there is in its catastrophe a grim irony of fate which must have had its attraction for many minds. By the punishment of Skiron the Greek feeling as to 'Hybris' was duly satisfied. 'À bon chat bon rat!' is the light modern expression of a very ancient principle. Among the Greeks of the best period this principle prevailed in far deeper intensity:—

> ἀντὶ δὲ πληγῆς φονίας φονίαν
> πληγὴν τινέτω. δράσαντι παθεῖν,
> τριγέρων μῦθος τάδε φωνεῖ.
>
> Aeschylus, *Choeph.* 312—314.

TALFOURD ELY.

[NOTE.—The spelling Σκειρων or Σκιρων is discussed by Dindorf (see his edition of the Scholia on the *Andromache*), who refers to Heyne on Apollodorus, 3, 12, 6, p. 338. Inscriptions give such forms as οικτιρω in place of οικτειρω, &c. (*C.I.A.* I. 463), and the orthography of ΣΚΙΡΩΝ is confirmed by the Berlin kylix (see *C.I.G.* IV. 7723), and by the inscription on the 'Tower of the Winds' (see Stuart, *Ant. Ath.* I., ch. 3, pl. 3, and *C.I.G.* I. 518.)]

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[1] *Arch. Ztg.* 1865, p. 24.

[2] The Etruscans do not seem to have made use of the subject. It does not appear on Greek coins. See Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. VIII. p. 42.

THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO AT DELPHI.

In many respects Delphi and its varied cults possess an interest which is not to be rivalled by that of any other Hellenic site. The lofty precipices, the dark deeply-cleft ravines, the mysterious caves, and the bubbling springs of pure water, combine to give the place a romantic charm and a fearfulness of aspect which no description can adequately depict.

Again Delphi stands alone in the catholic multiplicity of the different cults which were there combined.

In primitive times it was the awfulness of Nature which impressed itself on the imaginations of the inhabitants.

In an early stage of development the mind of man tends to gloomy forms of religion: his ignorance and comparative helplessness tend to fill his brain with spiritual terrors and forebodings. Thus at Delphi the primitive worship was that of the gloomy Earth and her children, the chasm-rending Poseidon, and the Chthonian Dionysus, who, like Osiris, was the victim of the evil powers of Nature. It was not till later times that the bright Phoebus Apollo came to Delphi to slay the earth-born Python, just as the rising sun dissipates the shadows in the depths of the Delphian ravines, or as in the Indian legend the god Indra kills with his bright arrows the great serpent Ahi—symbol of the black thunder-cloud.

With him Apollo brings his mother and sister, Leto and Artemis, his usual companions, and then later still Athene[1] is added to the group of celestial deities who were worshipped by the side of the Chthonians, and by degrees took the foremost place in the religious conceptions of the worshippers at Delphi.[2]

Moreover as an oracular shrine Delphi stands quite alone among the many oracles of the Greeks.

Like Homer's *Iliad*, the sacred organisation of Delphi represented the hopes and aims of those who looked forward to a great Pan-hellenic confederation in matters both sacred and secular—a united Greece with one hierarchy of deities and common political interests, instead of a group of separate states each with its own local and tribal gods, and each fighting for its own interests, with little or no regard to the welfare of the rest of the Hellenic race.

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[1] Called Athene Pronaia from the position of her temple in front of that of Apollo —διὰ τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ ἱδρῦσθαι. It was one of the group of four temples seen by Pausanias on his entrance into Delphi; see x. 8.

[2] Even as late as Plutarch's time there was a temple of Gaia near the temenos of Apollo (*Pyth. or.* 17); and the Chthonian Dionysus shared with Apollo the worship in his inmost sanctuary.

Though in practice it broke down, yet the theory did at one time exist that the Amphiktionic Council should never advise Greek to fight against Greek, and should preserve a strict neutrality in all political matters.

But it was only for a short time—the period of the Persian invasion—that it seemed as if this dream might come true and Zeus Pan-hellenius be the common divine guardian of the united states of Hellas.[1]

In some respect the scope of influence of the Delphic oracle was too wide. Extending as it did far beyond the limits of the Hellenic states, the oracle was led to include foreign interests in its consideration, even when they were hostile to those of Hellenic people. Thus, corrupted by the costly gifts and honours paid by Lydian and other Oriental kings, the oracle discouraged the Cnidians from resisting Harpagus, Cyrus' general; Herod. I. 174; and at the time of Xerxes' invasion the Pythia committed the fatal blunder of advising the Greeks to submit to Persia—a mistake which cost the oracle very dear, as is most strikingly shown by the constant mention of the Delphic oracle and temple in the pages of Herodotus compared with the almost complete silence of Thucydides on the subject.[2]

Lastly, in wealth of works of art, and in the variety of their dates and origin, Delphi must have stood quite alone; and, as I hope to show in the following paper, the temple of Apollo possesses many points of exceptional interest, and, from its date being known, is of very great value for purposes of comparison with other buildings of the same epoch—the middle period between the highly archaic and the perfected form of the Doric style.

Now that the long-expected excavations on the site of the Delphian temple are, it is to be hoped, at last about to begin, it may seem an unfortunate time to deal with the subject. But, in the first place, some of the evidence afforded by the remains which I was able to measure some years ago can hardly be contradicted by future discoveries, and, secondly, it is well before beginning an excavation to seek out from all available sources what records exist about the building, so as to know what to look for, and how to read the lesson taught by even the smallest piece of detail.

For this reason I have laid before the Hellenic Society such literary and other indications as I have been able to collect about the temple, and also a hypothetical restoration of the building, in spite of the probability of its being in some respects confuted by future discoveries.

The Five Successive Temples.

According to the traditions handed down by the Greeks there were five successive temples built to enshrine the world-famed oracular chasm of Delphi.

[1] See Herod. VIII. 144, and various speeches made by Athenian and Spartan envoys with regard to the proposed alliance of Athens with the Persians.

[2] The force of this comparison is modified by the fact that Thucydides was an Athenian writer at a time when Athens was cultivating the worship of her own special goddess, and of the Delian rival of the Pythian Apollo.

It should however be observed that the first three temples seem to have belonged to a pre-historic period, earlier than the date of the Homeric poems, and anterior to the introduction into Delphi of the cult of Apollo and other celestial deities.

To these pre-historic temples belonged the worship of the Chthonian deities, the daughters of Gaia, Poseidon ἐννοσίγαιος and others.

Pausanias (X. 5) gives a list of these five temples, not, however, distinguishing those which were earlier than the Apollo cult.

I. 'They say that the most ancient temple of Apollo was made of branches of bay (δάφνης), gathered from the bay-tree at Tempe. The temple thus constructed would have the shape of a hut (καλύβη).'

This legend may possibly be an invention of later times, devised to connect the oldest temple with the worship of Apollo by making its materials the sacred tree of Apollo, gathered at the scene of his nine years' exile and purification after the slaughter of the Python:[1] a story which even as late as Plutarch's time—early in the second century A.D.—was commemorated every ninth year at the feast Septerion by a sort of miracle-play (ἱερὸς λόγος); see *De def. or.* 15, *Quaes. Graec.* 12, and *De Mus.* 14; cf. Ephor. ap. Strabo IX. 3; and Aelian, *Var. hist.* III. i.

II. Pausanias then goes on:—'The second temple, the people of Delphi say, was built by bees, with bees' wax and with wings'—Δεύτερα δέ λέγουσιν οἱ Δελφοὶ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ μελισσῶν τὸν ναὸν, ἀπό τε τοῦ κηροῦ τῶν μελισσῶν καὶ ἐκ πτερῶν. This passage is usually taken to mean that the mythical building was made of bees' wings and wax—a too impossible structure even for a fabulous temple. But Pausanias does not say that the wings were those of bees, and it seems more probable that birds' wings are meant.

This myth is perhaps referred to in an unfortunately corrupt passage of Plutarch, *De Pyth. or.* 17, who gives, as an early example of heroic metre, what appears to be part of an ancient oracular saying—

Συμφέρετε πτερὰ οἰωνοὶ, κηρόν τε μέλισσαι,

'Bring your wings, O birds; your wax, O bees.'

Pausanias then adds that, according to the legend, this second temple was removed into the Hyperborean regions. A little earlier in the same chapter (X. 5) he mentions that, according to one of the various legends, the Hyperboreans were the original founders of the oracle.[2]

With regard to the temple of wings and bees' wax, it should be noted

[1] Plutarch ridicules the legend of Apollo's exile and purification after the slaughter of the Python (*De def. or.* 15), but the story probably has some connection with a very wide-spread custom among different races at an early stage of their development. Even now many savage tribes, both in Africa and America, go through some form of propitiation when they have killed a dangerous animal, with the object of averting injury from the enraged ghost of the beast. Similarly after slaying enemies in battle some savages go through a form of purification, keeping themselves apart for a certain period from the rest of the tribe till the ghosts of the slain are propitiated. These curious facts I owe to Mr. J. G. Frazer.

[2] Probably only a mode of expressing that the origin of the oracle was lost in the mists of antiquity.

that the priestesses of Apollo are sometimes called μέλισσαι (Pindar, *Pyth.* IV. 106), a name also given in other places to priestesses of Demeter and Artemis. It seems possible that this story is an unconscious survival of the worship of a bee totem. Pausanias next gives one of those rationalistic explanations of an old myth such as were frequently invented in late times—namely, that the wing story came from this second temple having been built by a Delphian named *Pteras*—an explanation which we may put by the side of another tale which was devised to explain away the Python as being the name of a brigand who infested Delphi; see Ephor. ap. Strabo, IX. 3. A second rationalistic theory that the second temple was made of fern branches (πτέρις) Pausanias mentions, but does not believe.

III. The third temple, according to the myth quoted by Pausanias (X. 5), was constructed of bronze by Hephaestus. To show that a bronze building is not an impossibility Pausanias mentions Danae's tower, the then existing shrine of Athene Chalcioecus at Sparta, and the Forum in Rome which had a bronze roof.[1] Pausanias did not however believe in Hephaestus having been the builder of the third temple at Delphi.[2] Two legends are given by Pausanias as to the fate of the third temple; one being that it was burnt, the other that it was swallowed up in a chasm which opened in the earth—a not improbable supposition with regard to a place which has so frequently suffered severely from earthquakes; great damage was done there as recently as 1870 by a convulsion which shattered and threw down great masses of rock.

IV. All that Pausanias (X. 5) says about the fourth temple is that 'it was built of stone by Trophonius and Agamedes, and that it was destroyed by fire when Exicleides was Archon in Athens, in the first year of the 58th Olympiad (548 B.C.), when Diognetus of Croton was victor.'

With the founding of the fourth temple we have come to the period of the advent of Apollo to Delphi, as described in the Homeric Hymn to the Pythian Apollo, which relates how the deity, after visiting Olympus, and being admired there for his beauty, journeyed to various places in search of a home, finding none to suit him till he reached the port of Delphi, Krissa.[3] Landing there he says: 'I will build a splendid temple to be an oracle for men, they will bring hecatombs from Peloponnesus, from Europe, and from the isles, and I will make revelations to them in my temple.'

Then Phoebus Apollo lays massive foundations, and on them Trophonius and Agamedes, sons of Erginus, laid the stone threshold (λάινος οὐδός), and countless crowds of men raised the temple with smoothly-cut blocks of stone, ξεστοῖσιν λάεσσιν.

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[1] This must have been the newly built Forum of Trajan, the only one in Rome which was roofed with bronze tiles; cf. Paus. v. 12.

[2] To Pausanias' list of bronze or bronze-cased buildings we may add the great bee-hive tomb at Mycenae, and the similar one at Orchomenus, which are seen from the existing traces to have been once lined on the inside with bronze plates.

[3] Apollo's voyage to Delphi, floating over the sea in his tripod, is one of the most gracefully rendered paintings on Greek vases of the best red-figure period—notably one in the Vatican, Museo Gregoriano, in which the tripod is represented with wings.

But near the temple (ὀυδός) was a spring of water, guarded by a she dragon (δράκαινα), the nurse of Typhon, which laid waste the land.

Then (in the hymn) Apollo describes how he slew the dragon, and then sang a paean of victory.

The dragon's body lay putrefying under the sun's rays, and hence the god takes the title 'Pythian' (πύθεσθαι).[1]

The rest of the Homeric hymn describes how priests were needed for the new shrine—Apollo sees in the gulf opposite Krissa a ship on its voyage to Pylos, manned by sailors from Gnossus, the city of Minos, in Crete: the god swims out to the ship in the form of a dolphin, and induces the crew to put in to Krissa. He then re-assumes his divine form, and appoints the Cretan sailors to be his servants at Delphi, after they had raised an altar on the shore and offered sacrifice to him as Apollo Delphinios.

In later times pilgrims on their way to consult the oracle offered a preliminary sacrifice to Apollo immediately on landing at Krissa, or Cirrha, as it was afterwards called.

The chief builders of this fourth temple, Trophonius and Agamedes, were sons of Erginus, King of Orchomenus, the son of Poseidon; according to Pausanias (IX. 37) they also built a treasury in Boeotia for King Hyrieus.[2] Cicero (*Tusc. Disp.* I. 47) tells a story that Trophonius and Agamedes asked of Apollo a reward for their labour in building his temple. The god promised them the best of all gifts, and consequently within three days they were both found dead. Cicero compares this legend with another story, that Silenus, when captured by King Midas, bought his freedom by revealing the truth that it was better not to be born.

Herodotus (I. 31) quotes a story told by Solon to King Croesus, the point of which is much the same.

Two youths yoked themselves to a cart and dragged their aged and infirm mother to the Feast at the Temple of Hera at Argos. The grateful mother prayed Hera that her sons might receive the best of gifts in return for their filial piety, and the goddess answered her prayer by causing them both to die the following night. Statues of these youths existed at Delphi in Herodotus' time. Cf. Herod. VII. 46 for the same melancholy conclusion.

Trophonius had a temple and a very celebrated oracular cave, or rather subterranean vault, at Lebadea, in Boeotia, which Herodotus mentions as a famous oracle in his time and earlier. Pausanias (IX. 39) gives a very curious description of his own experience in consulting the oracle of Trophonius. The ordeal must have been rather trying to weak nerves.

Stephanus of Byzantium (s. v. Δελφοί) writes as if part at least of this fourth temple had survived and been incorporated in the last building: Δελφοὶ:

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[1] An impossible derivation. Other stories give different origins for this name, *e.g.* from the serpent's name being Python, and again from πυθώ in the sense of 'a question,' as if the Python were symbolic of prophetic power derived from the earth.

[2] Trophonius and Agamedes are said to have built a temple to Poseidon at Mantinaea; see Apollod. III., x. 1.

πόλις ἐπὶ τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ πρὸς τῇ Φωκίδι, ἔνθα τὸ ἄδυτον ἐκ πέντε λίθων[1] κατεσκεύασται, ἔργον Ἀγαμήδους καὶ Τροφωνίου.

Though the Homeric Hymn omits any mention of an earlier Oracle having existed at Delphi before the advent of Apollo, yet the story it tells appears not to be wholly misleading. The fact that Krissa was more ancient than the Delphi of Apollo's time is borne witness to by existing remains there of very massive rough polygonal masonry of the Tiryns type, while at Delphi there is nothing to be seen of earlier date than very carefully jointed and wrought polygonal ashlar.

The fourth temple, that of Trophonius and Agamedes, must be the one mentioned by Homer, in whose time the oracle of Apollo at Delphi was widely famed and rich in stores of the precious metals.

Thus (*Il.* IX. 404) life is said by Achilles to be a possession not to be sold for any amount of wealth—

Οὐδ' ὅσα λάινος οὐδὸς ἀφήτορος ἐντὸς ἐέργει
Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθοῖ ἔνι πετρηέσσῃ.

And according to Homer (*Od.* VIII. 80) Agamemnon consults the Delphic oracle before entering upon the Trojan war.

It is noticeable that the Temple of Athene in Troy and that at Delphi are the only stone temples mentioned as such by Homer. His use of the word οὐδός in both the above passages suggests that in early times it must have had a more extended meaning than that of 'threshold'; being used, as it is, to denote the whole building.

V. We now come to the fifth and last temple, of which some remains still exist: see Paus. X. 5.

As already mentioned, the fourth temple was destroyed in the year 548 B.C.; and according to Herodotus (II. 180) it was accidentally burnt—αὐτομάτως κατεκάη. Herodotus in another passage (I. 50) speaks of the effect of the fire on one of Croesus' most costly gifts.

Philochorus (*Fr.* 70) gives a probably baseless report that it was set on fire by order of the jealous Athenian Peisistratidae who encouraged the rival Delian oracle.

On the destruction of the fourth temple a meeting of the Amphiktionic Council was held (Herod. II. 180), and it was then decided that a quarter of the cost of the new temple, namely 75 talents,[2] should be borne by the people of Delphi, and that the remainder of the 300 talents needed for the work should be collected as donations from the rest of the civilized world. Accordingly a number of Delphians set off on their travels to collect subscriptions.

In few places, Herodotus says, was so handsome a subscription given as in Egypt, where the Greek colonists of Naukratis and elsewhere sub-

[1] Another version reads Πεντελικοῦ, but certainly such a pre-historic building would not have been of marble; nor indeed is it likely to have been constructed of only five blocks.

[2] About £18,000: the whole sum being about £72,000.

scribed twenty minae, and King Amasis contributed 1,000 talents of alum (*στυπτηρία*).

The architect selected by the Amphiktions was a Corinthian named Spintharus—an otherwise unknown name: Paus. X. 5.

The contractors for the new building were, as Herodotus (v. 62) relates, some wealthy members of the Alcmaeonidae family, who were then exiles from Athens through the enmity of the Peisistratid Hippias, after the death of the partisans of Kylon.

The Alcmaeonidae were not only wealthy, but had been possessed of political influence, partly arising out of their friendship with Croesus of Lydia — himself the most munificent of benefactors to the Delphian shrine.

According to the contract drawn up between the Amphiktionic Council and their builders, the temple was to be built of local lime-stone (*πώρινος λίθος*), but with great liberality the contractors made the columns of the front of white Parian marble, Herod. V. 62.[1]

It was perhaps partly on account of the munificence of the contractors that on many occasions the Delphic oracle repeated that the Peisistratid tyrants ought to be driven out of Athens: see Herod. V. 63.

With the exception of the external sculpture, which we learn from Pausanias (X. 19) was not finished till the latter half of the fifth century B.C., the building cannot have taken many years to complete, considering the enthusiasm of the contractors and the ample supply of money which poured in from so many sources.

In all probability the temple was fit for use before the end of the sixth century. Pindar, writing about 490 B.C., speaks of it as if it were not in an unfinished state: he says (*Pyth.* VII. 9), 'O Phoebus, all cities talk of the citizens of Erechtheus, who have built your magnificent temple at divine Pytho,' thus alluding to its Athenian contractors. Its beauty in later times is celebrated by Euripides (*Ion*, 184-189), where the two sculptured pediments are specially mentioned.[2]

Before dealing at length with the design and details of Spintharus' temple, I may say that it was, as might be expected from its date, a Doric hexastyle peripteral building; with sculpture in both pediments and in some of the metopes.

Pausanias (X. 19) tells us that the sculpture was begun by the Athenian Praxias, but was finished after his death by another Athenian sculptor named Androsthenes, a pupil of Eucadmus.

Praxias, who was a pupil of the celebrated Calamis, probably died about the year 430 B.C.

As Welcker has dedicated a learned monograph to the subject of the pedimental sculpture, and I am now dealing chiefly with the architecture of the temple, I will merely give a list of the subjects of the various groups, first

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[1] The munificence of the Alcmaeonidae is referred to by Pindar (*Pyth.* VII.), *οἱ τεόν τε δόμον Πυθῶνι δίᾳ θαητὸν ἔτευξαν.*

[2] See also Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* VII. 11.

of the *pediments*, as described by Pausanias (X. 19), and secondly of the *metopes*, as named by Euripides (*Ion*, 190-219).

Eastern front: in the principal pediment were statues of Apollo standing between Latona and Artemis:[1] the setting sun occupied one angle, and, though Pausanias does not mention it, the rising sun probably occupied the other angle.

Western front: the less important pediment was filled with sculpture in honour of Dionysus, with whom Apollo shared the Delphian cult; an important survival of the primitive Chthonian worship which survived to the latest time.

In the centre was Dionysus, and at the sides the Thyiades, his maenad votaries, who according to Pausanias (X. 4) were Athenian women who went every year to Parnassus to celebrate the orgies of Dionysus in company with the women of Delphi.[2]

The metopes are not mentioned by Pausanias: only those within the Pro-naos appear to have been sculptured, and their position would be easily overlooked by a hurried sight-seer.

Five of the subjects are mentioned by Euripides (*Ion*, 190–219); all represent the victories of gods or heroes over monsters born of the earth, subjects evidently chosen from their relation to the victory of Apollo over the earth-born Python.

I. The first relief named by the Chorus is the slaughter of the Lernean Hydra by Heracles and Iolaus.

II. Bellerophon on Pegasus killing the Chimaera.

III. Zeus slaying with his thunder-bolt the Giant Mimas.

IV. Athene slaying Enceladus.

V. Dionysus (*βρόμιος*) killing with his ivy-wreathed thyrsus another Giant—*ἄλλον . . . γᾶς τέκνων*.[3]

In the usual fashion these marble reliefs would have weapons and other accessories of gilt bronze: Euripides (*Ion*, 192) speaks of the '*χρυσέαις ἅρπαις*' with which the Hydra is being slain.

Like the Parthenon and the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, the Temple of Apollo had its architrave decorated with gilt bronze shields (Paus. X. 19). Those on the east front and north flank were dedicated by the Athenians out of the spoils taken at Marathon.

On the west front and south flank were shields of the Galatae, dedicated by the Aetolians after the victory over the army of Brennus in 279 B.C.; Justin. XXIV. 8, and Paus. X. 19 to 23.

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[1] The well-known series of statues in the Vatican of Apollo Musagetes and the Muses, though rather feeble works of Imperial date, look as if they were partly copies of some much earlier pediment sculpture. They clearly were designed to range in graduated heights. Pausanias does not mention how these groups were distributed in the two pediments, but there can be little doubt that one referred to Apollo and his cult, while the other dealt with the worship of Dionysus.

[2] The name (Paus. X. 6) was derived from Thyia, who became by Apollo the mother of Delphus (cf. Herod. VII. 178), and was the first to celebrate orgies in honour of Dionysos.

[3] Mr. A. S. Murray suggests that the reliefs III. to V., battles of gods and giants, belonged, not to the metopes, but to an internal frieze; see *Builder*, Oct. 27, 1888.

Pausanias, in whose time the shields still remained, remarks (X. 19) that the Gaulish shields resembled in form those of the Persians which were called γέρρα, made of wicker-work; see Herod. X. 62.

Many years afterwards, at the close of the third Sacred War in 346 B.C., these shields from Marathon were made the occasion of an arbitrarily trumped up charge against Athens. The Locrians of Amphissa accused the Athenians before the Amphiktionic Council of impiety in having dedicated the shields before the temple was purified and reconsecrated after the defilement caused by the Persian invasion. The Council, being hostile to the Athenians, decreed that they should pay a fine of fifty talents: whereupon Aeschines (see *De Cor.*) made a violent speech against the Locrians, and thus was caused a new sacred war which finally brought Philip to Chaeronea, and so led to the loss of Greek freedom under the Macedonian supremacy.

The general external aspect of the Temple is indicated on the reverses of several bronze Roman coins of Hadrian and Faustina the elder, illustrated by Professor Gardner in his valuable 'Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias,' *Journ. Hell. Stud.* Vol. VIII. p. 14, 1887.

On all these reverses the Temple is treated in the usual conventional method of die-engravers, and they are very little to be trusted for information as to the actual design of the Temple. Thus the number of columns are reduced to suit the space; only one, a bronze coin of Faustina, showing the full number of six columns on the front. On others the central columns are omitted to leave room for the mystic E which was in the pro-naos, and the gold statue of Apollo in the adytum.[1] The pediment has the high Roman pitch, and, in one case—another coin of Faustina—one of the golden shields from the architrave is shown in the tympanum of the front pediment. In one coin of Hadrian sculpture is vaguely indicated in the pediment, but the figures seem to have no relation to the actual subject.

On one coin the Temple is shown resting on a podium of purely Roman fashion.

Before discussing the evidence supplied by existing remains it will be convenient to deal with the information that can be gathered from classical writers about the Temple and its contents.

Within the peristyle the Temple consisted of four parts, namely, I. a pro-naos; II. a cella; III. a sanctuary; IV. a vault.

I. The front of the pro-naos in temples of this class consisted of two Doric columns *in antis*, forming three spaces or intercolumniations, which, as in other temples, would be closed by an open bronze grill for the safety of the objects outside the cella and within the pro-naos.

On the walls of the pro-naos were inscriptions in gold letters, including various sayings, said to have been dedicated to Apollo by the five[2] wise men.

[1] It is common for die-engravers to represent the statue inside the cella as if it had been in the front part of the peristyle. In one case, that of the temple of Vesta in Rome, a statue is shown in front even though there was none in the building; see Middleton, *Ancient Rome*, p. 183. Various other conventional licences are taken with buildings shown on coins.

[2] One form of the story numbered seven sages; see Plut. *De εἰ*, 3.

Plato (*Charm.* 165) quotes three of these—Σωφρόνει, γνῶθι σεαυτόν: μηδὲν ἄγαν: and ἐγγύα πάρα δ' ἄτη.

Pausanias (X. 24) and Plutarch (*Pyth. or.* 29) only give the first two of these, which according to one legend were attributed to Chilon.

The most conspicuous object on the pro-naos wall was another gift of the sages, the Mystic E of Delphi, about which Plutarch has written a curious dissertation. In Plutarch's time there seem to have been three of these E's (see *De εἰ*, 3). One made of wood, said to have been the original offering of the Wise Men: a second of bronze given by the Athenians, and a third of gold, dedicated by the Empress Livia Augusta.

Plutarch in this treatise declares that the real meaning of the symbol was unknown, but he suggests the five following interpretations:—

I. *De εἰ*, § 3, That it was the numeral 5, meaning the number of the sages who gave it.

II. § 5. That E was εἰ, meaning 'if,' because inquirers of the oracle asked *if* they should do this or that.

III. § 5. That it stood for εἴθε, 'would that,' expressive of prayer to the deity.

IV. § 8 to 16. That it was the mystic number *five*.

V. § 17 to 21. That it was an address to God, 'Thou art,' expressive of belief in His existence, something like the phrase ὁ ὤν.

In the time of Herodotus (I. 51) there stood in the angle of the pro-naos a great silver crater, holding 600 amphorae, one of the numerous gifts of Croesus. It was an elaborate work of art, made by the famous Theodorus of Samos,[1] the partner of Rhoecus, the architect of the first temple of Artemis at Ephesus. It was filled with wine at the festival of the Theophania. Near the silver crater stood another offering, three bronze stars on the top of a bronze mast (Herod. VIII. 122), given by the Aeginetans after the battle of Salamis in obedience to a demand made by the oracle when asked whether Apollo had received his full tithe of the spoils. The god had already received as his share a large bronze statue of Salamis holding the acroterium of a ship.

The pro-naos was also probably the place where Pausanias saw a bronze statue of Homer on a pillar (X. 24), and with it, inscribed on the pillar, was an oracle which was said to have been given to Homer.[2] Pausanias quotes it, but it is evidently of late date from its extreme inanity.

II. The next division of the Temple was the main cella, probably the οἶκος mentioned by Plutarch (*De def. or.* 50) as the place where inquirers who came to consult the oracle sat down and waited for the response, and were at irregular intervals conscious of a sweet smell, like costly perfumes,

[1] Said by Pausanias (III. 12) to have been the first who made cast iron, and used iron for statues. He is also said to have been the maker of the celebrated emerald ring of King Polycrates (Herod. III. 41), and of the golden vine which overshadowed the couch of Darius, Himer. *Ecl.* XXXI. 8. It appears probable that there were two artists of this name; see Murray, *Greek Sculp.* I. p. 77.

[2] Fig. 13 below gives an example of such an inscribed columnar pedestal.

which Plutarch attributes to the divine exhalation from the oracular chasm in the rock. The cella floor was made of slabs of a hard blue-grey limestone, probably from a quarry near Amphissa—very like that from Eleusis used for similar purposes in Athens. Water from the Castalian spring was used to wash it (Eur. *Ion*, 95).

A row of Ionic columns on each side supported the roof of the cella, which appears to have had an open hypaethrum. Justin, XXIV. 8, relates that when Delphi was invaded by the Gauls the Pythia and the priests cried out that they saw Apollo descending through the roof-opening—'eum se vidisse desilientem in templum per aperta culminis fastigia.'

After passing through the door from the pro-naos into the cella[1] Pausanias (X. 24) mentions certain objects which must have been in the main cella, as he does not appear to have been admitted into the sanctuary, 'into which,' he says, 'few have access.' These were 'an altar of Poseidon, the most ancient possessor of the oracle.'[2]

There were also statues of two of the Fates, of Zeus Moiragetes and of Apollo Moiragetes. Why there were not all three Fates is one of the many problems about the Temple of Delphi which Plutarch professes himself unable to explain: *De εἰ Delph.* 2. Next Pausanias mentions the iron chair in which Pindar used to sit, singing hymns to Apollo whenever he visited Delphi.[3]

Another very interesting object, an iron crater-stand, mentioned by Herodotus was evidently seen by Pausanias, as he gives a minute description of it (X. 16), though in a very different part of his description of Delphi. In no part of his work is Pausanias very careful to mention objects he saw in their proper order, but his account of Delphi is more confused than any other part of his book.

Possibly his loose notes, made on the spot, got mixed up, and he was unable afterwards to arrange them correctly. Thus he mentions both this iron crater-stand and the omphalos three chapters earlier than his account of the contents of the Temple, and indeed says nothing to lead the reader to think that they were in the Temple at all, though we know from other sources that they were.[4] Herodotus (I. 25) records that Alyattes, King of Lydia and father of Croesus, gave to the temple at Delphi a silver bowl in an iron stand made by Glaucus of Chios, who is said both by Herodotus and by Pausanias (X. 16) to have been the first who welded iron, as Theodorus of Samos was the first to cast it (Paus. III. 12).

Herodotus remarks that the iron stand was elaborately wrought, and was

[1] This would be τὸ μέγα θύρωμα mentioned in one of the inscriptions on the polygonal wall. M. Foucart takes this phrase to imply that there was a smaller side-door, but the door leading from the pro-naos into the cella, being for the use of the public, would naturally be larger than that into the private sanctuary, and thus the word μέγα would be used to distinguish the former.

[2] Pausanias next mentions the hearth (ἑστία) at which Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, was slain by the priest of Apollo, but this appears to have been in the sanctuary, as is mentioned below.

[3] This also may have been in the adytum, as Pausanias says it was near the ἑστία.

[4] Pausanias' description of the Temple is broken up into chapters 5, 16, and 19.

the best worth seeing of all the offerings at Delphi. According to Athenaeus (*Deipnos.* V. 13) it was ornamented with plants and animals. It is also thought noteworthy by Plutarch (see *De def. or.* 47). This remarkable piece of ironwork, owing to its small intrinsic value, survived all the robberies that the temple suffered down to the days of Pausanias;[1] the silver bowl which it supported having vanished with the rest of the precious metals during the third Sacred war, under the ruthless hands of Philomelus and Onomarchus. It was indeed, as Pausanias remarks, the only one of the many gifts of the kings of Lydia which existed in his time. Pausanias (X. 16) remarks as a proof of Glaucus' skill in the welding of iron (*σιδήρου κόλλησις*) that the bars of which the stand was made were not fastened with nails or rivets, but merely held by the welding. He describes the stand (*ὑπόθημα τοῦ Ἀλυάττου κρατῆρος*) as being a tower-shaped object, widening at the base, with sides made of open iron-work like the steps of a ladder, and the upper part of the supports bent outwards so as to form a seat for the crater.

The walls of the cella were decorated by paintings; Pliny (*N.H.* XXXV. 138) mentions Aristoclides as being the author of some of these, and (ib. 59) he says that Polygnotus executed paintings in the Temple at Delphi—'Delphis aedem pinxit'—but he may possibly refer to the celebrated series in the Lesche.

It appears probable that in late times some of the countless inscriptions at Delphi recording privileges granted to states or private persons were cut on the pro-naos and cella walls.[2] Two inscribed blocks with decrees of *προξενία* which have been found look as if they had formed part of the temple wall, and an existing inscription (*C. I. G.* 1711) bears similar witness, mentioning a decree 'quae etiam Delphis in latere aedis insculpta est.'

III.—At the further end of the cella a door led into an inner sanctuary, *τὸ ἄδυτον* or *τὸ ἐσωτάτω*, only entered, as a rule, by the priestly servants of Apollo.

The principal object in this chamber was, in Pausanias' time (X. 24), a gold statue of Apollo, which the writer probably did not see.

Being of gold this statue must certainly have been later than the third Sacred war and the robberies of the Phocians, and probably was more recent than the time of Sulla's and even of Nero's spoliations. So costly a gift may well have been due to Hadrian,[3] who showed great liberality to the Temple of

[1] Another remarkable piece of iron-work is mentioned by Pausanias (X. 18) among the votive offerings in the temenos at Delphi. This was a group of Herakles killing the hydra made of iron and given by Tisagoras, an otherwise unknown sculptor, who also made and dedicated to Dionysos at Pergamus iron heads of a lion and boar.

[2] As, for example, the celebrated inscription of the 'res gestae' of Augustus, which is cut on both the cella and pro-naos walls of the temple at Ancyra

[3] Called on some of his coins 'Restitutor Achaiae,' from his munificence to many Greek cities. A fine *rev.* on a 1st B. has Hadrian raising a kneeling female figure, who represents Greece treated in an allegorical way. The revival of the glories of Delphi extended to Pylaea, about a mile distant, the meeting-place of the Amphiktionic Council.

Plutarch remarks (*Pyth. or.* 29) that Pylaea at the time of his writing was more magnificent with its temples, public buildings, and fountains than it had ever been in the past thousand years. Remains there still exist of fine buildings of the second century A.D., among them

Delphi. Unlike the figure of Apollo Moiragetes, which appears to have been fully draped like the ordinary Citharoedus type, the gold statue in the sanctuary, which would be the one represented on the coins of Hadrian and Faustina mentioned above, seems to have been a nude figure standing with the left arm supported by a short column.

This is pointed out by Prof. Gardner, *Num. Com. on Paus.* p. 120–1.

The fate of this gold statue is said to have been a curious one, the story told by the Byzantine Nicetas being that it was removed to Byzantium, probably along with the bronze serpent column of Plataea and other Delphian works of art, and that it remained there till the year 1204, when the Franks, having captured Byzantium, melted the statue to make into gold coins—'Besants.'

In addition to the statue of Apollo, the sanctuary, rather than the public cella, seems to have contained two important objects—a fire-altar and the Omphalos, a conical mass of 'white marble or stone' (Paus. X. 16) which was said to mark the centre of the earth.[1] Though the Omphalos became in later times the symbol of Apollo it evidently dated from a far off pre-historic period, when a rude conical stone was used as the symbol of a deity, long before the cultus of Apollo was brought to Delphi.[2]

The cone in the temple of the Phoenician Aphrodite at Paphos, shown on bronze and silver coins of Caracalla, and that in the temple of Adonis at the Phoenician Byblus, represented on a First Brass of Macrinus, are examples of a similar rude symbol.

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drums of columns 6′ 3″ in diameter, which must have belonged to some important building.

The view from Pylaea, which is even finer and more commanding than that from Delphi, extends over the fertile plain from Amphissa to the harbour at Cirrha, as is described by Aeschines, *con. Ctes.* 118-124. Herodes Atticus, the munificent benefactor of Athens, expended part of his immense wealth at Delphi, where he covered the stadium with Pentelic marble; Paus. X. 32.

[1] In spite of the reproof administered by Apollo to Epimenides of Phaestus for denying that the Omphalos was the earth's centre (Plut. *De def. or.* I.); Varro (*Lin. Lat.* VII. 17) appears not only to ridicule that belief, but also asserts that the navel is not the centre of the human body. The passage is a very curious one: it was to me unintelligible, but Professor Jebb has kindly shown me how to translate it without any tampering with the received text: what Varro seems to say is this—"The umbilicus (ὀμφαλός) at Delphi is said to be so called from the human navel, because it is at the centre of the earth, as the navel is of our bodies. Both these assumptions are untrue. The Delphic ὀμφαλός is not at the centre of the earth, nor is the navel in the centre of the human body. . . . Further, if there be any such 'centre' of the earth,—that is a 'navel,' of rounded form, (at any rate) the central point at Delphi, and (*ex hypothesi*) of the earth, is not this (ὀμφαλός), but what in the temple at Delphi is called the χάσμα (the oracular cleft in the rock)." The objection as to the human navel is true if the measurement be taken straight upwards and downwards to the top of the head and the soles of the feet, but, as Vitruvius points out (III. i. 3), if a man's arms and legs be both widely extended, his fingers and toes will just reach the circumference of a circle of which the navel is the centre.

Leonardo da Vinci has illustrated this with a pen drawing in his MS. on the proportions of the human figure, now in the Ambrosian library at Milan: published by Dr. Richter, London, 1880.

Pausanias (II. 13) mentions another Omphalos at Phlius, which, strange to say, was supposed to mark the centre of the Peloponnese. The word ὀμφαλὸς was probably derived from ὀμφή, a voice, because the divine voice was heard there.

[2] In a similar way the Kaaba at Mecca, now so much revered by all Moslem races, originally belonged to a much older and more primitive worship, which Mohammed was unable wholly to sweep away.

A strange object, very like the Omphalos, is shown in some early rock-cut reliefs discovered in Asia Minor.

One at Pterium in Cappadocia represents a king, holding in his hand a small shrine, standing on an object shaped like the Omphalos, and covered with large scales like those of a fir-cone: see Perrot et Guillaume, *Galatie et Bithynie*, Vol. II. Pl. 47: Paris, 1872.[1]

The story that Zeus discovered the centre of the earth by the meeting of two eagles in their flight from the extreme east and west of the world was recorded by two gold eagles, which were set at the sides of the Omphalos: see Strabo, IX. p. 419. Strabo says: *Δείκνυται καὶ ὀμφαλός τις ἐν τῷ ναῷ τεταινιωμένος, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ αἱ δύο εἰκόνες τοῦ μύθου.*[2] These must have been restorations of the original gold eagles mentioned by the scholiast to Eurip. *Orestes*, 331, *ἀνακεῖσθαί τε χρυσοῦς ἀετοὺς φασὶ, τῶν μυθευομένων ἀετῶν ὑπομνήματα*; and also by Pindar (*Pyth.* IV. 6), who speaks of the Pythian priestess being 'seated near the golden birds of Zeus.' The scholiast to this passage records that, as we might expect, the gold eagles were stolen during the Phocian occupation of Delphi; and the scholiast to Lucian (*περὶ ὀρχήσεως*, 38) relates that their place had been supplied by figures of eagles worked in mosaic in the pavement by the Omphalos, *Λέγουσιν ἐν Δελφοῖς ὀμφαλὸν εἶναι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους τοῦ νεὼ, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀετὼ* (var. lec. *ἀετοὺς*) *γεγράφθαι ἀπὸ συνθέσεως λίθων.*

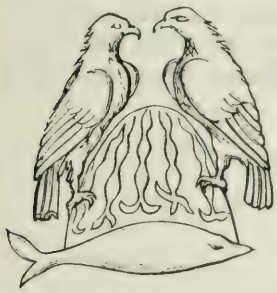

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

These golden eagles are shown (see Fig. 1) on a rare electrum stater of Cyzicus published by Canon Greenwell (*Num. Chron.* Ser. III. Vol. VII. Pl. I. No. 23), and also on a newly-discovered marble relief from Sparta (illustrated in the *Mittheil. Arch. Inst. Athen.* 1887 Pl. XII.), which represents Apollo Musagetes with his lyre holding a bowl into which Nike[3] pours wine from an oenochoe, (Fig. 2). Between the two figures is the Omphalos on a step-base;

[1] A very similar object also occurs among other, so-called Hittite, sculptures; see plate in Menant's article, *Intailles de l'Asie Mineure*, Revue Archéologique, ser. III. vol. vi.

[2] In later times the legend was modified (in order to connect it with Apollo) by substituting swans or crows, birds sacred to him, for Zeus' eagles; see Plut. *De def. or.* I., and Strabo, IX. p. 419.

[3] The writer of the article on this relief calls the female figure Artemis, but it is clearly of the Nike type.

and on each side of it an eagle.[1] The fillets on the Omphalos are not shown, as they are on the Cyzicene stater, but the figures of the eagles are no doubt more correctly rendered than on the coin, where the artist, probably from want of space, has represented them clinging awkwardly to the sides of the Omphalos. Another difference is that in the marble relief the eagles are 'regardant,' to use a modern heraldic term, while on the coin they face each other. The tunny fish under the Omphalos on the coin is simply the badge of Cyzicus, which occurs on all its many types. The date of the coin is probably about the middle of the fifth century B.C., while the relief must date nearly a century later.

Though representations of the gold eagles in ancient art are very rare,[2] yet an immense number of vases, reliefs, and other objects exist which show the Omphalos, either bare or ornamented with various forms of hanging fillets, garlands, or net-work, whence Strabo calls it τεταινιωμένος, and Euripides (*Ion*, 223) speaks of . . . μέσον ὀμφαλὸν γᾶς Φοίβου κατέχει δόμος; Ιων. Στέμμασι γ' ἐνδυτὸν. . . .

Most frequently the Omphalos occurs in scenes representing Orestes taking sanctuary at Delphi and appealing to the protection of Apollo (see Aesch. *Eum.* 40, and *Choeph.* 1025), a favourite subject for vase-painters of the fifth and fourth centuries, B.C., and also represented on several terra-cotta reliefs, a fine example of which exists in the Louvre.

According to one class of representations the Omphalos is shown with fillets fastened at the top and hanging straight down, as on the Cyzicene stater.

A fine red-figured vase (c. 400 B.C.) illustrated by Rochette (*Mon. inéd.* Pl. 37) shows the Omphalos with fillets of three different kinds, and also a

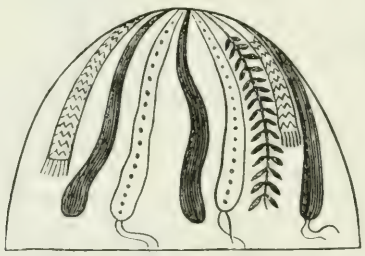

FIG. 3.

branch of bay (see Fig. 3). Apollo is seated on the Omphalos, and in front of him Orestes stands, holding sword and spear; on the other side is Pylades, and behind is a very rare addition—the Pythia seated on a lofty tripod, wreathed with bay leaves, and holding in both hands a long fillet similar to some of those on the Omphalos.

[1] In form these eagles are very like the one shown on *reverses* of some fine didrachms of Agrigentum, with a crab on the *obverse*.

[2] A bronze coin of Geta, struck at Megara, has *rev.* Apollo Citharoedus standing by the Omphalos, on which are two birds, possibly restorations of the original gold eagles; see Gardner, *Num. Com. Paus.* Pl. A, No. IX.

On this vase the Pythia is represented as a young and beautiful woman: in later times, owing to the seduction of a young priestess, no woman was appointed to the office of Pythia till she was past fifty years of age (Diod. XVI. 26). Thus Aeschylus (*Eum.* 38) makes the Pythia an old woman. Plutarch (*De Pyth. or.* 22) gives some interesting details about the old woman who was Pythia when he was writing, and in his life of *Numa* he remarks that the Prytaneum fire at Athens was (like that at Delphi) tended by elderly widows.

The earlier custom is referred to by Euripides (*Ion*, 1323), who makes the Pythia selected from all the maidens of Delphi.

Another very interesting vase of the fourth century, an oxybaphon now in the Louvre, with the scene of Orestes (figured by Baumeister, *Denkm.* Vol. II. p. 1117), represents the Omphalos as being shaped like an enormous egg, and hung with fillets made up of strings of what look like small eggs.[1]

The Omphalos rests on a large rectangular pedestal supported on two steps (see Fig. 4). Orestes sits as a suppliant on the pedestal, and behind the

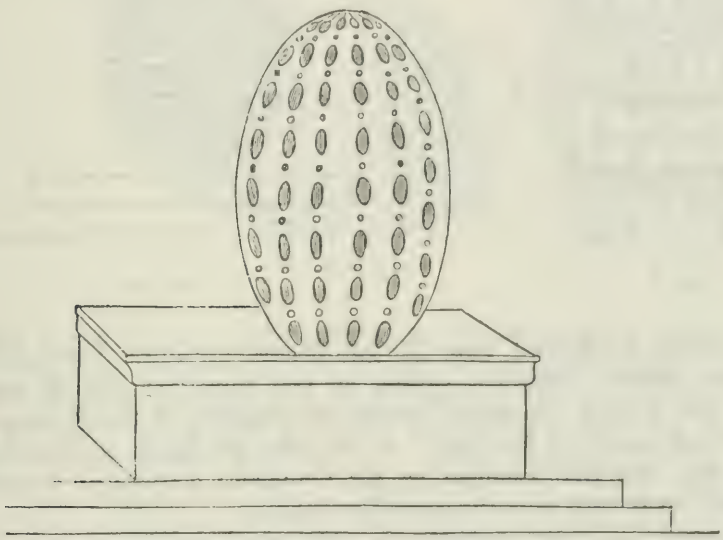

Fig. 4.

Omphalos Apollo stands holding a little sacrificial pig over the head of Orestes, and in his left hand a long branch of bay. The ghost of Clytaemnestra rises below, and (above) the sleeping Furies are represented as not unpleasing forms, quite unlike the hideous figures usual in older works of art.

Another vase (figured in the same work, Vol. II. p. 1116) also shows the Omphalos with something of the egg form, but with totally different orna-

[1] This vase is also illustrated by Rayet et Collignon, *Hist. Céram. Grecque*, p. 297, but in a very inaccurate way: the Omphalos is shown without any of its ornaments, and other details are omitted. Many of the illustrations in this pretty book are not wholly to be trusted for accuracy.

ments. It appears to be covered with a sort of net-work, and is divided into four zones by three dark horizontal bands (see Fig. 5). Though this vase is of the third century, its painting is exceptionally fine as a work of art. The subject is the same as on the last-mentioned vase. Orestes, wearing only a chlamys and holding a sword, kneels in front of the Omphalos, looking up for protection to Athene, who stands on the right.

On the left is a very beautiful figure of Apollo, standing and holding a bay-tree, to the branches of which are hung spotted *taeniae* and some small votive *pinakes* with figures painted on them, like those on the fragment illustrated by Mr. Cecil Smith in this Journal, Vol. IX. Pl. I. In the background are two Furies holding snakes.

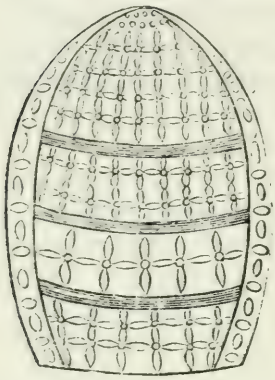

Fig. 5.

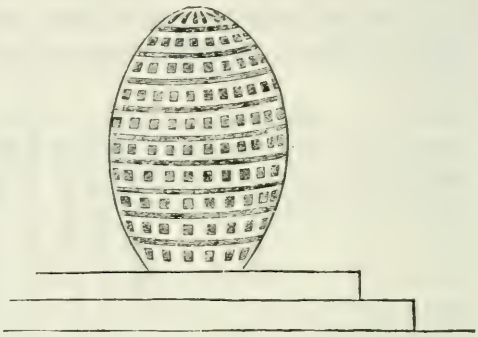

Fig. 6.

A fourth red-figured vase (Müller, *Denkm. der alten Kunst*, Pl. XIII.) gives the oviform Omphalos, resting on two steps (see Fig. 6), on which Orestes sits holding his sword: behind the Omphalos is the Pythian tripod, made to look nearly six feet high. At the sides are Apollo and the Furies.

In this case the ornament on the Omphalos consists of a number of horizontal bands with rows of square dots between.

In some cases the Omphalos is represented smaller in scale, so that Orestes clings to it, resting one knee on the top. This is the rendering in a fine vase of early red-figure type illustrated by Jahn in a monograph printed at Berlin in 1839, and also in the terra-cotta relief in the Louvre.[1]

Very probably the real shape and size are approximately given in the marble copy of the Omphalos found a few years ago in Athens, with traces of the feet of a statue on its truncated top[2] (see Fig. 7).

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[1] Sometimes this scene is localised by the tripod only, without the Omphalos, as in the fine marble relief in the Museum at Naples. *Mus. Borbon.* IV. Pl. 9.

[2] Dr. Waldstein has pointed out that the statue which was at first thought to have stood on this copy of the Omphalos could not fit the traces of the feet; *Jour. Hell. St.* Vol. I. p. 180. There was in Athens a temple to the Pythian Apollo; Peisistratus decreed death to any one who defiled it, at a time when he was trying in vain to conciliate the Delphic oracle: Paus. I. 19.

The ornament on this Athenian Omphalos, carved in relief, seems to be carefully rendered. Here the strings of egg-like objects pass round the Omphalos diagonally, and are linked together by little horizontal bands.

When not associated with the Orestes scene the Omphalos occurs most frequently as the seat of Apollo, especially upon coins, when he is represented in the character of the giver of oracles. Thus Euripides (*Ion*, 5) writes: *ὀμφαλὸν μέσον καθίζων Φοῖβος ὑμνωδεῖ βροτοῖς.* So also Plato (*Rep.* IV. p. 427): *Ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ καθήμενος ἐξηγεῖται.*

As examples of this subject we may note a very beautiful didrachm of the fourth century B.C. struck by the Amphiktionic Council, which has *rev.* Apollo laureated, clad in a long chiton, seated on the Omphalos, which is ornamented with *taeniae* closely resembling those shown on the Cyzicene stater, fig. 1. Apollo holds in his left hand a long branch of bay, and rests his right elbow on a lyre: *legend*, ΑΜΦΙΚΤΙΟΝΩΝ;[1] see Imhoof and Gardner, *Num. Com. Paus.* Pl. Y, No. VII.

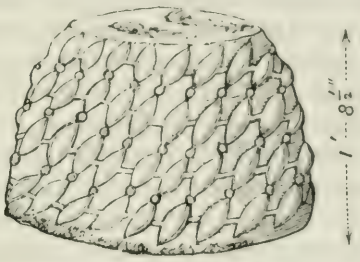

Fig. 7.

This representation of the Omphalos and its ornaments is most probably a correct one, as it was issued by the Amphiktions themselves, but it is very likely that the form of the fillets or other ornaments was altered from time to time, so we need not suppose that the very different accessories shown in other works of art are necessarily erroneous. If the older ornaments were of gold they certainly vanished in the time of Onomarchus; and moreover it is quite possible that a set of ornaments were used during the three months sacred to Dionysos of different form from those of the nine months when Apollo's cult was supreme. Another stater of Cyzicus (c. 400 B.C.) has the same type, Apollo holding his lyre seated on what may be the Omphalos, though it is vaguely shown: *Num. Chron.* S. III. Vol. VII. Pl. I. 20.

This design of Apollo seated on the Omphalos occurs on many later coins, but the ornament indicated is usually a sort of net-work, instead of the hanging fillets.

We find this subject on various coins of the Seleucidae (see Fig. 8), of which perhaps the most beautiful example is on tetradrachms of Antiochus III.:

[1] *Ἀμφικτίονες* from *ἀμφὶ* and *κτίζω*, meaning the same as *περικτίονες*, not from the mythical Amphictyon, whose name was probably invented to explain that of the Council; see Paus. X. viii., where both derivations are given. Thus 'Amphiktionic' would be the correct spelling.

see *Num. Chron.* Ser. III. Vol. III. Pl. IV. V. and VI., with a paper by Mr. Bunbury: and Bartolozzi's engravings of M. Duane's Coins, 1828.

Tetradrachms with a similar device were issued by Sinope: a nude figure of Apollo sits on the netted Omphalos, but holds a lyre and plectrum instead of the bow and arrow of the Seleucid reverses: see *Num. Chron.* Ser. III. Vol. V. Pl. II. 18.

A small bronze coin of Eleuthernae in Crete has *rev.* Apollo seated on the Omphalos covered with net-work; his left arm rests on a lyre, and in his right hand he holds a stone or ball, the bow resting on his shoulder: published by Mr. W. Wroth in *Num. Chron.* Ser. III. Vol. IV. Pl. II. 3.

This type of Apollo seated on the Omphalos was reproduced by Hadrian on the *rev.* of one of his Delphian bronze coins, with *legend* ΔΕΛΦΩΝ.

In other cases the Omphalos occurs alone, simply as a symbol of Delphi:[1] early autonomous coins of Delphi in bronze and silver have *obv.* the tripod: *rev.* the Omphalos symbolised by a circle with a dot in the middle ⊙.

Another has *rev.* the Omphalos decorated with net-work, and round it a serpent is twined, emblem of Apollo in his character of the Healer.

Thus the Omphalos becomes transferred to Asclepius and Telesphorus as the patrons of the healing art.

A coin of Bizya in Thrace has *rev.* Apollo standing with one arm extended over Telesphorus and the other over the Omphalos with the net-work and the serpent, as on the last-named coin: see *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, Greek Coins, s.v. 'Thrace, Bizya,' No. 8.

Mr. W. Wroth in his interesting article on *Asclepius and the Coins of Pergamon, Num. Chron.* Ser. III. Vol. II. p. 1 *seq.* gives other examples of the Omphalos used in this connection, *e.g.* a fine bronze coin of the fourth century (Pl. I. No. 8) has *obv.* a laureated head of Asclepius, and *rev.* the Omphalos in its net-work with a large serpent coiled round it.

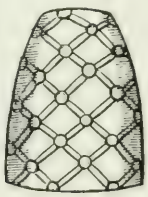

Fig. 8.

Fig. 9.

Examples of statues of Asklepius with the Omphalos are given by Müller, *Denkm.* Pl. LX. Nos. 770 and 775.

A very fine Graeco-Roman colossal statue in marble, which is clearly a portrait—possibly that of Antonius Musa, the physician of Augustus—in the character of Asclepius, is preserved in the *Braccio Nuovo* of the Vatican. This very noble figure has the right arm resting on a club entwined by a serpent, and on the other side, at his feet, there is a small representation of

[1] Thus Sophocles (*Oed. Tyr.* 897–9) uses the word Omphalos as meaning Delphi.

the Omphalos, with net-work like that on the tetradrachms of the Seleucidae; see Fig. 9. That Apollo was worshipped at Delphi in his character as the Healer, as well as that of the oracular god, is shown by some of the inscriptions on the polygonal wall described below. These show that a tax was levied on the citizens to pay physicians for the sick people who came to Delphi for cure. The payment was called *τὸ ἰατρικόν*. One of these inscriptions (Foucart, *Inscr. Delph.* No. 234) gives us an interesting detail, showing that when a certain physician named Dionysius enfranchised his slave Damon by dedicating him to the service of Apollo, he stipulated that for five years he should, if required, have the help of the slave as his medical assistant—*εἰ δὲ χρείαν ἔχοι Διονύσιος, συνιατρευέτω Δάμων μετ' αὐτοῦ ἔτη πέντε κ.τ.λ.*

A fine marble tripod-stand, now in the Dresden Museum, of Graeco-Roman workmanship, has a relief on one side representing the contest for the tripod between Apollo and Herakles; the scene is localised by a small representation of the Omphalos, placed between the two deities: it is ornamented, not with the net-work, as was usual at that date, but with three hanging leaf-like objects tipped with balls, quite unlike any other representations of the kind; see Fig. 10.

Rude Roman copies of the Omphalos have been found in the temple of Apollo at Pompeii and elsewhere. They were probably common in temples of the Pythian Apollo. An analogous object, the 'umbilicus Romae,' mentioned only in the Regionary Catalogues, was placed at the back of the Rostra in the Forum of Rome. Its base still exists.[1] Many other examples might be quoted, but the above may suffice to show the variety of ways in which the Omphalos is represented, and the chief connections in which it occurs.

Other examples of the Omphalos are mentioned by Boetticher, *Omphalos zu Delphi*, 1859; see also Schreiber, *Bilder-Atlas* I. Pl. XII. 2; *Comptes Rendus* (St. Petersburg), 1860, p. 42; 1861, Pl. IV.; 1863, Pl. VI. 5; and pp. 213, 253 *seq.*; *Ann. Inst.* 1857, an article by Wieseler, p. 160-180; 1861, pp. 243, 356; and 1868, Pl. E.

Fig. 10.

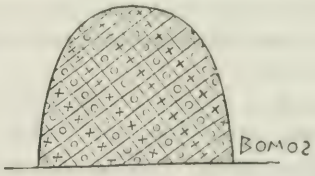

Fig. 11.

Before quitting the subject I may mention a black-figure vase of the 6th century, with a painting representing a Homeric scene, in which occurs an object which looks like the Omphalos, though it is here intended to represent an altar.

This vase-painting (Gerhard, *Vasenb.* CCXXIII.) represents the

[1] See a paper by the present writer in *Archaeologia*, Vol. XLIX., p. 424 *seq.*

fight over the body of Troilus, by whom an omphalos-like object is placed; its whole surface is covered with a sort of net-work or diaper, with intersecting lines forming little squares filled in alternately with dots and crosses—all rendered by incised lines. The principal figures have their names painted by them, and by the conical object is the word ΒΟΜΟΣ (*βωμός*), in spite of the un-altar-like appearance of the cone; see Fig. 11.[1]

Not in the Delphian temple itself, but near the tomb of Neoptolemus, was another pre-historic sacred stone or *βαίτυλος*, the 'stone of Kronos' (Paus. X. 24), which was daily anointed with oil and swathed in wool on certain festivals.

Among the sacred objects in the adytum of the temple at Delphi which were connected with the primitive cults of Chthonian deities was the tomb where the mortal remains of Dionysus were supposed to lie. Dionysus (like Osiris) was, according to a legend of probably Egyptian origin, said to have been slain and sent down into Hades by Titans or other evil earth-born powers.

This early connection of Dionysus with Delphi is alluded to by the Scholiast to Pindar (*Argum. Pyth.*), who states that Dionysus was the first to mount the tripod and foretell the future.[2]

The tomb of Dionysus was said to be under the Omphalos,[3] or near the tripod, and Plutarch (*De Is. et Osir.* 35) relates that the *ὅσιοι*,[4] a body of five priests, 'offered secret sacrifice, *ἀπόρρητα*, to Dionysus in the temple of Apollo at the time when the Bacchanals awaken Him of the winnowing fan.' In the same chapter Plutarch explains that the rites of Osiris and those of Dionysus are the same, and, in fact, that the deities are identical. At *De εἰ Del.* 9, Plutarch mentions the three winter months sacred to Dionysus, during which the dithyramb was used at the sacrifices, while during the rest of the year paeans were sung.

Every two years a festival was celebrated at Delphi, with a miracle-play, *Trieterika*, commemorating the birth and death of Dionysus, and his burial by Apollo. Similarly, every eight years, a feast and drama called *Herois* were celebrated, setting forth the bringing of Semele from Hades by her son Dionysus—a sort of 'Harrowing of Hell,' as our mediaeval forefathers would have called it.[5]

The tomb of Dionysus is also mentioned by Philochorus (*Fr.* II.) as being near the the gold statue of Apollo, and he says that it was inscribed *Ἐνθάδε κεῖται θανὼν Διόννσος ὁ ἐκ Σεμέλης.*

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[1] A late black-figure vase in the Museum at Naples has a very similar cone between two groups of combatants with a serpent on its side, and, on the top, a curious phallic-looking object; see Fig. 12.

[2] The wild frenzy of the Pythian priestess seems more akin to the character of the maenad votaries of Dionysus than to the calm attendants of Apollo—the Muses.

[3] See Boetticher, *Das Grab des Dionysos.* Berlin, 1858; and Müller, *De tripode Delphico,* 1820.

[4] Cf. Plut. *Quaes. Graec.* 9.

[5] For more information about the various festivals at Delphi see Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Divination dans l'Antiquité:* Vol. III. p. 1 *seq.*, Paris, 1880. This work contains much that is valuable about the Delphic and other oracles.

In addition to the statue of Apollo and the Omphalos the Delphic adytum seems to have contained an altar with a fire of pine-wood (Plut. *De εἰ*, 2) on which the Pythia burnt bay-leaves and barley-meal (instead of fragrant incense) before descending to the oracular chasm (Plut. *De Pyth. Or.* VI.).[1]

This fire-altar is called Φοιβήιος γᾶς μεσόμφαλος ἑστία[2] by Euripides (*Ion*, 461); and (Aesch. *Choeph.* 10) Orestes says that he will take sanctuary at

μεσόμφαλόν θ' ἵδρυμα, Λοξίου πέδον,
πυρός τε φέγγος ἄφθιτον κεκλημένον.

From which and other passages it would seem that the fire on this ἑστία was, like that of Vesta, an ever-burning one. It must not however be confused with the other undying fire which at Delphi, as in other Greek cities, was kept burning in the Prytaneum. The site of the Prytaneum at Delphi seems to have been at some distance from the Temple of Apollo, above what was known as the Sybil's rock (see Plut. *Pyth. or.* 9 and Paus. X. 12). From one of the Delphian inscriptions published by Ulrichs (p. 67, note 20), it appears to have been also called the βουλευτήριον; its sacred fire-hearth was called the κοινὴ ἑστία.[3]

To return to the sacred fire in the adytum of Apollo, it was probably the ἑστία at which the Priest of Apollo was said to have killed Neoptolemus or Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, in retribution for his having sacrilegiously slain Priam at the altar of Zeus Herkeios, as is recorded by Pausanias, IV. 17. Considering the random order of Pausanias' notes, no weight can be laid on the fact that he mentions this ἑστία along with objects in the main cella of the Temple. Neoptolemus appears to have been regarded originally as an enemy; and Pausanias (X. 7) includes him among the list of spoilers of the Temple, but the story arose that he was one of the dead heroes who appeared to help the Delphians against the Gauls under Brennus (Paus. I. 4, and X. 23), and sacrifices were offered annually at his tomb (Paus. X. 24), which, as Pausanias records (X. 26), had paintings representing Neoptolemus butchering the Trojans. If we may trust Pausanias this tomb and its paintings were older than the celebrated series of pictures in the Lesche, because he states that Polygnotus painted there the slaughter of the Trojans by Pyrrhus (Neoptolemus) to accord with the subject on his tomb.

In early times the adytum of Apollo contained some sacred armour, which, Herodotus (VIII. 37) says, it was not lawful for any mortal hand to

[1] Plutarch (*De εἰ*, 2) mentions these facts about the altar as enigmas equally incomprehensible with the rule that forbade any woman to approach the oracle, and the fact of there being statues in the Temple of two Fates only.

[2] The central hearth-stone in early Greek houses was called μεσόμφαλος ἑστία; see Aesch. *Agam.* 1023. The excavations at Tiryns supplied an example of this.

[3] Plutarch (*Aristid.* 20) gives the story of Euchidas the Plataean, who ran in one day from Plataea to Delphi and back to fetch a pure flame from the Prytaneum fire to rekindle the altars of Plataea, which had been polluted by the Persians. After delivering the fire Euchidas dropped down and died. Cf. a very interesting article on the Prytaneum of the Greeks by J. G. Frazer, *Jour. of Philology*, Vol. XIV. p. 145 *seq.*

touch, and he relates that one of the prodigies which happened on the approach of the Persian invaders was that a portion of this armour was found moved out of the adytum, and lying on the floor of the pro-naos.

The above-mentioned seem to be the only objects of which we have record as having existed in the adytum.[1]

There now remains only the *μαντεῖον* or *χρηστήριον*, the oracular vault containing the Pythian tripod, which there is every reason to believe was a chamber under the paving of the sanctuary; such a vaulted cell as still exists under the temple at Aegina, and, to take a later example, the one below the Ionic temple of Zeus, at Aizani, in Phrygia (illustrated by Texier, in his *Asie Mineure*).

The language used in numerous passages of ancient authors points to this arrangement.

Strabo (IX. p. 401) says: *φασὶ δ'εἶναι τὸ μαντεῖον ἄντρον κοῖλον βάθρον*, from whence the voice of the Pythia ascended to a higher level.

In many passages Plutarch speaks of the Pythia *descending* to the vault or *ἄντρον*; e.g. *De Pyth. or.* 6 and 28.

It is also called *μυχὸς* (Aesch. *Eum.* 39), *σπήλαιον* (Athen. XV. p. 701), and in Latin 'specus' (Livy, I. 56); all words which would suit such a subterranean chamber as I have ventured to show in my proposed restoration of the Temple. In the rocky floor of this chamber was the natural fissure whence the oracle-inspiring exhalations issued forth. Plutarch (*De def. or.* 40 to 51) discusses their nature and effect on the mind of the Pythia. This rock-cleft must have been a large one; otherwise the fable could hardly have arisen that the tripod was used to prevent the Pythia from falling into the chasm (Diod. XVI. 26); it is called *χάσμα* (Diod. XVI. 26), *γῆς στόμα* (Stobaeus, *Ecl.* I. 42), *πυθικὸν στόμιον* (Dion. Cass. LXIII. 14), and in Latin 'hiatus' (Lucan, V. 82), and 'terrae foramen' (Lucan, XXIV. 6).

Not only exhalations but water issued from the rock in the oracular cell: the water was supposed to be an outburst from the spring Cassotis (Paus. X. 24).

That there were really some gaseous exhalations, or at least that the Pythia's excitement was not wholly feigned, appears from Plutarch's story of the Pythia who in his recollection died through being forced to descend into the vault and give an oracular response against her will (see *De def. or.* 51).

Clearly Plutarch had a genuine belief in the oracle and its trustworthiness; though in his time such religious orthodoxy had become rare.[2] His treatises on the subject are extremely interesting, and well worthy of attention from the fact of his being so intimately acquainted with Delphi and its cult—

[1] Possibly till the time of Onomarchus some of the treasures given by Lydian kings may have remained in the sanctuary, but it is more probable that they were all moved thence to the special treasure-houses (Herod. I. 51) after the destruction of the fourth temple in 548 B.C.

[2] Cicero, *De divin.* I., speaks of the oracle having lost its ancient divine afflatus; and the sceptical Lucretius (I., 738–9) treats it very contemptuously; cf. Juv. VI. 554. The story of the original discovery of the prophetic vapours by accidentally intoxicated goats and shepherds is given by Diodorus (XVI. 26) and Paus. X. 5; Plutarch derides the tale, *De def. or.*, 42 and 46.

first as a young student (c. 66 A.D.) under the philosopher Ammonius in the reign of Nero (Plut. *De εἰ*, 1); and again late in life as a resident there for a prolonged period. His keen religious and antiquarian interest in Delphi is shown not only by his special treatises about it, but also by the many mentions of Delphi and its works of art which occur throughout his biographical parallels.

What the Delphian tripod was like is shown to us on a very large number of ancient works of art—coins, vase-paintings, and reliefs.[1] Probably no other ancient object is so frequently represented.

It appears to have had a special form of its own, consisting not only of a bronze bowl (λέβης, cortina) with handles, supported on a three-legged stand, but having in addition three large rings at the top, on which rested a bronze disc (ὅλμος, Jul. Pollux, X. 23) which formed the seat for the Pythia, as is shown on one of the vases mentioned above. The ring in which the λέβης fitted was called ἄξων or κύκλος, the stand itself being the τρίπους proper.[2] Taeniae are often shown hanging from the rings, as on a gold coin of Philippi (Head, *Guide to B. M. Coins*, Pl. XXI. No. 13). The circular seat at the top was movable, and is frequently omitted in ancient representations of the tripod. On the Dresden tripod-stand, mentioned above as having a relief showing the struggle between Apollo and Heracles over the Omphalos, the tripod is shown with the disc at the top accurately rendered in perspective.

Before the Pythia took her seat it was necessary that sacrifice should be offered of bulls, boars, sheep, or goats, which were tested by the priests to discover whether they were acceptable offerings, as is described by Plutarch (*De def. or.* 49 and 51). This preliminary sacrifice appears to have been offered at the great altar outside the Temple, after which the Pythia entered the sanctuary, leaving the enquirers of the oracle to sit and wait in the main cella (Herod. VII. 140, and Plut. *De def.* 50), while she burned bay-leaves and barley-flour on the ἑστία in the adytum, in front of the statue of Apollo. After this she descended into the vault, drank of the holy spring, chewed some bay-leaves,[3] and mounted on to the tripod, holding in her hand a branch of bay (Lucian, *Bis Acc.* I. 2). The manner in which the tripod was used by the Pythia is described by a scholiast to Aristophanes (*Plut.* 210): ἐπικαθημένη

[1] Especially on vases of the best red-figured period with paintings representing the advent of Apollo to Delphi, or the theft of the tripod by Heracles, Paus. X. 13. As a coin-type it was much used by cities, which, like Croton, had been colonised in obedience to the oracle.

Again the tripod appears to have been used to mark vases given as prizes at the Pythian games: *e.g.* a fine amphora of black-figure type, c. 500 B.C., in the British Museum (B. 248), has on one side a horse-race, and on the other two large Delphic tripods, one surmounted by two swans, the other by two crows, both birds sacred to Apollo.

[2] In early times the tripod appears to have been used in various ways to discover the divine will, either by the shaking of pebbles in the bowl till one or more jumped out (Suidas, s.v. Πυθώ), or by the automatous sounding of the bronze λέβης, hence called αὐτοβόητος. Cf. Virgil (*Aen.* III. 90), who describes how the cortina at Delos sounded in answer to Aeneas' prayer. Another method by which the early deities of Delphi communicated with men was by dreams (Plut. *De def. or.* 50); this probably was the oldest method of all: cf. Herod. VIII. 134.

[3] Possibly the leaves chewed by the Pythia may have had something to do with her frenzy.

τῷ τρίποδι καὶ διαιροῦσα τὰ σκέλη πονηρὸν κάτωθεν πνεῦμα διὰ τῶν γεννητικῶν ἐδέχετο μορίων.

According to the suggested restoration, the voice of the Pythia, concentrated by the curved vault of the oracular cell, would rise into the adytum through an opening in its floor, and there would be heard by the priests, who then concocted the oracle, in early times rendering it in obscure and enigmatical verse, but in late times in simple prose; see Plut. *De Pyth. or.*, the whole treatise.

The enquiries of the oracle seem to have been made in some cases verbally, in others by writing: according to the Scholiast to Aristoph. *Plut.* 213, the writing was on bay-leaves. The oracular answer was also given in both ways, but in all important cases it was written: cf. Herod. VIII. 135. Envoys from public states received the answer sealed, and on their return home it was deposited among the public archives, usually in the chamber of some temple.[1] The priests of Delphi kept copies of their oracles.[2]

In primitive times, and again during the decadence of the oracle, there was only one Pythia, but during its most flourishing period there were three; Plut. *De def. or.* 8. The change from the youthful priestess to the old woman has been already mentioned.[3]

According to various traditions the bones and skin of the Python were preserved in the bowl of the tripod or near it: see Dionys. *Per.* 441.[4]

The original tripod is said to have been made of gold, Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 1253, and Arist. *Plut.* 9. Plutarch in his life of *Solon* gives a long story about it. It was said to be the work of Hephaestus, thrown into the sea by Helen, fished up again by some Coans, sent to Delphi, then ordered by the Delphic oracle to be given to the wisest of men. Thus it passed from one to another of the Seven Sages, each modestly repudiating the title of Wisest, and finally it was again sent to the Temple at Delphi. In later times it was of bronze; see Iamblicus, *Myst.* iii. 2. Tripods made after the pattern of that at Delphi, called in Latin 'Cortinae Delphicae,' were commonly used as votive offerings and for other purposes;[5] see Plin. *H. N.* XXXIV. 14; Diod. XVI. 26; and Herod. V. 59 to 61.

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[1] Thus Herodotus, V. 90, records that on the expulsion of the Peisistratidae the collection of Delphic oracles was found in the temple on the Acropolis; probably the shrine of Athene Polias.

A similar collection existed at Argos (Eurip. *fragm.* 629, Nauck), and in most important Greek cities.

[2] The five ὅσιοι who in Plutarch's time acted as priests of Apollo appear to have been a late institution. They are not mentioned in the existing inscriptions on the polygonal wall, which date later than the Macedonian period.

[3] For information about the oracle see Hüllmann, *Würdigung des delphischen Orakels*, 1837; Götte, *Das delphische Orakel*, 1839; Curtius, *Anecdota Delphica*, 1843; Mommsen, *Delphika*, 1878; and Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Divination dans l'Antiquité*, Vol. III. 1882.

[4] On the *rev.* of a didrachm of Croton (c. 350 B.C.) Apollo is represented shooting his arrow at the Python through the legs of the tripod, which is decorated with elaborate hanging *taeniae*: Head, *Guide to B.M. coins*, Pl. 25, No. 19.

For further details see Müller, *De tripode Delphico*, 1820; and Wieseler, *Ueber den delphischen Dreifuss*, 1871, who gives more than 50 representations of tripods.

[5] In the oldest of the marble-cut laws at Gortyna, dating from the 7th century B.C., fines for offences are reckoned in bronze τρίποδες and λέβητες; see Halbherr, *Mus. Ital. di antich. class.*, Vol. for 1886. Professor Gardner tells

Plutarch, in his life of *Timoleon*, tells a story which shows that votive offerings were hung up in the oracular vault, and also, what seems strange, that Timoleon was permitted to descend into it. Its ornaments are alluded to (Aesch. *Eum.* 39), where the cell is mentioned as πολυστεφῆ μυχόν.

The Persians, the Phocians, the Gauls,[1] Sulla and other spoilers of the wealth of Delphi had been content to carry off its treasures, but the Emperor Nero not only carried away to Rome 500 of its bronze statues in A.D. 66 (see Paus. X. 7), but also ordered the prophetic chasm to be defiled with corpses and then filled up, in order to extinguish the oracle, which had ventured to reprove the Emperor for the murder of his mother; Dion Cass. LXIII. For some time the oracle was extinct, but it soon revived, especially under Trajan and Hadrian. Even in Pliny the Elder's time the peribolus contained no less than 3,000 statues, *H. N.* XXXIV. 36; and at the time of Pausanias' visit they must have been still more numerous:[2] see his long account of them, X. 8 to 15, 18, 19, and 24. He names nearly 150 statues as being worthy of special notice.

The last spoliation of Delphi was in 330 A.D. when Constantine carried off the principal votive offerings to his new capital. Of all these treasures one only remains—the celebrated bronze serpent-column (now in the Hippodrome at Constantinople) which from 479 B.C. till the Phocian occupation *c.* 350 B.C. supported the gold tripod, Apollo's tithe of the Persian spoils at Plataea: see Herod. IX. 81, Paus. X. 3, and Newton, *Travels in the Levant*, II. p. 25 *seq.*, 1865.

The only relics of the former wealth of Delphi that we have yet much chance of finding are perhaps a few of the coins struck by Onomarchus out of the gold or silver treasures of Apollo, which must have been widely scattered, as they were used to buy help from Sparta and other distant allies. No doubt many of these were collected and melted down after the defeat of the Phocians for religious reasons, as, *e.g.* we read in Plutarch (*De Pyth. or.* 16) that the Opuntians restored to Apollo a silver hydria made out of the sacrilegious coins of the Phocian chiefs.

The accumulated treasures in the precious metals at the time of its

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me that these two words are names for coins, not actual tripods and bowls. Tripods were commonly given as prizes at games and musical contests. One of the votive offerings at Delphi, even in Pausanias' time, was the tripod won by Diomede at the funeral games of Patroclus.

[1] In spite of the miraculous stories, invented by the Delphians and repeated by Herodotus and Pausanias, there is every reason to believe that both Mardonius and Brennus did succeed in spoiling the temple. The tale given by Pausanias (X. 19–23) about the repulse of the Gauls in 279 B.C. is simply a second version of the legend which Herodotus (VIII. 36–39) quotes as to the miraculous defeat of the army of Xerxes in 480 B.C.

The robberies by the Gauls are mentioned by Livy (XXXVIII. 48), by Cicero (*Pro Font.* 10), by Strabo (IV. i.), and even by Pausanias himself (X. 7).

[2] Plutarch (*De Pyth. or.* 2 to 4) gives an interesting description of the fine sea-green patina on the bronze statues, produced by rubbing them with oil, 'oleo et sole,' as Pliny says. In earlier times the bronze statues seem to have been mostly gilt. Hence the story of Brennus pointing them out to his Gauls from the distance, and exciting their cupidity by saying that they were all gold. Bitumen was also used as a sort of lacquer for bronze: see Pliny, *H. N.* XXXIV. 15.

greatest splendour, before the Phocian occupation,[1] must have made Delphi the richest shrine that the world has ever seen. No other temple drew its wealth from so many different sources. Delphi was not only the religious centre of the Hellenic race, but was also revered and the oracle consulted, as Lucian (*Phalaris alter*) records, 'by Phrygians, Lydians, Persians, Assyrians, Phoenicians, Italians, and even Hyperboreans.'[2]

Hence Livy calls it (XXXVIII. 48) 'commune humani generis oraculum'; Cicero, *Pro Font.* 10, 'oraculum orbis'; Strabo, *τὸ ἱερὸν κοινὸν*, and Euripides (*Ion*, 366) speaks of *τρίποδα κοινόν*.

Before the Persian War various kings of Lydia were the most munificent benefactors to the shrine of the Delphian Apollo, for whom they had special reverence, though they also consulted other Hellenic oracles, having none of their own. Herodotus (I. 46) gives an interesting list of the various oracles which were consulted by Croesus—namely, Delphi, Abae in Phocis, Zeus of Dodona, that of Amphiaraus (probably at Thebes), of Trophonius one of the mythical builders of the fourth Delphian temple, Apollo of Branchidae near Miletus, and the oracle of Ammon in Libya.

The following were some of the chief offerings to Delphi from oriental donors. First of all a gold throne given by Midas of Phrygia, Herod. I. 14. Next come Lydian kings, Gyges who gave six gold craters weighing 30 talents, and many silver offerings, Herod. I. 14. Alyattes, the celebrated silver crater in its iron stand. Croesus, a gold lion on a pyramid of four gold and 113 electrum ingots (Herod. I. 50); the sizes and value of these have been worked out by Mr. Head, *Num. Chron.* Ser. III. Vol. VII. p. 301, who shows that this offering alone must have been worth more than half a million sterling. Croesus also gave a gold bowl weighing 8 talents 42 minae, and a silver crater holding 600 amphorae. Four silver casks (*πίθοι*). Two vases for libations (*περιῤῥαντήρια*), one of gold, the other of silver. Many silver bowls and other objects; a gold statue of the slave who baked the royal bread, three cubits high, and a necklace and girdles belonging to his queen. Herodotus (I. 50) also describes a most costly sacrifice offered by Croesus to Apollo at Delphi, in which 3,000 beasts of all kinds were sacrificed, and a pyre made and burnt, consisting of a heap of couches decorated with gold and silver, robes of purple and gold goblets.

Moreover, in return for the privileges of *προμαντεία*, *ἀτέλεια*, *προεδρία*, and *προξενία*, Croesus gave two gold staters to each of the inhabitants of Delphi.[3]

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[1] The 10,000 talents, which the Phocian leaders were said to have taken from the Delphian shrines, is not at all an impossible amount considering the vast accumulation of votive treasures.

[2] Thus we find the oracle consulted and offerings made to it by the Romans under Tarquin II. (Liv. I., 56); in the war with Veii (Liv. V. 15); in the second Punic war (Liv. XXII. 57, and XXIII. 11); by the Sardinians (Paus. X. 17); by the Etruscans of Caere (Herod. I. 167); and by the Carthaginians (Diod. XIX. 2).

[3] Herodotus (I. 92) mentions a great gold shield given by Croesus, which was preserved in the temple of Athene Pronaia at Delphi. He also states that Croesus gave to the Milesian Apollo at Branchidae precious gifts equal in weight to those presented by him to the Pythian Apollo; and in the same chapter Herodotus

The fame of these treasures was, Herodotus (VIII. 35) says, one of the reasons that made Xerxes eager to attack Delphi.

Immense wealth must have poured in from the annual tributes paid by various Greek cities; such as Siphnos, which sent a golden egg every year[1] as a tithe of their gold mines;[2] and from colonies founded by advice of the oracle, such as Myrina and Apollonia, which sent golden sheaves, the *χρυσοῦν θέρος*, which was the usual tribute from a colony to its mother city, see Plutarch, *Pyth. or.* 16. In the same way Cyrene used to send a gold model of the silphium-plant.

Very costly offerings were at various times sent by the Romans, *e.g.* the massive golden crater vowed by Camillus at the capture of Veii, to make which the Roman matrons sacrificed their gold ornaments: see Plutarch's life of *Camillus*.[3] These many votive offerings were only one of the various sources of the Delphian wealth, which was augmented by the produce of the farms and cattle possessed by the Temple,[4] and by the interest on loans and other use made of deposited capital; an early form of banking, which appears to have formed part of the revenue of all important Greek temples. Next come the tithes of spoils in war, Apollo being a winner whichever side had the advantage in all the many struggles between Greek states. Fines too were an important item imposed by the Amphiktionic Council and even other tribunals for acts of *ἀσέβεια*.[5] And last but not least were the fees paid by

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mentions other costly offerings given by Croesus to the Ismenian Apollo at Thebes, to the Artemision at Ephesus, and to the oracle of Amphiaraus.

In later times some of these Lydian gifts at Delphi were inscribed with false statements, making them out to be offerings of Spartans and other Greeks (see Herod. I., 14 and 50 to 52), after they had been removed from the Temple to separate treasuries. Cf. Plutarch, *Pyth. or.* 12 to 14.

[1] The gold and silver mines of Siphnos were overwhelmed by the sea through the wrath of Apollo at the fraud perpetrated by the owners of the mines, who after a time began to send a plated instead of a solid gold egg to Delphi; see Paus. X. 11.

[2] The gold statue of Alexander, son of Amyntas of Macedon, mentioned by Herodotus VIII. 121, was probably an offering as a tithe of his gold mines.

[3] The treasures of Delphi are described by Strabo IX. p. 421, and by Plutarch in his life of *Sullâ*, where a silver bowl is mentioned, the gift of various kings, which was of such enormous size that it had to be broken up, being too large to carry away.

[4] *C. I. G.* 1689, 1690, are two fragments of inscriptions giving a 'terrier' or list of real property owned by the temple.

[5] Especially for unauthorized cultivation of the land owned by Apollo, and for exactions on pilgrims to his shrine—both frequent causes of dispute and even fierce wars.

Plutarch, in his life of *Solon*, relates that the Athenian Thesmothetae bound themselves by oath that each would give to Delphi a gold statue, equal in weight to himself, for every breach of Solon's laws. This, of course, was before Athens had begun to cultivate the worship of the rival Apollo in Delos. It was mainly by the help of Solon and the Athenians that the Delphians were able to take such signal vengeance on Cirrha (Krissa) for exactions on pilgrims who landed at the port from Italy and Sicily: Paus. X. 37.

The form of excommunication for *ἀσέβεια*, with which the non-payment of fines was punished, curiously resembles that used by the Mediaeval Church: 'Let the city (people or person) be devoted to (the vengeance of) Apollo, Artemis, Leto, and Athene Pronaia: let their land produce no fruit, their wives bear monsters, their cattle be barren. Let them be defeated in war and in tribunals of justice; let them and theirs perish, and let their sacrifice be unacceptable to Apollo, Artemis, Leto, and Athene Pronaia.' 'Pronoia' is the form used by Pausanias.

This form, used in the period posterior to the

those who consulted the oracle, and by those who, like Croesus, received one or more of the privileges and honours conferred by the Sacred Council.

One of the inscriptions published by M. Foucart gives the temple property under three headings: I. Θησαυρὸς, capital in money or precious objects; II. Τῶν θρεμμάτων πρόσοδος, receipts from the increase of stock; III. Χρήματα, rents paid by occupiers of the temple farms and houses, and incomings from other sources.

Existing Remains of the Temple.

Having tried to collect what information may be gleaned from ancient sources, I will now deal with the few existing remains of the Temple, and the way in which they, in part at least, support the restoration given in the accompanying drawings[1]; see Fig. 12.

As far as we know it, the Doric architecture of the Greeks in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. is designed with a certain uniformity of detail which enables one, from a comparatively small part, to reconstruct the whole with great probability of being not very far from the mark.

Given that we have to deal with a hexastyle peripteral Doric temple designed by a Corinthian (Spintharus) in the latter half of the sixth century B.C., the first question to ask would be what was the diameter and the intercolumniation of the columns of the Order.

Luckily we have evidence of this. In 1875 I was able to find and to measure thirty-two drums of Doric columns made of the rough siliceous limestone from the quarries of Mount Parnassus, and still in part retaining their coating of very hard fine stucco, made of lime and powdered white marble,[2] which appears always to have been used by the Greeks to coat temples which were not built of real marble.

This beautiful substance is quite unlike anything which we now call stucco. It was as hard and durable as real marble, and took by polishing the same delicate ivory-like surface as that of the best Pentelic marble. Moreover it had the advantage over real marble in affording a slightly absorbent ground for coloured decoration.

These column-drums naturally varied in size owing to the diminution of the shaft; the largest measured (including the stucco) close upon 5 ft. 9 in. in diameter, thus giving the size of the column at the bottom.

Macedonian supremacy, shows how the cult of the old Chthonian deities at Delphi had been superseded by that of the celestial deities, whose names alone are mentioned.

[1] One reason for the complete destruction of the temple is that Delphi was used as a stronghold both by the Venetians and the Turks, who used the materials of the temple to build their forts. Hence the modern name of the village—Kastri.

[2] This is the *caementum marmoreum*, the manufacture and use of which is very ably described by Vitruvius, VII. 6. Three coats were usually applied, the first made with coarsely crushed marble, the last with very fine marble dust, the second being of intermediate fineness. Lime was of course used with all three, and usually some sort of size or gluten was mixed with the water used to temper the mixture.

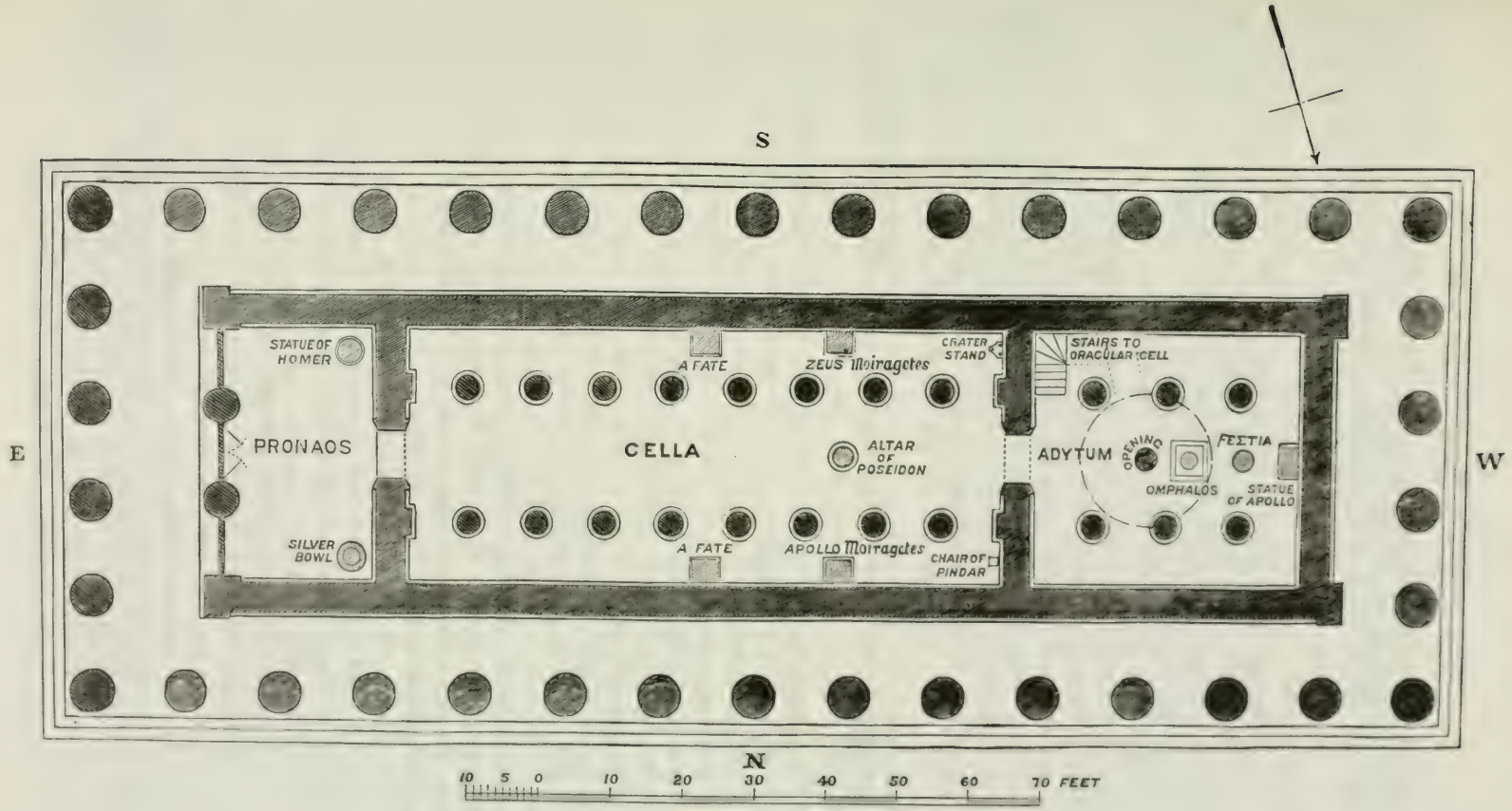

FIG. 12.—CONJECTURAL RESTORATION OF DELPHIC TEMPLE.

Marble pillars shaded thus, \\\\\; those of native stone thus, /////.

The top diameter, 4 ft. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in., is given by the necking of the capitals, of which a few examples are still to be seen.

As none of the drums of the columns are still *in situ*, the only way to discover their intercolumniation will be to make out the length of the architrave blocks.

After long search I found one of these blocks[1] which had its ends sufficiently perfect to give the complete length; this was 13′ 3″, giving such an intercolumnar space as might be expected from the analogy of other Doric temples, namely 7′ 6″ clear between the bottom of the shafts.[2] The drums of the shafts have twenty flutes, like those at Aegina, the older and the present Parthenon, and other Doric temples of about the same period.

The average thickness of each drum is about 2 ft. 6 in.

These data enable one to set out the fronts of the temple, allowing a slight additional diameter and closer intercolumniation at the angles, according to the Doric rule. Thus I have conjecturally made the angle shafts 6 feet in diameter, and the intercolumniation 7′ 4″. This gives a width of 72′ 2″, measuring from the outside of the columns, or about 72′ 6″ on the top step.

Comparing this with other hexastyle Doric temples, that at Delphi would range thus:—

Temple in Aegina	45′ 0″	wide on the top step.
'Theseum' at Athens.	45′ 2″	,, ,, ,,
Temple at Bassae	48′ 2″	,, ,, ,,
Heraion at Olympia	57′ 0″	,, ,, ,,
Pre-Persian Parthenon	66′ 0″	,, ,, ,,
Temple at Delphi	72′ 6″	,, ,, ,,
Temple at Corinth	73′ 0″	,, ,, ,,
Great Temple at Paestum . . .	78′ 10″	,, ,, ,,
Temple of Zeus at Olympia . .	90′ 0″	,, ,, ,,

It may be a coincidence, but if so it is a remarkable one, that these dimensions of the temple at Delphi work out so as to give a front almost exactly the same as that of the temple at Corinth,[3] the Delphian temple being designed by a Corinthian architect.

The columns of the temple at Corinth measure 5′ 10″ in lower diameter, as against 5′ 9″ at Delphi; but the intercolumniation at Corinth is (at least on the flanks) closer than in the Delphian temple, as we should expect from its much more archaic style.

The number of columns I have shown on the flanks, and consequently the length of the whole temple and its sub-divisions into pro-naos, cella, and

[1] Shown to be an architrave block by the traces of the *guttae* on its upper edge.

[2] The architrave blocks of the old Parthenon, destroyed by the Persians, which exist built into the Akropolis wall, also measure 13′ 3″ in length.

[3] Dr. Dörpfeld has recently discovered the whole plan of the temple at Corinth, including the foundations of the inner rows of columns in the cella and opisthodomus: see *Mittheil. Inst. Athen.* for 1887, Part I.

adytum, are purely conjectural. The following table shows the variations in proportional length of the chief hexastyle Doric temples, omitting those of Sicily as being abnormal in many respects.

16 columns on the flanks.		The Heraion at Olympia.
15	„ „ „ .	Temples at Corinth and Bassae.
14	„ „ „ .	Great Temple at Paestum.
13	„ „ „ .	'Theseum'; and Temple of Zeus at Olympia.
12	„ „ „ .	Temples in Aegina and at Rhamnus.

Thus, with the authority of the temple at Corinth, in order to give ample space for the sanctuary and also a large cella for the enquirers of the oracle, I have conjecturally shown the Delphian temple with fifteen columns on the flanks, giving a total length on the top step of about 192 feet.

In addition to the large drums of *πώρινος λίθος*, there were about seventeen fragments of smaller Ionic columns of marble, which, as suggested by M. Foucart,[1] probably stood within the cella, as I have indicated.

Among these fragments are some much shattered Ionic capitals, which appear to fit the smaller pieces of shaft. From their fully developed Ionic style these can hardly have belonged to Spintharus' original temple, which probably had inner columns of Doric style, as is still to be seen at Paestum, both in the upper and lower tier. They may perhaps be part of the restoration of the temple which was carried out by the Amphiktionic Council after the end of the third Sacred War, c. 346 B.C.

As mentioned above, Stephanus Byz. (*s.v.* *Δελφοί*) speaks of part of the fourth temple—that attributed to the mythical sons of Erginus—as having survived into late times. It seems quite probable that the stone chamber immediately over the rocky chasm may not have been wholly reconstructed when the fifth temple was built. A partly subterranean stone chamber would naturally escape the effects of the fire which destroyed the main part of the temple, and its special sanctity would lead to its being preserved at the rebuilding in the sixth century. Hence I have ventured to suggest in my drawing such a vaulted structure as might naturally have been associated with the names of Agamedes and Trophonius, the builders of the treasury of the Boeotian king, such a stone vault as we see in the various so-called treasuries at Orchomenus and Mycenae.

Judging from Pausanias' description of the so-called 'cave' of Trophonius (IX. 39), the subterranean oracular cell must have been a vaulted chamber of this description. He says it is built like a baking jar, 4 cubits in diameter and 8 cubits high, with no access but by a ladder. By the phrase *τοῦ δὲ οἰκοδομήματος τούτου τὸ σχῆμα εἴκασται κριβάνῳ* Pausanias probably means to liken it to those domical earthen ovens which are still used in the East for baking bread. Kilns of this form were also used for firing pottery, as is shown on a curious sixth or seventh century votive pinax, the offering of some potter,

[1] *Mém. sur les Ruines et l'Histoire de Delphes*, Paris, 1865, p. 69.

found at Corinth and now in the Louvre; see *Ency. Brit.* art. 'Pottery,' vol. XIX., p. 602, fig. 3.

Style of the Details.

As the temple at Delphi is one of which we know the date from literary sources, it will be interesting to examine the style of the few existing details as a guide to fixing approximately the date of other temples about which we have no written evidence.

The fourth temple at Delphi was burnt in 548 B.C., and if we allow (say) eight years for preparation and collection of money, the last temple would be designed and begun about 540 B.C.

The chief archaisms, or points in which the earliest Doric temples differ from those of the most perfect period—that subsequent to the Persian invasion—are these :—

I. Stone wholly used instead of marble, the transitional stage being the use of marble for parts only.

II. The Doric order used for internal columns, as well as those of the peristyle and pro-naos.

III. Close intercolumniation of the peristyle.

IV. Columns (proportionally) short.

V. Monoliths used for the shafts.

VI. The diminution of the shaft proportionally great.

VII. The architrave deep.

VIII. The abacus of the capitals shallow and widely spreading.

IX. The echinus of the capitals formed with a more bulging curve.

X. Imperfect use of entasis and the various other optical refinements which exist in so wonderful a way, *e.g.* in the Parthenon and other temples of the best period, as has been most ably shown by Mr. Penrose in his valuable work on the *Principles of Athenian Architecture*, 1851. The temple at Corinth gives the strongest examples of all these archaisms.

With regard to archaism No. I. in my list, the temple of Apollo occupies a transitional position, being partly of marble, and partly of local limestone.

Other examples of this transition are the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, and those at Aegina and Bassae, in which marble is only used for the sculpture and for the roof-tiles.

The most limited use of marble occurs in one of the three Doric temples in the agora at Selinus, where it is only employed for the nude flesh of females in the sculptured metopes.[1]

Naturally marble would first be used on a large scale where it was nearest at hand. In later times marble was thought necessary for important temples, even if it had to be brought from a long distance, as in the temples of Ionia.

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[1] This very beautiful sculpture of the Pheidian period is now in the Museum at Palermo. The three older temples are on the Acropolis of Selinus.

II. The temple in Aegina and the great temple at Paestum, both of which come near in date to the Delphian temple, had internal columns in two tiers of the Doric order, and it appears probable that this was also the case in the original building of Spintharus, in spite of the existence of the Ionic capitals already mentioned.

The Ionic style does not appear to have been introduced from Western Asia into the mainland of Greece till after the Persian War.[1] The small tetrastyle amphiprostyle temple on the bank of the Ilissus at Athens (now destroyed) was an earlier example of an Ionic temple in Greece than any which now exists. The temple of Nike Apteros on the Acropolis, though similar in plan, is shown by its details to be later than the lost temple.[2] The earliest existing example which we have of the use of Ionic columns inside the cella is in the temple of Apollo Epicurius, designed by Ictinus, who built the present Parthenon. (See Cockerell's beautiful work on the *Temples of Aegina and Bassae*, 1860).

III. The discovery of one block of the architrave is but a scanty indication of the intercolumniations at Delphi, as it is very probable that the spacing of the columns on the front was slightly different from that on the flanks.[3]

It appears however that the Delphian temple was less pycknostyle than those at Corinth and Paestum, and more so than that at Aegina.[4]

IV. During the development of the Doric style the columns appear to have grown steadily more slender in their proportion. Thus those at Corinth are the shortest, being only four diameters, or eight modules, in height, while those of the 'Porticus of Philip' at Delos are the longest in proportion of which we have existing examples.

I was not able to discover the height of the Delphian columns with any accuracy, but have shown it, as near as I could get it, on the drawing of the section of the Temple. The proportion seems to come very near to that at Aegina; see Plate II.

V. As far as they exist, the columns at Corinth, now only seven in number, are wholly monoliths. At Aegina those on the fronts and some of those on the sides are monoliths.

At Paestum, as at Delphi, the shafts are built up of separate drums, and in all the later temples of the Greeks.[5]

This point is not however wholly one of style, but, like the use of marble or stone, would partly depend on the quality of the available materials.

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[1] Some Doric capitals recently found on the Acropolis at Athens are, according to Mr. Penrose, older than the Persian invasion.

[2] Fortunately the temple by the Ilissus was carefully illustrated by Stuart and Revett, not long before its destruction by the Turkish governor.

[3] Thus at Aegina there is 5′ 4″ clear space on the fronts, and only 5′ 2″ on the flanks.

[4] It may be noted that Vitruvius's remarks on (close) pycknostyle intercolumniation (III. 3) are not applicable to Greek Doric architecture, about which he is evidently wholly ignorant.

[5] The Romans revived the use of monolithic shafts, especially in cases where granite or ornamental coloured marbles were used, as, *e.g.* in the *Cipollino* shafts of the temple of Diva Faustina and the granite columns of the Pantheon in Rome.

It would have been almost, if not quite, impossible for the Paestum builders to find sound blocks of stone in their quarries of sufficient size to make a whole shaft, and that was also the case at Delphi, judging from the present appearance of the Parnassus rock. Whenever, however, stone instead of marble was used, the coating of stucco would hide all the beds and joints completely.

VI. The amount of diminution of the Delphian columns at present remains uncertain for want of accurate knowledge of the height, but it is certainly less than that of the columns at Corinth and Paestum, and probably nearly that of the Aeginetan shafts.

VII. In the earlier temples, such as those at Corinth and Aegina, the architrave is deeper than the top diameter of the column.

In later temples it is less, as *e.g.* in the 'Theseum,' the Parthenon, and the temple at Bassae.

The Delphian architrave occupies an intermediate position, being about equal in depth to the top diameter of the shaft.

VIII. In most of the earliest temples the abacus of the capitals is shallower than the echinus, the reverse being the case in late examples.

Thus Corinth and Aegina have the shallow abacus; while the Theseum, the Parthenon, and the temple at Bassae have the deep abacus. At Paestum, however, in spite of the early date of the temple and its many archaic peculiarities, the capitals have the deep abacus.

As a rule the earlier the temple and the shallower the abacus, the more widely does it spread; and in this respect Paestum follows the early rule.

The Delphian capital, on the other hand, agrees with the later group of temples, and has an abacus of greater depth than the echinus, with a moderate spread or projection beyond the line of the shaft.

IX. So also the curve of the Delphian echinus is very unlike the bulging parabola of Corinth and Paestum, and is even flatter than that of Aegina, being very similar to the echinus of the 'Theseum' at Athens.

X. Owing to the present scantiness of the remains it is impossible to discover to what extent the Delphian temples possessed the various optical corrections which, to a greater or less extent, appear to have existed in all known Greek temples.

The remaining points to notice about the Delphian capitals are that it has four hypotrachelia at the necking, shaped very much like those at Corinth, Paestum, and also in some later temples. At Corinth the capitals differ in having only three hypotrachelia, four being more common, though not universal, in the later buildings: the Parthenon, *e.g.*, has five.

The annulet below the necking at Delphi consists of one single square sinking, as in the Theseum, the Parthenon, and many other examples. Other temples, such as those at Paestum, Aegina, and Bassae, have three annulets, each formed by a triangular-shaped nick; the original object of this annulet appears to have been to hide the bed where the capital rests upon the top of the shaft, and also to prevent 'flushing' or chipping of the sharp 'arrises' at the edges.

The result of this comparison of the details of the temple of Delphi, the date of which we can fix as being between about 540 and 530 B.C.,[1] with those of other temples which most resemble it, but of which we have no written records, will be something of this kind.

The temple at Corinth must clearly be given a much earlier date, probably a full century before that at Delphi, owing to its far more distinctly marked archaisms. It has in fact always been recognised as the oldest example of the Doric style which now exists in the mainland of Greece.

At Selinus in southern Sicily alone are there any important remains of a still more archaic type; but Sicilian Doric has so many local peculiarities that we can hardly venture to include it in a chronological classification of types used in Greece proper.[2]

The temple at Aegina is in several respects distinctly more archaic in its details than the temple at Delphi, and thus it would appear probable that the building itself must be some half century or more older than its pedimental sculpture, which can hardly be dated much before the year 500 B.C. at the earliest.

It is to be hoped that we shall soon possess more complete and minutely accurate drawings of the Delphian fragments than those which I was able to make, and then further inductions can be made in this very interesting direction.[3]

The accompanying drawings show such a conjectural restoration of the temple as I have suggested.

In the *ground plan* I have indicated the various objects which the temple contained in the positions which seem to me most probable.

The *section* shows the oracular vault below the floor of the adytum, and at the sides the cellular construction of the stylobate, on the supposition that the rows of small subterranean chambers mentioned below extend up to the base of the temple itself, but not under the adytum floor; see Fig. 13.

The Stylobate of the Temple, and its Temenos.—Though it is to be feared that future excavations at Delphi will not bring to light much of the main temple, yet there is every reason to hope that a great part, if not the whole, of the great stylobate or platform on which the temple stood may yet be discovered, being as it is below the present level of the soil. At the time of my visits to Delphi the site was so encumbered by the village huts of Kastri that it was impossible to make any serious search, and it was with great difficulty that I got permission from the inhabitants to make a few borings through the soil as an attempt to make out some of the levels and the depth of earth over the rock and the substructures.

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[1] Even supposing that the temple was not finished till some years later, yet the details of the main order would naturally be among the first points settled by the designer; so we can hardly place their date later than this, even allowing several years for the construction of the extensive stylobate on which the temple stands.

[2] A Doric capital found among the pre-historic remains of the Tirynthian Acropolis closely resembles the earliest Selinus type, which has a cavetto close under the echinus: see fig. 2, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, Vol. VII. p. 163.

[3] The few drawings given in M. Foucart's otherwise valuable work on Delphi are too small and inaccurate to be of any use.

For this reason I will only discuss the subject very shortly. The temple appears to have been built on a great platform constructed over a gentle slope inclining down from north to south. On three sides, E, W, and S, this platform was bounded by a massive retaining wall, and within the space thus enclosed the raised paving was in part at least supported by rows of small stone chambers in place of solid masonry, as is shown on my section.

The three chambers to which I was able to gain access were each about five feet by four feet, roofed by one immense slab of stone, the top of which probably formed the floor of the stylobate above, outside the temple. The

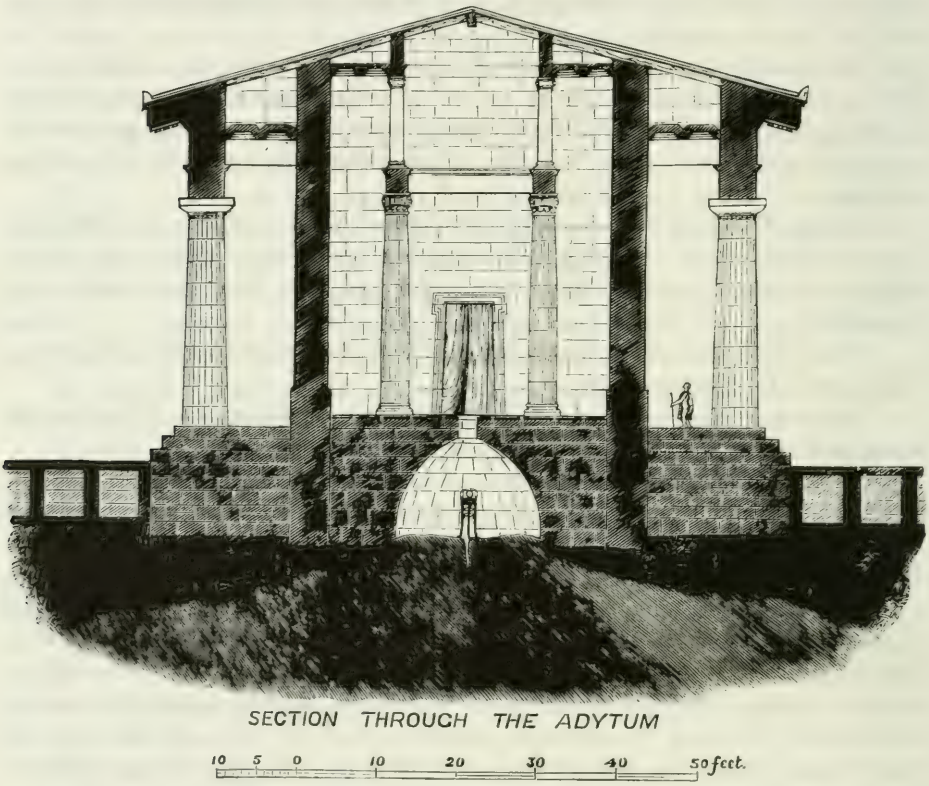

FIG. 13.—CONJECTURAL SECTION.

walls of these little subterranean cells were built of blocks four feet to six feet long by about eighteen inches to two feet deep; a narrow opening in opposite walls of each cell gave access to the next chambers, many of which were said to exist below the huts of Kastri. Possibly some of these cells were used as strong-rooms for the treasures of Apollo, in addition to the more public treasure-chambers which, after the fire in 548 B.C., were constructed and named after various Greek states, as is mentioned by Herodotus, Plutarch, Pausanias and others.

The temenos in which the temple stood is enclosed by a massive wall of polygonal masonry, which is one of the most interesting existing relics of Greek workmanship.

As the accompanying drawing shows, the masonry is of the most extraordinary kind—not, I believe, to be seen anywhere out of Delphi. The polygonal blocks, which measure in some cases as much as seven feet across, have their joints worked and fitted with complete accuracy, and their exposed faces dressed to an absolutely smooth surface; see Fig. 14.

But the extraordinary point about the masonry is that many of the joints follow a curved instead of a straight line, involving a most exceptional amount both of skill and careful patience on the part of the Delphian masons, who have made the various curves fit each other with perfect accuracy. Some of the beds, which range in a horizontal direction, form very complex undulating lines. The very smooth dressing of the face of the wall stops at the old ground line, and the part below this, which was hidden from sight, is left rough, in a way which shows that the wall-face was brought to its present

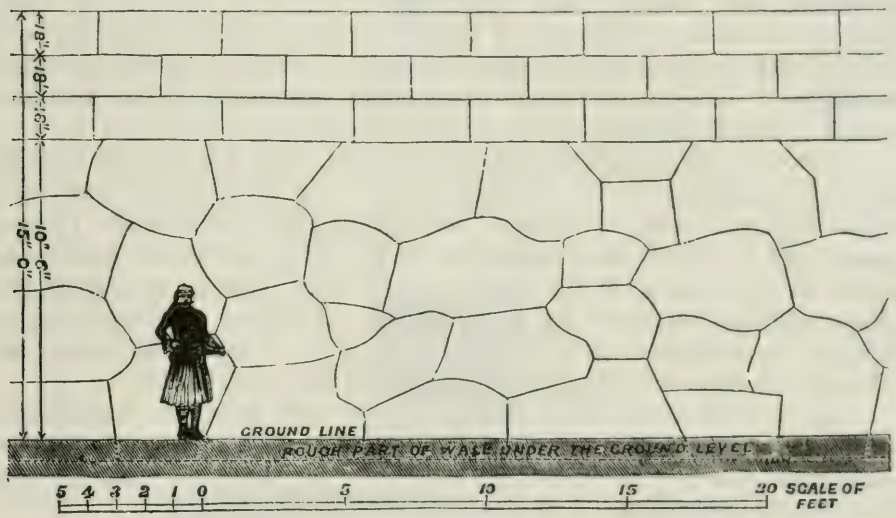

Fig. 14.—Temenos Wall.

smooth surface after the separate blocks were in their place. Possibly the extreme smoothness of the wall was not thought necessary till it began to be used for the inscriptions, which now cover most of its surface.

The height of this wall of course varies with the slope of the ground, the wall getting higher towards the south. In parts it is as much as ten feet six inches high (and possibly more in places where it is still buried) without counting its coping, which consisted of three courses of rectangular stones laid on level beds, each course being about eighteen inches deep, with blocks from four to five feet long.

The coping blocks are fixed with stout **I** iron clamps, their ends run with

lead, like those in the Parthenon and elsewhere. No cement is used anywhere, as is usual in good Hellenic masonry, the joints and beds fitting much too closely to require it.

M. Foucart suggests that the three courses of rectangular blocks at the top of the polygonal wall are a later addition, but there is no reason to suppose this.[1]

In spite of the use of polygonal blocks, the wall is evidently not one of an early period, but obviously belongs to a time of the greatest possible skill in masonry. The mere use of polygonal masonry is, by itself, no proof of great antiquity,[2] and there seems no reason to date the temenos wall at Delphi earlier than the rebuilding by Spintharus in the second half of the sixth century.

On the south side not less than three hundred feet of this wall still exist in a very perfect state, except that the top rectangular courses have in many places been removed. On this side the average height, when perfect, was nearly fifteen feet. The whole visible surface of this extraordinary wall is covered with closely-cut inscriptions, of which there cannot be less than a thousand, and possibly many more, dating from the end of the third century B.C. down to the time of Hadrian or later. They consist largely of decrees of the Amphiktionic Council granting one or more special privileges to states or individuals, namely, *προμαντεία, προξενία, ἀσυλία, προεδρία, προδικία, ἀσφάλεια, ἀτέλεια, γῆς* (or *οἰκίας*) *ἔγκτησις*, and *θεαροδοκία*.

Other decrees record the conferring the use of an honorary tent during the sacred meetings, or the Delphic *δάφνης στέφανος παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ*,[3] or a public eulogy to some benefactor. A large number relate to the Pythian games and to the enfranchisement of slaves by dedication to Apollo, and others to the revenue of the temple: see Foucart, *Inscrip. de Delphes*, and those published separately by Curtius; with these it is very interesting to compare the similar series from the rival temple of Apollo at Delos: see Homolle, *Archives de l'Intendance sacrée à Délos*, Ser. I., Paris, 1887.

As in other Greek cities, various imposts were levied on the citizens, such as *χοραγία*, a tax to pay for musical choirs. The *ἰατρικὸν* was an exceptional tax to provide medical attendance for those who came for help from Apollo in his character of the Healer.

Great varieties of style occur in these inscriptions, as M. Foucart records, even in those of the same Archon-ship; some are very neatly cut, others carelessly. Some are so spaced as to be confined to one polygonal block, others pass over joints.

In some cases they extend over the rectangular coping blocks. Some are coloured with vermilion, either wholly or in alternate lines to facilitate

[1] A wall with rectangular blocks alternating with polygonal masonry has recently been discovered on the Acropolis at Athens, near the foundations of the so-called calcotheke; but in this case the alternations occur in the same course.

[2] Thus we find polygonal work in the cella wall of the smaller temple at Rhamnus, called that of Themis; and yet the details show that the building belongs to the 5th century B.C.

[3] These two honours were peculiar to Delphi, the others were common to other oracular shrines: see Curtius, *Inscr. Delph.*, Nos. 41, 42, and 45.

reading: others seem to have had no colour. In length they vary from three to more than three hundred lines, and nearly all contain Dorian peculiarities of dialect or spelling.

The inscriptions on the polygonal wall, as far as they have yet been exposed, do not go back to an earlier date than the end of the third century B.C., but about six feet from the eastern line of wall, on the outside, still exists part of a marble column with an inscription recording a decree

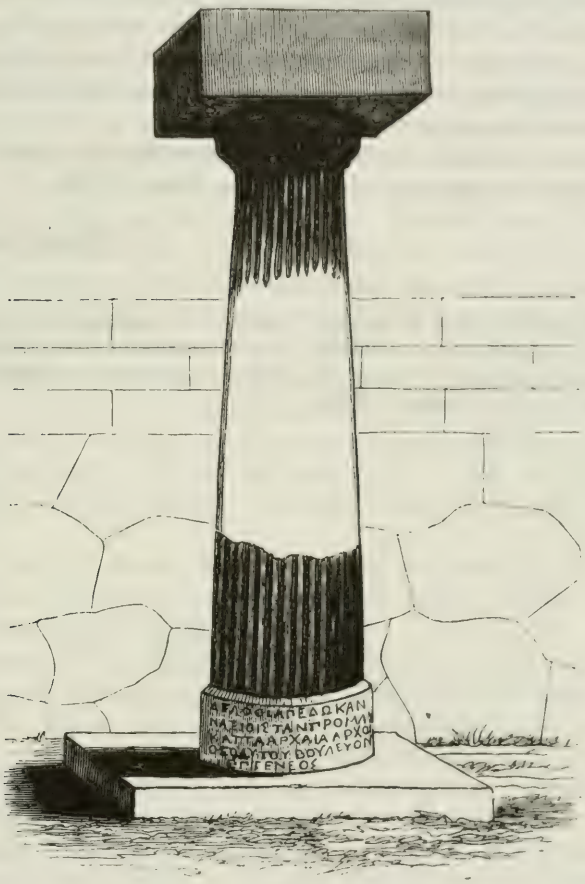

FIG. 15.—RESTORATION OF COLUMN.

of *προμαντεία* in favour of the people of Naxos which, from the form of the letters, can hardly be much later than about 380 to 360 B.C.

The lower part of this column only remains: it is 3′ 3″ in diameter, and has the unusual number of forty-four Doric flutes, which stop short of the bottom, leaving a plain unfluted base nineteen inches high, on which the inscription is cut, *Δελφοὶ ἀπέδωκαν Ναξίοις τὰν προμαντηίαν κατ' τὰ ἀρχαῖα,*

ἄρχοντος Θεολύτου, βουλεύοντος Ἐπιγένεος.[1] In this case the spelling used is Ionian, unlike the bulk of the wall inscriptions.

I have attempted to give a conjectural restoration of the lost upper part of this column on the supposition that it formed the pedestal of a statue, such as those recently discovered on the Acropolis of Athens; see Fig. 15.

The Athenian examples have inscriptions giving the sculptor's name on the magnified abacus at the top; and on the 'cyma recta,' which takes the place of the usual Doric echinus, is a simple painted ornament.

The existing fragment appears to be still *in situ:* it rests on a large slab of marble, for which a bed has been levelled in the native rock. M. Foucart states (p. 92) that the base of the column is hollowed from below, thus forming a cavity which may have been intended to hold some sacred object or record of the dedication of the monument.

Probably it was on such a column as this that the above-mentioned statue of Homer stood, in the pro-naos of the temple (Paus. X. 24).

J. Henry Middleton.

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[1] See Foucart, *Ruines et l'Hist. de Delphes*, p. 92, 1865. The lot-drawing from which this decree exempted the Naxians is mentioned by Aeschylus, *Eum.* 32. Other instances of this privilege are mentioned by Plutarch, *Peric.* 21, and Thucydides, I. 112, as being granted to Athens and Sparta, and inscribed on a bronze wolf.

A SACRIFICIAL CALENDAR FROM COS.

In the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* for 1881 (vol. v. pp. 216 foll.) MM. Am. Hauvette-Besnault and Marcel Dubois published a number of inscriptions from Cos, among which are two fragments of a curious sacrificial calendar. These fragments they describe as existing in the house of M. Dim. Platanistis. One of the marbles is broken at the top and the left side, and is apparently inscribed on one surface only. Fifteen lines of the inscription can be fairly well deciphered. I will call this document HBD 1. The other marble was inscribed on both sides; but only the endings of some nineteen lines on the one side, and the beginnings of as many lines on the other, now remain: I shall call this document HBD 2*a*, *b*.

Mr. W. R. Paton, who has repeatedly visited Cos, has not only sent me corrections of some of the readings in HBD 1, but he has also had the good fortune to discover two other large portions of the same interesting calendar. Of these he has very kindly sent me copies, with a view to the publication of the inscription in this Journal. I propose to cite Mr. Paton's fragments as P1 and P2.

The marble P1 is on the floor in front of the altar of a very old church, and has been much worn by the feet of worshippers; so that in some places all trace of letters has disappeared.

P2 is inscribed 'on a marble which M. Nicolaides has recently built into his kitchen, as a sink, the inscribed side being thus concealed. A few days ago' (writes Mr. Paton, July 11, 1888), 'I managed to get him to allow me to take it out, but he insists on its being replaced, and this will be done tomorrow. . . . . Unluckily the marble is in a very bad condition. I have worked very hard at it for four or five days, and taken an impression. . . . Its length is 119 centimetres, width 63. The marble was formerly placed, face downwards, in a cistern near the hospital. It has three holes bored in it, destroying parts of lines 9—19 and lines 55—58. A considerable portion in the centre is almost entirely effaced (lines 28—40). The upper part (lines 1—8) is much worn and illegible. The left-hand edge has also been worn. This is the state in which the marble was when Mr. Nicolaides' workmen extracted it from the cistern. In order to embellish it, they rounded off the right-hand side, thus destroying about three letters in each line, and by some accident a piece was chipped off the lower left-hand corner. Some of these missing letters I was able to read from the impression left by the marble in the mortar of the cistern whence it was taken.'

It will be seen at a glance that these fragments all form part of one extensive calendar; this appears to have been inscribed on a series of marbles, and contained a list of every public sacrifice offered throughout the year, specifying the officials concerned in each ceremony, and apportioning the perquisites (*γέρη* = *ἱερώσυνα*).[1]

As the document was so lengthy, we may very probably hear of other portions coming to light. The portions already recovered are full of curious information, but they do not reveal their order or place in the original document. We shall find that P2 deals with the sacrifices of the month Batromios, while P1 refers to a passage of P2. HBD 1 is occupied with the worship of Heracles, but it does not appear in what month these festivals took place. Still less can any indication be gathered from HBD 2*a*, *b*. If our calendar were complete it would enable us to verify Bischoff's arrangement of the Coan months (*Leipziger Studien*, vii. 1884, *De fastis Graecorum antiquioribus*, p. 381), which he gives as follows: 1. Ἄλσειος. 2. Βαδρόμιος. 3. Καφίσιος. 4. Θευδαίσιος. 5. Πεταγείτνυος. 6. Ἀρταμίτιος. 7. Γεράστιος. 8. Δάλιος. 9. Ταλίνθιος. 10. Ἀγριάνιος. 11. Unknown. 12. Πάναμος. The year began at the Autumn equinox.

As it is, I will simply print the different fragments in the accidental order of discovery: this will be convenient, and as probable as any other arrangement.

HBD 1.

'Dans la maison de M. Dim. Platanistis marbre brisé en haut et à gauche. H. 30. L. 0·45.' This fragment I give in cursive type only, the text of the French editors in the *Bulletin* being corrected by help of Mr. Paton's new collation of the stone.

§ 1. (Month unknown):

. . . *ᾳ ἐξ*]*εἰκάδος·*| [*τοῖς ἥρω*]*σιν οἱ* [*ἰαρεῖς*?] *ὅτε τελέω* [*θοινῶ*]*νται κατὰ φυλ*|[*άς, ὁ*] *μὲν τῶν Ὑλλέων παρὰ τὸ Ἡράκλειον, ὁ δὲ τῶν Δυμά*|*νων παρὰ τὰ Ἀναξίλεα, ὁ δὲ τῶν Παμφύλων ἐν Σιτέᾳ* |5 *παρὰ τὸ Δαμά*|*τριον· καὶ τούτων ἑκάστῳ ἱερὰ οὐλομετ*|[*ρεῖται*] *ἡμίεκτον ἑκατέρων, καὶ κύλικες καιναὶ τρεῖς ἑ*|[*κάστ*]*ῳ, καὶ πίναξ ἑκάστῳ · ταῦτα παρέχοντι τοὶ ἰα*|[*ρεῖς*] *καὶ θύοντι.*

[1] Perhaps this statement is too sweeping. The calendar may have been merely supplementary to an older inscribed calendar which it did not wholly supersede. It is just possible that we may recognise a relic of that old calendar in the fragment No. 471 of Röhl's *Inscriptiones Antiq.* (see *Addenda*, and Roberts' *Introduction*, No. 5, p. 29). If so, this later calendar would only name such festivals as were now ordained for the first time, or were reorganised by this new ritual enactment. I imagine that in all the cities of the Graeco-Roman world there existed authoritative calendars of the public sacrifices, such as Livy describes (i. 20) when he says of Numa Pompilius: 'Pontificem deinde Numam Marcium, Marci filium, ex patribus legit, eique sacra omnia exscripta exsignataque attribuit; quibus hostiis, quibus diebus, ad quae templa sacra fierent, atque unde in eos sumptus pecunia erogaretur.' We must wait for fresh inscriptions to come to light before our materials will enable us to deal with this class of documents as a whole. The ritual calendar from Myconos (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, No. 373) is at present the most complete and instructive example of the kind.

§ 2. Τρίτᾳ ἀνομένου· Ἡρακλεῖ ἐς κο . . . | . . . . ναψην καυτός.

§ 3. Τᾷ αὐτᾷ ἀμέρᾳ· Ἡρακλεῖ | 10 . . . . . Θεσ]σαλὸν βοῦς · τοῦτον θύει ὁ ἰαρεὺς, τῷ δὲ | [ἰαρεῖ ἱ]ερὰ δίδοται κριθᾶν τρία ἡμέδιμνα καὶ σπυ|[ρ]ῶν [τ]ρεῖς τεταρτῆς καὶ μέλιτος τέτορες κοτύλ]αι, καὶ τυροὶ οἴεοι δυώδεκα καὶ ἰπνὸς καινὸς καὶ φρ|[υγά]νων ἄχθος καὶ ξυλέων ἄχθος καὶ οἴνου τρία | 15 ἡμίχοα.

§ 1. In line 1 the French editors restore [ἀμφ]εικάδος, which occurs as a date of another Coan inscription (*Bulletin*, ibid. p. 239, no. 26), 'the day after the 20th,' = the 21st. But in our inscription the day is uniformly in the dative case, and I have restored accordingly. Line 2: the restorations are the plausible suggestions of the French editors. There certainly seems to be a reference to the eponymous heroes of the three Dorian tribes, of which we shall read more in P 2. The readings of line 3 are from Mr. Paton's memoranda. The Ἡράκλειον is a shrine or enclosure of Heracles, and τὸ Δαμάτριον (line 5) of Demeter: τὰ Ἀναξίλεα and Σιτέα are localities now unknown. Lines 5 foll: ΑΟΥΛΟΜΕΤ was read by Mr. Paton. Each of the tribal priests has a gallon (ἡμίεκτον) of barley (οὐλαί) measured to him as ἱερά for each of the two sheep (ἑκατέρων). The word οὐλομετ[ρεῖν] occurs nowhere else. Doubtless these large quantities were intended as much for the feast as for the sacrifice: hence the cups and trencher (πίναξ). But why *three* new cups each? Were they intended for separate libations made by each priest to the three eponymous heroes?

§ 2. Line 8: τρίτα ἀνομένου (μηνός) is probably the 28th. The worship of the Heracleid heroes in § 1 has prepared us for the cultus of Heracles. Local legends spoke of his coming to Cos and becoming there the father of Thessalos, of whom sprang Pheidippos and Antiphos, the legendary founders of Cos: see *Iliad*, ii. 676 foll.:

> Οἱ δ' ἄρα Νίσυρόν τ' εἶχον Κράπαθόν τε Κάσον τε
> καὶ Κῶν, Εὐρυπύλοιο πόλιν, νήσους τε Καλύδνας,
> τῶν αὖ Φείδιππός τε καὶ Ἄντιφος ἡγησάσθην,
> Θεσσαλοῦ υἷε δύω Ἡρακλείδαο ἄνακτος.

In lines 8—9 the letters seem certain, though Ψ is given only by Mr Paton: the French edd. read I. They suppose some reference to the local legend of Heracles' visit, and cite Plutarch, *Quaest. Gr.* 58. But I can suggest no restoration. The word καυτός will be explained in P 1 and 2. It will be found to mean the whole burnt-offering of a pig.

§ 3. I have supposed the name [Θεσ]σαλόν to refer to the legendary son of Heracles: but we might conceivably read Ἡρακλεῖ|[παρὰ τὸν] σάλον, and understand a reference to the hero being washed ashore from the wreck. The forms ἡμέδιμνα and ξυλέων are vouched for by the editors. The latter may be a dialectical variety. Τεταρτεύς, elsewhere unknown, must be the fourth of a μέδιμνος (*i.e.* three gallons), formed like ἑκτεύς. Mr. Paton tells me that after the word θύοντι, in line 8, the marble exhibits a full stop precisely like that employed in P 1, viz. ⌐. This is another proof that both fragments are parts of one document.

HBD 2 *a-b*.

'Dans la maison de M. Dim. Platanistis, fragment de marbre blanc, gravé sur deux faces. H. 0·30. L. 0·15.' I give the texts in cursive only.

a.

- - - - - - - *σκ*]*έλη, κεφάλα.*
οὐκ ἐξαγ]*ωγὰ ἐκ Κῶ, ἀπάγεν δὲ*
Κ]*ώων ἢ ξένων τῷ Ἀπόλλ-*
ωνι — — — — — — — —]*ως ἄλλο ἢ τᾷ διχομηνίᾳ*
ι ἐπιῤῥεζέτω τέλε(ο)ν
μὴ ξενικὸν στράτευ(μ)-
α — — — — — — — —]*α φέρεν ἐπ' Ἀμφιαρηΐδ-*
α — — — — — — — — *θύε*]*ν ἀμνὰν καὶ ἀμνὸν καὶ*
α Δι[*ΐ*] *Ἰσθμίῳ ταῖς διδ-*
θύον ?]*τι ὑπὲρ τᾶς πόλιος α-*
ν ἰαρέως σὺν ἀντ-
αὶ δέ τίς κα μετ-
τ]*ὰμ πόλιν ἐξ ὤμ μ-*
θαι ζαμιούντω
τῶν ἰα]*ρέων ἢ τᾶν ἰαρε-*
ιᾶν — — — — — — — — — *ο*]*ἴνο(υ) ἢ γυναικός*
τ]*ριάκοντα ἀμέ-*
ρας — — — — — — — — — — — *ἱερ*]*ωσύνας τ-*
τριάκ-
[*οντα ?*] — — — —

Line 2: something is forbidden to be exported from Cos; it is to be taken back home (*ἀπάγειν*). In ΑΠΑΓΕΝ, as in ΦΕΡΕΝ (line 7) and perhaps ΟΙΝΟ (line 16), we recognise genuine Coan forms. Similarly [ΙΑ]ΡΟΠΟΙΟΣ in HBD 2*b*, line 11, and ΑΙΡΕΣΘΩ in P 2, line 41: compare Cauer, *Delectus*, Nos. 161, 162, and O. Hoffmann, *De mixtis Graecae linguae dialectis*, pp. 61 foll. But Ω for Ο in *τέλεον* (line 5) is a lapidary's blunder, which is repeated in P 1, lines 13, 15, and P 2, line 61. Line 4: *ἄλλο ἢ* looks like a mistake for *ἄλλ' ἤ* or *ἄλλοτ' ἤ*. I suppose *Ἀμφιαρηΐς* to be the name of some locality in Cos: the only surprising thing in the name is its Ionic form; but compare *Ἀλκηΐδες* in P 2 line 60. Lines 14 foll. threatened penalties against neglectful priests, and enjoined certain rules of ceremonial purity (line 16 compare P 2, line 43).

b.

[— — — *ἰαρ-*
ώσυνα. § *Τριακάδ*[*ι* — — — — — — — — — *κατα-*
λέξεται ὁ ἰαρεὺς [— — — — — — — — — — *κ*
αθαίρεται χοίρῳ [— — — — § *Τᾷ δεῖνι ἀμέρᾳ· Ἀθαν-*
ᾷ Πολιάδι ὄϊν τε[*λέαν* — — —

τοις ἰαρεὺς παρ[έχει ? — — — — — — τὸ γενομ- (?)
ενον ἀργύριον ἔσ[τω ? — — — — — — — — — ἔνδ-
ορα ἐνδέρεται[— — — — — — — — — — — ἡμ-
ίεκτον καὶ ἄρτος — — —
ς καὶ ἐπισπενδε[— — — — — — — — — — θύ- ?
στρα ἁ πόλις πα[ρέχει — — — — — — — τοὺς ἰα-
ροποιὸς καὶ κά[ρυκας ? — — — —
καὶ κοιλίας ἥμ[ισυ — — — — — — — — — — δί-
δοται ἁ κρίσις [— — — — — — — — — — ὀβελὸ-
ς τρικώλιος — — —
εας χα — — —
τ]ᾶς πόλιο[ς — — —
— — α μηδέ — — —
— — — σατ — — —

Little can be made of this fragment. The phrase *ἔνδορα ἐνδέρεται* of lines 6—7 recurs repeatedly in P 1, where its meaning will be discussed. In lines 9—10 [*θύ*]*στρα* is a conjecture based on P 1, line 23, *q.v.* Line 14: *κωλέα, κωλήν, κωλεός* are known variants of *κωλῆ*, the ham, a joint frequently named in connection with sacrifices: Hesychius also gives *κωλία*. *Ὀβελὸς τρικώλιος* is restored from P 2, line 53, where *αἱματίου ὀβελὸς τρικώλιος* occurs, a phrase which is explained by an ingenious suggestion which I owe to Mr. A. Hamilton Smith. In the *Ety. Magn.* we find *Αἱμάτια· ἀλλάντια*. Mr. Hamilton Smith understands *τρικώλιος* to be equivalent to *τρίκωλος* (cp. *μονο-, δι-, τετράκωλος*) and to mean 'with three legs.' It thus equals *τριώβολον* which, according to Eustathius on *Il.* i. 463, was used by most Greeks in preference to the *πεμπώβολον* as a sacrificial implement. Thus our text alludes to something like that which is so graphically described in 1 Sam. ii. 13: 'The priest's custom with the people was, that, when any man offered sacrifice, the priest's servant came, while the flesh was in seething, with a flesh-hook of three teeth (= *ὀβελὸς τρικώλιος*) in his hand; and he struck it into the pan, or kettle, or caldron, or pot; all that the flesh-hook brought up the priest took for himself' (compare Helbig, *Das Homerische Epos*, 1st ed., p. 256).

P 1.

Fragment discovered by Mr. Paton: described above.

ΛΕΙΙ ΛΙ ΙΑΑΜΒΑΝΕΙΔΕΡΜΑΚΑΙΣΚΕΛΗ:Τ
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ΝΑΙΝΑΙΤΡΕΙ<ΟΙΣΤΑΜΠΟΛΙΝΩΝΕΙΣΟΑΙΔΛ/
ΛΧΜ

§ *Ninth (?) day of the Month:* (line 1)
. . . . . Θύει ἱαρεὺς καὶ ἱερὰ παρέ]χει· (γ)έ(ρη) λαμβάνει δέρμα καὶ σκέλη.
Ninth (?) day continued: (lines 1—4). Τ[ᾷ αὐτ-
ᾷ ἀμέρᾳ· Ῥέᾳ ὄϊς κυεῦσα καὶ ἱερὰ ὅσσαπερ τοῦ Πεδαγειτνιο-
υ γέγραπται· τούτων οὐκ ἀποφορά· θύει ἱαρεὺς καὶ ἱερὰ παρέχε[ι· γ-
έρη λαμβάνει δέρμα.
§ *Tenth day:* (lines 4–9). Δεκάτᾳ· Ἥρᾳ Ἀργείᾳ Ἐλείᾳ Βασιλείᾳ δάμ-
αλις κριτά· κρινέσθω δὲ μὴ ἐλάσσονος [ἐπ?]ωνημένα πεν[τ-
ήκοντα δραχμᾶν· θύει ἱαρεὺς καὶ ἱερὰ παρέχει· γέρ[η] λαμβά[νει
δέρμα καὶ σκέλος· ταύτας ἀποφορά· ἔνδορα ἐνδέρεται, καὶ θύ[εται
ἐπὶ τᾷ ἰστίᾳ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τὰ ἔνδορα καὶ ἐλατὴρ ἐξ ἡμιέκτου [σπ-
υρῶν· τούτων οὐκ ἐκφορὰ ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ.
§ *Eleventh day:* (lines 9—12). Ἑνδεκάτᾳ· Ζηνὶ Μαχ[α-
νᾶϊ βοῦς κρίνεται τὸ ἄτερον ἔτος ἐφ' οὗ κλέων[τι] Κ[α]ρνεῖαι κα[θά-
π]ερ τοῦ Βατρομίου τῷ Ζηνὶ τῷ Πολιῆϊ κρίνεται· κα[ὶ χ]ο[ῖ]ρος προ-
καυτεύεται καὶ προκαρύσσεται καθαπερ τῷ Πολιῆϊ.
§ *Twelfth day:* (lines 12—20). Δυωδε[κ-
άτᾳ· Ζηνὶ Μαχανᾶϊ ὄϊες τρεῖς τέλε(ο)ι καὶ βοῦς ὁ κριθεὶς τὸ
ἄτερον ἔτος ἐφ' οὗ κλέωντι Καρνεῖαι, τὸ δὲ ἄτερον ἔτος ὄϊες [τ-
ρεῖς τέλε(ο)ι· ταῦτα θύει ἱαρεὺς ὁ τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν καὶ ἱερὰ [π-
αρέχει· τούτοις προθύεται πὰρ τὸγ κο[ιν]ὸν ἃ φέροντι Φυλεομ-
αχίδαι ἀλφίτων ἡμίεκτον οἴνου τετάρταν· γέρη δὲ Φυλεομ-
αχίδαις δίδοται τοῦ βοὸς ὁπλά, ταρσός· τῶν δὲ ὀΐων τὸ ὠμὸν
ἐξ οὗ ἁ θεομοιρία τάμνεται, κα[ὶ τὸ στῆ]θος· γέρη λαμβάνει ὁ ἱα-
ρεὺς σκέλη καὶ δέρματα.
Twelfth day, continued: (lines 20—26). Τᾷ αὐτᾷ ἀμέρᾳ Ἀθάνᾳ [τᾷ] Μαχα[νί-

δι δάμαλις κριτὰ τὸ ἄτερον ἔτος ἐφ' οὗ κλέωντι Καρνεία[ι · τ-
ὸ δὲ ἄτερον ἔτος ὄϊς τελέα· θύει ἰαρεὺς καὶ ἀποῤῥαίνεται θα[λ-
άσσᾳ· τούτων οὐκ ἀποφορά· [θύ]στρα δίδοται τᾷ θεῷ ἐλαί[ο-
υ] τέτορες κοτυλέαι, οἴνου τετάρτα, πρόχοι καιναὶ δύο καὶ κύλ[ι-
κες] καιναὶ τρεῖ(ς), το[. . . . . τρε]ῖς· τὰμ πόλιν ὠνεῖσθαι δά[μαλιν
. . . . . μὴ ἐλάσσονος δρ]αχμ[ᾶν . . . .

Mr. Paton has favoured me with a good impression of this inscription (P 1), besides several transcripts, and his memoranda of repeated examinations of the stone. The text therefore of the surviving lines can be restored with reasonable certainty. They contain directions for the sacrifices of four days of a month: what month, is not stated, but it was the month in which the Carneia were celebrated at Cos. It is singular that the Καρνεῖαι ἡμέραι (in lines 10, 14, 21) were at Cos only kept as festival days every other year, and not annually, as in the Peloponnese. But we may safely suppose this biennial celebration to have taken place at the same time of year as in Greece proper, *i.e.* in the Attic month Metageitnion (= August—September). If so, it is worth noting that this is the only month in the Coan Calendar which Bischoff (*Leipz. Stud.* VII. 1884, p. 381) is unable to recover: our inscription suggests Καρνεῖος as perhaps the missing name.

Ninth (?) day of the month. Line 1: I have restored the phrase ἱερὰ παρέχει which occurs repeatedly lower down. By ἱερά are meant throughout this document the barley-meal, honey, oil, or other ceremonial accessories of the sacrifice. The γέρη are the perquisites of the priest, the technical term for which was ἱερώσυνα: see Boeckh-Fraenkel, *Staatsh.* ii. p. 108. But the word γέρα is employed by Aeschines (*In Ctes.* § 18): οἷον τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τὰς ἱερείας ὑπευθύνους εἶναι κελεύει ὁ νόμος, καὶ συλλήβδην ἅπαντας καὶ χωρὶς ἑκάστους κατὰ σῶμα, τοὺς τὰ γέρα μόνα λαμβάνοντας. Similarly in an inscription from Miletus (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, No. 376), διδόναι δὲ τῷ ἱερεῖ τὰ γέρεα κ.τ.λ.

Lines 2 foll.: the law refers back to what had been prescribed under a previous month Pedageitnios; this, according to Bischoff, was the fifth month of the Coan year, answering to the Attic Anthesterion, or the latter part of our February and beginning of March. The phrase τούτων οὐκ ἀποφορά (ταύτας οὐκ ἀποφορά, *vel sim.*) occurs often in this document, though I do not recollect meeting with it elsewhere. The meaning is that the flesh of this victim, after the prescribed portion has been burnt to the gods, and the priest and others have received their share, is to be consumed within the temple-precincts: no portion (μερίς) was to be sent to friends, or taken to a worshipper's house to furnish a domestic meal, as was very commonly done (see Schömann, *Gr. Alterth.* II. pp. 231 fol.). The restriction is recognised by Hesychius *s.v.* Ἑστίᾳ θύομεν· ἦσάν τινες θυσίαι, ἀφ' ὧν οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν μεταδοῦναι ἢ ἐξενεγκεῖν. Compare lines 7 foll., where it is ordered that certain portions of the victim shall be offered ἐπὶ τᾷ ἱστίᾳ ἐν τῷ ναῷ. It is added: τούτων οὐκ ἐκφορὰ ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ: that is to say, the sacrifice is restricted to the altar in the *cella*, and no part of it may be carried out of the *cella*; this corresponds even more closely with the words of Hesychius.

Tenth day of the month: lines 4—9. 'To Queen Hera of Argos in the Marsh.' The type of the Argive Hera appears on the coins of that town (Head, *Historia Num.* p. 367—8). Her worship was not unknown elsewhere, *e.g.* at Sparta (*καὶ Ἥρας ἐπὶ τῷ λόφῳ ναὸς Ἀργείας*, Pausan. iii. 13, § 6), and among the Veneti (*καὶ δύο ἅλση τὸ μὲν Ἥρας Ἀργείας δείκνυται τὸ δ' Ἀρτέμιδος Αἰτωλίδος*, Strabo, v. p. 215). The mention of Ἥρα Ἀργεία at Cos reminds us that tradition connected Cos with Argolis as having received colonists from Epidauros. The epithet *βασίλεια* applied to Hera recalls Juno Regina of the Romans, and in the Marmor Ancyranum *Juno Regina* is translated Ἥρα Βασιλίς (*C.I.G.* 4040 *col.* i.). But the title has good Greek authority also: see *C.I.G.* 1603 (Lebadea), Ἥρᾳ Βασιλίδι; *Hellenic Journal*, viii. p. 256, (Pisidia) *ἱερασαμένην* Ἥρας *βασιλίδος*; compare *C.I.G. Addenda*, 2447 and 2465*c*. But the instance before us is the earliest example I know of on purely Greek soil. The epithet Ἕλεια probably indicates the site of the temple at Cos,—like *Ἀφροδίτη ἐν καλάμοις*, *Ἀφροδίτη ἐν κήποις*, Ἄρτεμις Λιμνᾶτις, *κ.τ.λ.* In line 5 the two first letters of (ΕΠ)ΩΝΗΜΕΝΑ are very doubtful: if I have rightly deciphered the word, it may mean 'purchased for this special purpose,' but the marks on the marble after Ε may be accidental, and we might restore simply *ἐωνημένα*; compare lines 25—26 *infra*. Fifty drachmas (= about two guineas) appears to have been a good, but not extravagant, price to give for a heifer, to judge by the prices quoted by Böckh-Fränckel, *Staatsh.* i. pp. 94 foll.

In lines 7 foll. it is permitted to take the flesh of the heifer away, after the sacrifice, to be eaten at home; but it is at the same time specified that certain portions of the victim (the *ἔνδορα*) are to be set apart and offered to Hera, upon her altar within the *cella* itself (*ἐπὶ τᾷ ἱστίᾳ ἐν τῷ ναῷ*), and are not to be taken away out of the *cella*, but must be consumed there and nowhere else. This peculiar provision reminds us of the statement in Athenaeus (vi. p. 262) about the sacrifice made to Hera at Cos: *φησὶ γὰρ Μακαρεὺς ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ Κωακῶν, ὅτι, ὁπόταν τῇ Ἥρᾳ θύωσιν οἱ Κῷοι, οὔτε εἴσεισιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν δοῦλος, οὔτε γεύεταί τινος τῶν παρεσκευασμένων*,—and again, *ibid.* xiv. p. 639: *Κῷοι δὲ τοὐναντίον δρῶσιν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Μακαρεὺς ἐν τρίτῳ Κῳακῶν· ὅταν γὰρ τῇ Ἥρᾳ θύωσι, δοῦλοι οὐ παραγίνονται ἐπὶ τὴν εὐωχίαν· διὸ καὶ Εὐφορίωνα εἰρηκέναι που*

> *Ῥειώνῃ μοῦνοι μὲν ἐλεύθεροι ἱεροεργοὶ*
> *ἀνδράσι πὰρ Κῴοισιν ἐλεύθερον ἆμαρ ἔχοντες·*
> *δούλων δ' οὔτις πάμπαν ἐσέρχεται οὐδ' ἠβαιόν.*

It seems natural to connect these quotations with the injunction given in our document. The *ἔνδορα* of the heifer offered to Hera must be consumed within the *cella*, and no portion thereof carried forth. For fear of this ritual being broken, it may well have been found necessary to exclude the household slaves from sharing in the feast: the Greek slave was always expected to be a pilferer of dainty viands, and was only too likely to occasion an *ἐκφορὰ τούτων ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ*.

But what parts of the heifer were *τὰ ἔνδορα*? Mr. Paton has called my

attention to Hesychius *s.v.* *ἔνδρατα· τὰ ἐνδερόμενα σὺν τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τοῖς ποσί.*[1] This obscure gloss receives explanation from the following statement of Mr. Paton of what he has noticed at Cos. 'When an animal, *e.g.* a lamb, is killed here, they first of all, before skinning it, cut off the head and feet and put them aside. It is then skinned and opened, and the stomach and bowels are taken out and put aside, together with the head and feet. From these (stomach, bowels, head and feet) a dish called *ποδοκέφαλα* is made. The other viscera, required for other purposes, are extracted afterwards and put aside separately. I think *ἔνδορα*, as explained by Hesychius, probably mean the parts out of which this dish is now made.' As for the verb *ἐνδέρειν*. which occurs only in this inscription (see HBD 2 *b*, line 7) and in Hesychius, it can only mean 'to flay within doors,' 'to dress for cooking within doors.' This will quite suit the context. Then *ἐλατήρ* is the flat cake to be offered to Hera, and eaten with the *ἔνδορα* in the *cella*. It was made of wheaten flour: read [*ἀλε*]|*ύρων* or [*σπ*]|*υρῶν*. The latter form has already occurred in HBD 1, § 3. Compare Hesychius: *σπυρούς· πυρούς*, which he notes as a Syracusan form.

Eleventh day: lines 9—12. The worship of Zeus Machaneus is another link connecting Cos with Argos. In describing Argos, Pausanias writes (ii. 22, § 2): *πέραν δὲ τοῦ τάφου χαλκεῖόν ἐστιν οὐ μέγα, ἀνέχει δὲ αὐτὸ ἀγάλματα ἀρχαῖα Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς· Λυκέας μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐποίησε Μηχανέως τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶναι Διός, καὶ Ἀργείων ἔφη τοὺς ἐπὶ Ἴλιον στρατεύσαντας ἐνταῦθα ὀμόσαι παραμένειν πολεμοῦντας, ἔστ' ἂν ἡ τὸ Ἴλιον ἕλωσιν ἢ μαχομένους τελευτὴ σφᾶς ἐπιλαβῇ.* Also Athena was worshipped as *Μηχανῖτις* at Megalopolis (Pausan. viii. 36, § 3): *ἔστι δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἐπίκλησιν Μαχανίτιδος, ὅτι βουλευμάτων ἐστὶν ἡ θεὸς παντοίων καὶ ἐπιτεχνημάτων εὑρέτις*: compare lines 20 foll. *infra*. It is significant also that a *month* *Μαχανεύς* existed at Corcyra, Byzantium and Chalcedon (Bischoff, *l.c.*, pp. 372—4). This sacrifice to Zeus Machaneus is only offered every other year, the year in which the Carnean festival was celebrated—*ἔτος ἐφ' οὗ κλέωντι Καρνεῖαι* (*sc.* *ἡμέραι*), *i.e.* the year in which the Carnean days enjoin it.

The ox is to be selected on the 11th of the month, and sacrificed on the 12th, 'just like the one offered to Zeus Polieus *in the month Batromios*.' It has been Mr. Paton's good fortune to discover the identical marble here referred to, on which the sacrifices of Batromios were recorded: this is published below as P 2. The reading *καὶ χο*[*ῖ*]*ρος προ*|*καυτεύεται* has been verified by Mr. Paton, upon repeated examination of the original: a pig is to be offered as a whole burnt-offering to Zeus on the 11th, and is to be announced by herald, by way of preparation for the festival of the following day. These injunctions cannot be understood without reference to the next document (P 2); compare also HBD 1, lines 8—9.

Twelfth day: lines 12—20. Several of the readings in this section have been difficult to decipher. In line 16 I venture to read *πὰρ τὸγ κο*[*ιν*]*ὸν*, *i.e.*

[1] Here I would read *ἔνδ*[*ο*]*ρα· τὰ ἐνδερόμενα κ.τ.λ.* The *τὰ* seems to have been doubled by error, and the o in consequence omitted.

βωμόν, comparing the phrases *παρὰ τὸ Ἡράκλειον*, *παρὰ τὰ Ἀναξίλεα*, *παρὰ τὸ Δαμάτριον*, in HBD 1, § 1. By *ὁ κοινὸς (βωμὸς)* would be meant the altar of the Twelve Gods; compare Pausan. v. 15, § 6: *ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τῷ κοινῷ πάντων θεῶν*. Mr. Paton, upon re-examining the marble, wrote to me: 'the letter after ΠΑΡΤΟ looks like Γ, which will require a guttural at the beginning of the next word; the next two letters look like ΚΟ,—the Ο I think is certain; then there is no trace of letters until ΟΝΑ, but room for two or three.' In line 18 I suggested *ὁπλὰ, ταρσός* ('the hoof and hough') from a study of the impression: Mr. Paton has looked again at the original, and writes: 'I think this must be right; I am only not sure about the Ρ in ΤΑΡΣΟΣ.' On line 19 he writes: 'Nothing visible on the marble between ΚΑ and ΠΟΟΣ. It is impossible to tell if the first Ο is a theta or not, and I am not sure if the second of the two perpendicular strokes before Ο is a trace of a letter or not.' My reading therefore—*κα*[*ὶ τὸ στῆ*]*θος*—is only probable.

In line 16 understand *τούτοις* of the Twelve Gods, and for *προθύεται* compare Aristoph. *Plut.* 659 foll.

> *ἔπειτα πρὸς τὸ τέμενος ᾖμεν τοῦ θεοῦ.*
> *ἐπεὶ δὲ βωμῷ πόπανα καὶ προθύματα*
> *καθωσιώθη, πέλανος Ἡφαίστου φλογί, κ.τ.λ.*

We should like to know more of this *gens* of the Phyleomachidae. In line 17 *τετάρταν* is either a lapidary's blunder for *τετάρτα*, or the word is attracted into the accusative of the relative clause. The reading in lines 18—19 is certain: *τῶν δὲ ὀΐων τὸ ὠμὸν | ἐξ οὗ ἁ θεομοιρία τάμνεται*, though the form *θεομοιρία* occurs nowhere else. Compare Hesych. *s.v.* Θευμορία· *ἀπαρχή· θυσία. ἢ ὃ λαμβάνουσιν οἱ ἱερεῖς κρέας, ἐπειδὰν θύηται.* Similarly *s.v. θευμοριαζέτω· θεῷ γέρας ἀναφερέτω*. We understand the provision of this law to mean, that the priest, besides the legs and skins assigned to him in line 20, appropriated also the *θεομοιρία* in the name of the god. This *θεομοιρία* was a customary portion cut from the parts of the animal that were not burned on the altar; from these the priests took the *θεομοιρία*, and the remainder was given to the *gens*.

Twelfth day (continued): lines 20—26. For *Ἀθάνα Μαχανίς* see above, on lines 9 foll. In lines 22—3 *θάλασσα* is 'sea-water.' The form [*θύ*]*στρα* is probably a Coan form of *θύσθλα*: compare above, HBD 2 *b*, lines 9—10. The form *κοτυλέαι* must be likewise provincial (line 24).

P 2.

Another portion recently discovered by Mr. Paton: described above.

Γ

ΝΕΥ

ΤΙ ΕΙ ΑΠ Τ/ ΑΛ

ΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΙΑ

5 Π ΟΝΤΩΙΕΡΟΠ ΙΔΕΚΑΙΤΟΙΚΑΡΥΚΕΣΙ ΤΩΕ

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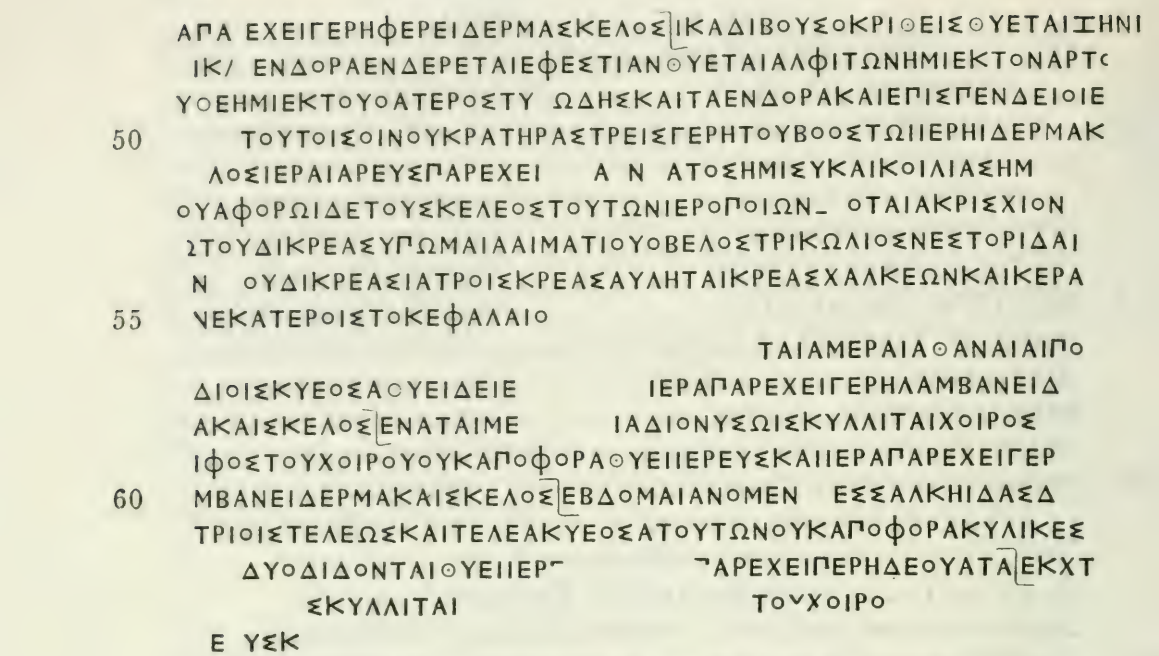

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Ε ΥΣΚ

Calendar of the Month Batromios.

Nineteenth day: lines 1—45. *Selection of the ox for sacrifice to Zeus Polieus.* M. Paton tells me 'in lines 1—4 very few letters can be read with certainty.'

Line 4: *ἱερεὺς . . .*

Line 5: *τ(ο)ὶ ἱεροπ[οιο]ὶ δὲ καὶ τοὶ κάρυκες ἰ[όν]τω ἐ[ς . . .*

Line 6: . . . . . *ἐλα[ν]τ. [β]οῦν ἐξ ἐνάτας κα[ὶ δ-?*
ε[κάτας ἀμέρας] . . . . . ἀ[πάν]των καὶ [. . . . . ἐ]ς δ[ὲ τ-
ὰν [ἀγορ]ὰν ἐλάντω Πάμφυλοι πρᾶτοι ἐν ἀ(γ)[ορ]ᾷ δὲ σ[ν]μμί[σγ-
όντω÷] ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺ[ς] κα[θ]ήσθω [παρὰ τὰν] τράπεζαν ἔχων τὰ[ν ῥ-
ά(β)](δ)[ο]ν τὰν ἱερὰν, τοὶ δὲἰε[ροποιοὶ ἑκατ](έρ?)ω τ(ᾶ)ς τραπέζας. [Πάμ-
φυλοι] δὲ ἐπελάντω (β)οῦ[ς τρεῖς τοὺ]ς [κα]λλίστους, αἰ μ[έγ κα
το]ύτωγ κριθῇ τις· αἰ [δὲ μὴ, Δυμᾶνες τρ]εῖς ἐλάντω, αἰ μὲγ [κα τ-
ο]ύτωγ κριθῇ τις· αἰ δὲ [μὴ, Ὑλλεῖς τρε]ῖς τοὺς [λ]οιποὺς, [αἰ μέγ
κα τούτων κριθῇ τις· α[ἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀτέρους] ἐλάντω ἐς τὰν ἀγ[ορ-
ὰν καὶ ἐπελάντω κατὰ τα[ὐτὰ, αἰ μέγ] κα τούτωγ κριθῇ τ[ις·
α]ἰ δὲ μὴ, τρίτον ἐπελάντω καὶ ἀτ[έρους·] αἰ δέ κα τούτωγ κρι[θῇ
(μ)ηδεὶς, ἐπικρίνονται[ι β]οῦν ἐκ [χιλιασ]τύος ἑκάστας ἐλ[άσα-
ντες δὲ τούτους [σ]υμμίσγ[οντι τοῖ](ς) ἄλλοις, καὶ εὐθὺ[ς θύ-
οντι καὶ εὔχονται καὶ ἀποκαρύ[σσον]τι· ἔπειτα ἐπελάντ[ω ἀνὰ τρ-
εῖς κατὰ ταὐτά. θύεται δὲ, αἰ μέγ κα ὑπὸ κ[ρί]σι, τᾷ Ἰστίᾳ· θ[ύ-
ει γ]ερεαφόρος βασιλέων καὶ ἱερὰ παρέχει καὶ ἐπιθύει ἱερὰ ἐξ [ἡ-
μ]ιέκτου, γέρη δὲ λαμβάνει τὸ δέρμα καὶ τὸ σκέλος, ἱεροποι[οὶ
δ]ὲ [σ]κέλος· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κρέα τᾶς πόλι[ο]ς. Τὸν δὲ κριθέντα τ[ῷ
Ζηνὶ κάρυκες ἄγοντι ἐς ἀγοράν, ἐπεὶ δέ κα ἐν τᾷ ἀγορᾷ ἔω[ν-

τι], ἀγορεύει οὗ κα ᾖ ὁ βοῦς ἢ ἄλλος ὑπὲρ κήνου ἐνδέξιο[ς ὤν, "Κώ]ι[ο]ις παρέχω τὸ[ν] βοῦν, Κῷοι δὲ τιμὰν ἀποδόντω ⟨τὸ⟩ τᾷ Ἰστί[α]." τιμώντω δὲ προστάται ὁμόσαντες παραχρῆμα. Ἐπεὶ δέ κα τι[μῶντ]ι, ἀναγορευέτω ὁ κᾶρυξ ὁπόσου [κατιμηθ]ῇ· τοῦτ(ο) δ' ἐ(ν)[εικ]άντ[ω? παρὰ τὰν Ἰστίαν τὰν ταμίαν· καὶ ὁ [Πολιῆος ἱ]ερεὺς στεπτεῖ καὶ σπένδει κύλικα οἴνου κεκραμένου [π]ρὸ τοῦ [βοό]ς· ἔπειτα ἄγοντι τὸ[ν βο]ῦν καὶ τὸγ καυτὸν καὶ [φ]θόϊας ἕπτα καὶ μέλι καὶ στέμμα, ἐξάγ[οντε]ς δὲ καρύσσοντι εὐφαμίαν, κἢν (Ζ)[ηνὸς δή]σαντες τὸμ βοῦν κα[λλύν ?]ονται θαλλῷ καὶ [λεύκ ?]ᾳ· τοὶ [δ]ὲ [ἱερῆς κ]αρπῶντι τὸμ μὲγ χοῖρον] καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἐπι[σπένδ]οντες μελίκρατον, ἔ[ντερα] δὲ ἐκ[π]λύναντες παρὰ τὸ[ν βωμὸν καρπ]ῶντι· ἐπεὶ δέ κα καρπω[θῇ ὁ να]π[οιὸς ?] ἐπισπενδέτω μελίκρ[ατ]ον, [κᾶρυξ δ]ὲ καρυσσέτω ἑορτάζ[ειν τοῦ] Πολ[ιῆ]ος ἐνιαύτια ὡραῖα ἐο[ρ](τ)[άν· ἱερεὺς] δὲ τοῖς ἐντέροις ἐπιθυέ[τω θ]ύη καὶ τ[οὺς] φθόϊας καὶ σπονδὰ[ν ἄκρατο](ν) καὶ κεκραμέναν καὶ στέ[αρ· μετ](ὰ) τοῦτο δὲ ἰόντω πὰρ τοὺς ἰαροπο[ιοὺς ἐς] τὸ οἴκημα τὸ δαμόσιον ἰα[ρ]ε(ὺ)ς καὶ κάρυκες, ἰαροποιοὶ δὲ ξενιζό[ντω τὸν ἱ]ερῆ καὶ τὸς κάρυκας τ[αύτα]ν τὰν νύκτα· ἐπεὶ δέ κα σπονδὰς ποιήσ[ω]νται αἱρε(ί)σθω ὁ ἰαρεὺ[ς σφαγ]ᾶ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν βοὸς τοῦ θυομένου τῷ Ζηνὶ τῷ Πολιῆϊ, καὶ προ[αγορευέ]τω ἀγνεύεσθαι γυναικὸς καὶ ἀ[μέρα]ς ἀντὶ νυκτός· τοὶ δὲ κάρυ[κες αἱρε]ίσθω σφαγᾶ τοῦ βοὸς ὅγ κα χρήζωντι ηὐτῶν, καὶ προαγορευέ[τω τῷ αὐ]ληταῖ τῷ αἱρεθέντι κατὰ ταὐτά.

Nineteenth day (continued): (lines 45—47).—Τᾷ αὐτᾷ ἀμέρᾳ Διονύσῳ [Σκυλλίτ]ᾳ χοῖρος καὶ ἔριφος· τοῦ χοίρου οὐκ ἀποφορά· θύει δὲ ἱερεὺς κ[αὶ ἱερ]ὰ πα[ρ]έχει· γέρη φέρει δέρμα, σκέλος.

Twentieth day: (lines 47—56). *Sacrifice of the selected ox to Zeus Polieus.*

Ἰκάδι βοῦς ὁ κριθεὶς θύεται Ζηνὶ [τῷ Πολιῆϊ, κα[ὶ] ἔνδορα ἐνδέρεται· ἐφ' ἑστίαν θύεται ἀλφίτων ἡμιέκτου, ἄρτο[ι δ]ύο ἑ[ξ] ἡμιέκτου,—ὁ ἄτερος τυ[ρ]ώδης,—καὶ τὰ ἔνδορα· καὶ ἐπισπένδει ὁ ἱερεὺς] τούτοις οἴνου κρατῆρας τρεῖς· γέρη τοῦ βοὸς τῷ ἱερῆϊ δέρμα κ[αὶ σκέ]λος· ἱερὰ ἰαρεὺς παρέχει· [τῷ δεῖνι ἤπ ?]ατος ἥμισυ καὶ κοιλίας ἥμ[ισυ, θυαφόρῳ δὲ τοῦ σκέλεος τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν [δίδ]οται ἀκρίσχιον, [νώτου δίκρεας, ὑπώμαια, αἱματίου ὀβελὸς τρικώλιος· Νεστορίδαι[ς δὲ] ν[ώτ]ου δίκρεας, ἰατροῖς κρέας, αὐλήτᾳ κρέας, χαλκέων καὶ κερα[μέω]ν ἑκάτεροις τὸ κεφαλαῖο[ν — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

Twentieth day (continued): lines 56—58. [Τᾷ αὐ]τᾷ ἀμέρᾳ Ἀθαναίᾳ Πο[λιά]δι ὄϊς κυέουσα· θύει δὲ ἱε[ρεὺς καὶ] ἱερὰ παρέχει· γέρη λαμβάνει δ[έρμ]α καὶ σκέλος.

Twenty-second day: (lines 58—60).

Ἐνάτᾳ με[τ' ἰκάδ ?]α. Διονύσῳ Σκυλλίτᾳ χοῖρος [καὶ ἔρ]ιφος· τοῦ χοίρου οὐκ ἀποφορά· θύει ἱερεὺς καὶ ἱερὰ παρέχει· γέρ[η λαμβάνει δέρμα καὶ σκέλος.

Twenty-fourth day: (lines 60—62).

Ἑβδόμᾳ ἀνομέν[ου]· ἐς⟨ς⟩ Ἀλκηΐδας Δ[άμα]τρι ὄϊς τέλε(ο)ς καὶ τελέα κυέουσα· τούτων οὐκ ἀποφορά· κύλικες οἴνου] δύο δίδονται· θύει ἱερε[ὺς καὶ ἱερὰ] παρέχει· (γ)έρη δὲ οὔατα.

Twenty-fifth day: (lines 62 foll.). Ἑκ‹χ›τ[ᾳ·
Διονύσῳ] Σκυλλίτᾳ [χοῖρος καὶ ἔριφος (*see 22nd day*)]· τοῦ χοίρο[υ οὐκ
(ἀποφορά.

θύει ἰ]ε[ρε]ὺς κ[αὶ ἱερὰ παρέχει κ.τ.λ.

This inscription affords us one of the most graphic pictures we possess of the details of ancient Greek sacrifice. The sense is pretty clear. In line 10 I suggest ἑκατέρω for ἑκατέρωθεν: is this a possible form? Line 11: τοὺ]ς [κα]λλίστους, *i.e.* the oxen are to be the finest they can find: ἐπελάντω, 'let them drive them up past the table when the hieropoioi are sitting.' Line 17: the χιλιαστύς as a division of the Tribe was already known to exist at Cos, from an inscription published in the *Bulletin* for 1881 (v. p. 211). Ἐπικρίνονται, 'they select in addition.' May we infer that there were *three* Chiliastyes to each Tribe at Cos? Lines 18—20 are difficult to make out. In case of a difficulty in selecting the victim, when the second herd is driven into the market-place, the representatives of the tribes are to offer a sacrifice before proceeding further (εὐθὺ[ς θύ]|ουτι καὶ εὔχονται, lines 18, 19), and pray for the blessing of the gods and ἀποκαρύ[σσον]τι, proclaim more oxen for sale. The victim thus offered, if one of the oxen under inspection, is to be sacrificed to Hestia, as representing the municipal hearth itself (line 20), and the celebrant is to be not a priest, but the [γ]ερεαφόρος βασιλέων (line 21). The eponymus of Cos was ὁ μόναρχος (see *Inscriptions in the B. Museum*, Pt. II. page 105). Perhaps ὁ μόναρχος was one of a board of βασιλεῖς (like the ἄρχοντες at Athens), another of the same board being ὁ γερεαφόρος, and concerned with sacrifices. The word γερεαφόρος is only found elsewhere in an inscription from the island of Pserimos, between Calymna and Cos (*Bulletin*, xii. 1888, p. 282); μόναρχοι and ἱεροποιοί (of Calymna) are mentioned in the same document. Line 29: Ἱστία ἡ ταμία is known from another ritual fragment from Cos, published by Sir Charles Newton (*Inscriptions in the B. Museum*, Pt. II. p. 105). The verb στεπτέω is not otherwise known. Line 32: my suggestion κῆν (Ζ)[ηνὸς is perhaps too bold. Line 33: τὸμ μὲγ χοῖ[ρον κ.τ.λ. The pig is alluded to as if already mentioned. And so it has been, being identical with ὁ καυτός in line 31, 'the whole burnt-offering'; compare P 1, lines 11—12. This interpretation is confirmed by the word καρπόω (lines 33, 35 *bis*), which means 'to offer or burn upon the altar,' as the following glosses show: Suidas, *s.v.* Ἁγιάσαι· καρπῶσαι, καῦσαι ἁγίως; *ibid. s.v.* Κάρπωμα· θυσία, προσφορά: Hesychius *s.v.* Κάρπωμα· κέρδος. γένος, σπέρμα. δῶρα, θυσία; *ibid. s.v.* Καρπωθέντα· τὰ ἐπὶ βωμοῦ καθαγισθέντα: *ibid. s.v.* Ὁλοκαρπούμενον· ὅλον προσφερόμενον (see LXX. Seirach, xlv. 14); compare LXX. Lev. iv. 10 (τὸ θυσιαστήριον τῆς καρπώσεως), and Lev. vi. 10: καὶ ἀφελεῖ τὴν κατακάρπωσιν ἣν ἂν καταναλώσῃ τὸ πῦρ, τὴν ὁλοκαύτωσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου κ.τ.λ. Accordingly I understand καρπῶσαι in the sense of ὁλοκαυτῶσαι: it was a sacrificial term in the Eastern Mediterranean when the LXX employed it in their version. Να]π[οιὸς in line 36, and στέ[αρ] in line 38, are Mr. Paton's suggestions. Line 43: 'a night and a day as well,' like the use of ἀντὶ in Theognis, ἀντ' ἀνιῶν ἀνίας (see Liddell

and Scott). Line 44: for *αἱρείσθω* and *προαγορευέτω* we ought to have *αἱρείσθων* and *προαγορευόντων*.

Line 45: *Διόνυσος Σκυλλίτης*, a title otherwise unknown, but doubtless derived from some rocky spot on the Coan coast; compare lines 58, 63. In lines 53, 54, perhaps *δίκρεας* means a 'double slice,' and *κρεας* a 'slice of flesh.' For *αἱματίου ὀβελὸς τρικώλιος* see on HBD 2 *b*, line 14. The *gens* of Nestoridae is another token of the close connexion of Cos with the Peloponnese. In lines 54, 55 three guilds are named, the *ἰατροί*, the *χαλκεῖς* and the *κεραμεῖς*, as partaking in the sacrifice. That the services of the *χαλκεύς* were required on such an occasion we know from Homer, *Od.* iii. 430 foll. Nor does a guild of *ἰατροί* surprise us in Cos, which was famed for its physicians. The *κεραμεῖς* are less readily accounted for. Lines 55, 56, says Mr. Paton, are much 'damaged and knocked about.' He despaired of reading anything upon the original stone, but hopes we may be able to make out something from the impression.

Line 56: *κνέοσα*, a curious form which is repeated in line 61: but in P 1, line 2, *κνεῦσα*. Clearly *-εο-* is for *-ευ-*, as often in proper names like *Εὔβουλος*. This spelling is not exclusively Ionian, but is employed occasionally in non-Ionic cities, as Bechtel points out, *Inschriften des Ion. Dialekts*, p. 104. A similar inconsistency is found in this inscription in the spelling of *ἱερεύς ἰαρεύς, ἰαροποιός ἱεροποιός*.

Line 58: *Ἐνάτᾳ με[τ' ἰκάδ]α*; what else to suggest, I know not, but *ἐνάτᾳ ἀνομένου* (*i.e. φθίνοντος*) is what we should expect; or else *δευτέρᾳ μετ' ἰκάδα(ς)*. Line 60: *Ἀλκηΐδες*, an unknown locality in Cos.

Should I receive an impression of this curious document from Mr. Paton I will endeavour to make out more clearly the reading of some passages, and insert a postscript in an early number of this Journal. Only one word as to the date of this inscription. I entirely agree with the French editors in placing it late in the fourth or early in the third century B.C.

E. L. Hicks.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM IASOS.

SINCE my paper on Iasos and its history appeared in this Journal in 1887, some fresh epigraphical materials from Iasos have come to light in an unexpected manner.

In the *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* of 1887 (xi. p. 212 foll.) M. Kontoleon has edited a number of inscriptions, of which Nos. 2—11 are from Iasos. All of the ten are honorary dedications or ex votos of the Antonine period, presenting few features of interest.[1] These marbles had been extracted from the ruins of Iasos by a Turkish captain commissioned by the Ottoman government; he had shipped them on board by March 1887,[2] and conveyed them to Constantinople. They were seen there by Mr. Cecil Smith in August 1887, in the courtyard of the Seraglio Museum; he learned that they had newly arrived, and were said to have come from Iasos.[3] The testimony of Mr. Paton settles the question of their *provenance;* M. Foucart, in ignorance of the facts, had suggested that they might have come from Passala, the port of Mylasa.[4]

Mr. Theodore Bent has just sent me a letter received from Dr. Albert L. Long, of Robert College, Constantinople, dated October 16, 1888. He speaks of the arrival of other inscribed marbles from Iasos, and encloses a MS. copy of them: 'I think you saw some of the stones which were brought last winter for the work of constructing the Bebek quay. Within the last month another lot has been brought, and among them the two blocks from which the enclosed inscriptions are taken.' There is no doubt that these marbles also are from Iasos: they have not, so far as I am aware, been published before. They are now printed from Dr. Long's MS.

1.

ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧΗ
ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣΕΤΕΙΜΗ
ΣΑΝΙΕΡΟΚΛΕΑΓΑΡΓΑΙΟΝΑΡ
ΧΙΕΡΑΤΕΥΣΑΝΤΑΤΩΝΣΕΒΑΣ

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[1] In No. 2 for Θευδᾶν Βεβοί|ου I would suggest Βεβαίου. Theudas appears to be an Iasian name; compare *C.I.G.* 2684. In No. 3, line 1, Ἰασέων is unquestionably wrong; perhaps some other name like Ἰάσονα or Ἰασίωνα should be read. The former was a frequent name at Iasos.

[2] See Mr. Paton's note in the *Classical Review*, 1887, pp. 176-7.

[3] *Classical Review*, 1887, p. 317.

[4] *Bulletin*, *l.c.*, p. 214.

ΤΩΝΚΑΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΗΣΑΝ
ΤΑΚΑΙΙΕΡΑΤΕΥΣΑΝΤΑΤΗΣ
ΠΡΟΚΑΘΗΓΕΜΟΝΟΣΤΗΣ
ΠΟΛΕΩΣΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣΑΣ
ΤΙΑΔΟΣΚΑΤΑΤΟΚΑΛΛΙ
ΣΤΟΝΤΟΔΕΙΣΤΑΣ
ΕΙΚΟΝΑΣΚΑΙΑΓΑΛΜΑΤΑ
ΚΑΙΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΑΣΑΝΑΛΩ
ΜΑΥΠΕΣΧΕΤΟΔΩΣΕΙΝ
ΟΑΡΓΑΙΟΣΒΟΥΛΟΜΕΝΟΣ
ΚΑΙΕΝΤΟΥΤΩΙΑΝΕΠΙΒΑ
ΡΗΤΟΝΔΗΜΟΝΦΥΛΑΣ
ΣΕΙΝ

'Αγαθῇ τύχῃ·
'Η βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμη-
σαν 'Ιεροκλέα τῆ 'Αργαίο[υ] ἀρ-
χιερατεύσαντα τῶν Σεβασ-
τῶν, καὶ στεφανηφορήσαν-
τα, καὶ ἱερατεύσαντα τῆς
προκαθηγεμόνος τῆς
πόλεως 'Αρτέμιδος 'Ασ-
τιάδος κατὰ τὸ κάλλι-
στον· τὸ δ' εἰς τὰς
εἰκόνας καὶ ἀγάλματα
καὶ ἀνδριάντας ἀνάλω-
μα ὑπέσχετο δώσειν
ὁ 'Αργαιος βουλόμενος
καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀνεπιβά-
ρητον (τὸν) δῆμον φυλάσ-
σειν.

An honorary dedication of a common type, probably of the first century A.D. The *iota mutum* is retained in line 15. The correction in line 3 is obvious, and means 'Ιεροκλέα 'Αργαίου τοῦ 'Αργαίου τοῦ 'Αργαίου. Hierocles was a common name at Iasos; see the inscriptions in Waddington-Le Bas, Nos. 252 foll.

Hierocles, in addition to other offices held by him, is styled 'priest of Artemis Astias.' On the temple of this deity at Iasos see Polybius xvi. 12, and vol. viii. of this Journal (1887), p. 114. She is named in an Iasian inscription in Böckh, *C.I.G.* 2683, which partly resembles the present one. The title *προκαθηγεμών* is rare; but Athena is styled *προκαθηγέτις* at Phaselis in Lycia (*C.I.G.* 4332, compare *Add.* 4316*h*), and similarly the guild of Dionysiac artists does honour to *τὸν καθηγεμόνα Διόννσον* (*C.I.G.* 3067).

In the enumeration of Hierocles' *cursus honorum* the natural order is

reversed. A citizen would first be appointed to a native priesthood, such as that of Artemis Astias; then he would advance to the eponymous office of *στεφανηφόρος*, whose duties were without doubt chiefly religious; next he would become a Flamen of the Caesars, and so be promoted to a local high-priesthood (*ἀρχιερεύς*, lines 3, 4) of their worship.[1] The 'outlay on portraits, images and statues' mentioned in line 10 foll. was one of the usual obligations of a priesthood of this kind; the statues alluded to were, doubtless, dedications in honour of the Imperial house. It was therefore natural that the father of Hierocles should promise help to his son, that he might discharge this duty munificently, without employing civic funds for the purpose (lines 15 foll.; compare *C.I.G.* 3612: *καὶ ἐν ἅπασιν ἀνεπιβάρητον φυλάξαντα τὴν πόλιν*).

Decrees of Proxenia and Citizenship.

The marble which contains the following decrees is thus described by Dr. Long: 'These others are copied from a large block which has been split in two. It has had inscriptions on the other three (?) sides as well. It may possibly have come from the *Ἀπολλώνιον* mentioned in the last decree....It is to be hoped that measures will be taken for the investigation of the quarry from which these stones have been taken, and for the preservation of these valuable records.' There can be little doubt that this inscribed block was brought from the same ruins which yielded the similar series of Iasian Proxenia-decrees given by Böckh, *C.I.G.* 2673 foll. I imagine them all to belong to the third century B.C. (see vol. viii. of this *Journal*, p. 95), and to have been inscribed on the *antae* of the Temple of Apollo (see No. 4).

2.

ΜΗΝΟΣΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΩΝΟΣΕΠΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΥ
ΑΠΟΛΛΟΦΑΝΕΥΣΤΟΥΑΠΟΛΛΑΕΚΤΗΙΙΣΤΑΜΕΝΟΥ
ΞΕΝΩΝΑΦΘΟΝΗΤΟΥΕΠΕΣΤΑΤΕΙΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΩΝ
ΚΛΕΑΝΔΡΙΔΑΕΙΠΕΝΕΠΕΙΔΗΘΕΟΚΛΗΣΘΕΡΣΙΤΟΥ
ΜΕΛΙΒΟΙΕΥΣΚΑΛΟΣΚΑΙΑΓΑΘΟΣΕΣΤΙΝΠΕΡΙΤΗΝ
ΠΟΛΙΝΤΗΝΙΑΣΕΩΝΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΑΦΙΚΝΟΥΜΕΝΟΙΣ
ΤΩΜΠΟΛΙΤΩΝΕΙΣΜΕΛΙΒΟΙΑΝΠΡΟΘΥΜΩΣΥΠΗ
ΡΕΤΕΙΔΕΔΟΧΘΑΙΤΩΙΔΗΜΩΙΘΕΟΚΛΗΝΘΕΡΣΙΤΟΥ
ΕΙΝΑΙΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΝΙΑΣΕΩΝΔΕΔΟΣΘΑΙΔΕΑΥΤΩΙ
ΚΑΙΑΤΕΛΕΙΑΝΩΝΗΠΟΛΙΣΚΥΡΙΑΕΣΤΙΝΚΑΙΕΣΠΛΟΥΝ
ΚΑΙΕΚΠΛΟΥΝΚΑΙΕΝΠΟΛΕΜΩΙΚΑΙΕΝΕΙΡΗΝΗΙΑΣΥΛΕΙΚΑΙ
ΑΣΠΟΝΔΕΙΕΙΝΑΙΔΕΑΥΤΩΙΚΑΙΠΡΟΕΔΡΙΗΝΕΝΤΟΙΣΑΓΩΣΙΝΑΝΑ
ΓΡΑΨΑΙΔΕΑΥΤΟΝΚΑΘΑΠΕΡΚΑΙΤΟΥΣΑΛΛΟΥΣΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΥΣ

[1] Compare P. Monceaux, *De Communi Asiae provinciae* (Paris 1885), pp. 41, foll.

3.

ΕΠΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΥΙΕΡΟΚΛΕΟΥΣΤΟΥΒΡΥΑΞΙΟΣΜΗΝΟΣΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΩΝΟΣΕΚΤΗΙ
ΙΣΤΑΜΕΝΟΥΑΡΧΙΛΟΧΟΣΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΥΕΠΕΣΤΑΤΕΙΕΔΟΞΕΝΤΗΙΒΟΥΛΗΙΚΑΙΤΩΙΔΗΜΩΙ
ΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΩΝΓΝΩΜΗΜΕΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΡΟΜΒΙΧΟΥΔΕΔΟΣΘΑΙΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΝΑΥΤΩΙΤΕΚΑΙ
ΕΚΓΟΝΟΙΣΚΑΙΚΑΤΑΤΑΞΑΙΑΥΤΟΝΕΙΣΦΥΛΗΝΚΑΙΠΑΤΡΙΗΝΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΑΙΔΕ
ΤΟΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΟΥΣΝΕΩΠΟΙΑΣ

4.

ΜΗΝΟΣΑΔΩΝΙΩΝΟΣΕΠΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΥΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΙΔΟΥΤΟΥΙΣΟΔΙΚΟΥΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΩΣ
ΔΕΚΛΕΑΝΔΡΙΔΑΤΟΥΚΛΕΑΝΔΡΟΥΕΚΤΗΙΙΣΤΑΜΕΝΟΥΦΟΡΜΙΩΝΜΕΛΑΝΔΟΥΕΠΕΣΤΑΤΕΙ
ΕΔΟΞΕΤΗΙΒΟΥΛΗΙΚΑΙΤΩΙΔΗΜΩΙΔΗΜΕΙΑΣΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΥΕΙΠΕΝΕΠΕΙΔΗΓΛΑΥΚΟΣΚΑΙ
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΟΠΡΟΣΟΥΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΚΑΛΟΙΚΑΙΑΓΑΘΟΙΕΙΣΙΝΠΕΡΙΤΗΝΠΟΛΙΝΤΗΝΙΑΣΕΩΝ
ΚΑΙΠΡΟΘΥΜΩΣΥΠΗΡΕΤΟΥΣΙΝΤΟΙΣΕΝΤΥΝΧΑΝΟΥΣΙΝΙΑΣΕΩΝΕΙΝΑΙΑΥΤΟΥΣΤΕΚΑΙ
ΕΚΓΟΝΟΥΣΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΥΣΚΑΙΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΣΙΑΣΕΩΝΔΕΔΟΣΘΑΙΑΥΤΟΙΣΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΝΚΑΙ
ΑΤΕΛΕΙΑΝΚΑΙΠΡΟΕΔΡΙΗΝΕΝΤΟΙΣΑΓΩΣΙΝΚΑΙΕΣΠΛΟΥΝΚΑΙΕΚΠΛΟΥΝΚΑΙΕΝΕΙΡΗΝΗΙΚΑΙ
ΕΝΠΟΛΕΜΩΙΑΣΥΛΕΙΚΑΙΑΣΠΟΝΔΕΙΤΟΔΕΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΑΙΤΟΥΣΝΕΩΠΟΙΑΣ
ΕΙΣΤΟΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΝ

2.

Μηνὸς Ἀφροδισιῶνος, ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου
Ἀπολλοφάνευς τοῦ Ἀπολλᾶ, ἕκτῃ ἱσταμένου·
Ξένων Ἀφθονήτου ἐπεστάτει, Πανταλέων
Κλεανδρίδα εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Θεοκλῆς Θερσίτου
Μελιβοιεὺς καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός ἐστιν περὶ τὴν
πόλιν τὴν Ἰασέων, καὶ τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις
τῶμ πολιτῶν εἰς Μελίβοιαν προθύμως ὑπη-
ρετεῖ, δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ Θεοκλῆν Θερσίτου
εἶναι πρόξενον Ἰασέων, δεδόσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ
καὶ ἀτέλειαν ὧν ἡ πόλις κυρία ἐστίν, καὶ ἔσπλουν
καὶ ἔκπλουν καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἀσυλεὶ καὶ
ἀσπονδεί, εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ προεδρίην ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν, ἀνα-
γράψαι δὲ αὐτὸν καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προξένους.

A decree of proxenia of the usual kind. The limitation of the grant of immunity to those duties *ὧν ἡ πόλις κυρία ἐστίν* (line 10) is also found in similar decrees from Iasos (see *C.I.G.* 2673, 2675, 2676, 2677). Evidently the autonomy enjoyed by Iasos under the Syrian monarchy did not include the entire control of taxes and customs (see Böckh, *ad loc.*).

3.

Ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἱεροκλέους τοῦ Βρυάξιος, μηνὸς Ἀφροδισιῶνος ἕκτῃ
ἱσταμένου· Ἀρχίλοχος Συμμάχου ἐπεστάτει· ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ·
πρυτάνεων γνώμη· Μελησία(ι) Στρομβίχου δεδόσθαι πολιτείαν αὐτῷ τε καὶ
ἐκγόνοις, καὶ κατατάξαι αὐτὸν εἰς φυλὴν καὶ πατρίην, ἀναγράψαι δὲ
τὸ ψήφισμα τοὺς νεωποίας.

Grant of citizenship, proposed by the prytanes (line 3). The omitted *iota adscriptum* in ΜΕΛΗΣΙΑ is perhaps due to the copyist. The word *πατρία* in line 4 is very interesting; it is apparently a dialectical equivalent for *φρατρία*. In Herodotus i. 200, *πατριαί* signify *φυλαί*: see Liddell and Scott *s.v.* It is curious that the only inscription in which *πατρία* is supposed to mean *φρατρία* is an Elean bronze (Röhl, *Inscr. Antiq.* No. 112; Roberts, *Introduction*, No. 292); compare *πάτρα* in an Arcadian inscription (*C.I.G.* 1535), where Böckh explains it as 'fere idem quod *γένος*.' The corresponding phrase at Tenos was *καὶ πρὸς φυλὴν καὶ φρατρίαν προσγραφῆναι* (*C.I.G.* 2330, 2333).

4.

Μηνὸς Ἀδωνιῶνος, ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἀνδρονικίδου τοῦ Ἰσοδίκου γραμματέως δὲ Κλεανδρίδα τοῦ Κλεάνδρου, ἕκτῃ ἱσταμένου· Φορμίων Μελάνδου ἐπεστάτει· ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Δημείας Ἀθηναίου εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Γλαῦκος καὶ Ἀριστόνικος Θεοπρό(π)ου Ἀθηναῖοι καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοί εἰσιν περὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν Ἰασέων καὶ προθύμως ὑπηρετοῦσιν τοῖς ἐντυνχάνουσιν Ἰασέων, εἶναι αὐτούς τε καὶ ἐκγόνους προξένους καὶ εὐεργέτας Ἰασέων, δεδόσθαι (δὲ) αὐτοῖς πολιτείαν καὶ ἀτέλειαν, καὶ προεδρίην ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν, καὶ ἔσπλουν καὶ ἔκπλουν καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ ἀσυλεὶ καὶ ἀσπονδεί, τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα ἀναγράψαι τοὺς νεωποίας εἰς τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον.

Grant of citizenship, accompanied with other privileges, to two Athenians Glaucus and Aristonicus. Observe that the proposer is Demeias son of *Athenaeus*; he had perhaps inherited the proxenia or citizenship of Athens from his grandfather; hence his father's name, and the appropriateness of his proposing this grant to two Athenians.

The name Μελάνδου (line 2) is new; is it from Μέλανδος a variant of Μέλανθος, or Μελάνδας formed like Χαρώνδας? The form Δημείας for Δημέας (line 3) points to a comparatively early date: see Meisterhans, *Grammatik*, p. 21. I have restored Θεοπρό(π)ου in line 4, as the name Θεόπροσος is unknown and unlikely. In line 6 ΔΕ is omitted either by transcriber or lapidary.

The worship of Apollo at Iasos was not known before (line 9) though we might have assumed it. More interesting is the recovery of the name of one more Iasian month, Ἀδωνιών (line 1): as Adonisius is mentioned as a month at Seleucia (Reinach, *Traité d'Épigr.* p. 492), the name Adonion may point to Syrian influence; we may certainly assume an Iasian festival of Adonis.[1]

The worship of Adonis in Caria was already made known by an inscription of Adoniasts published by Foucart, *Des Associations Religieuses*, p. 233, and a similar document from Loryma edited in the *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* 1886, x. p. 259.

E. L. Hicks.

[1] On the Iasian Calendar see vol. viii. of this *Journal*, p. 106.

NOTES UPON A VISIT TO CELAENAE-APAMEA.

From Herodotus to John Cinnamus, almost every chronicler who has had occasion to mention Celaenae-Apamea, has paused in his narrative to remark the natural features of the place, and make a passing reference to its famous legend; it is the best described site in Phrygia, and among the most remarkable whether by reason of legend, history, or natural position. Here were localised the myths of Lityerses, and of Marsyas: here, according to the Sibyl, and probably to yet earlier tradition, the Ark of Noah first touched ground, and the coins of three emperors[1] and a little ruined church on the summit of the Acropolis still commemorate this strange belief: the most important half-way station in western Asia Minor, it was the halting place of Xerxes, of the younger Cyrus, of Alexander the Great, of the Consul Manlius, of Cicero as pro-consul, of Manuel Comnenus, and many others, among whom in all probability was St. Paul. It was the capital of Phrygia, the chosen seat of the Great King, and the gate through which the traffic between the coast and Caesarea used to pass, and still passes; and when the Ottoman Railway Company complete their projected line, it may be once again second only to Smyrna as an emporium of trade.

Since Arundell identified it with Dineir, more than fifty years ago, no doubt has been raised as to its general position: but the local details of the site, so admirably indicated by Colonel Leake, and in themselves most interesting, were never adequately treated until Dr. Gustav Hirschfeld published his monograph and invaluable map twelve years ago;[2] perhaps the learned traveller hardly renders full justice to his predecessors, notably to Arundell (who, as I hope to prove, had very tenable views upon the topography of the place), but he has unquestionably cleared the way by the removal of ambiguities and the concise statement of difficulties, in a manner which constitutes a very great advance, and enables him to say the last word upon many of the details: but, after a visit to the site, and a careful examination of it in June, 1887, I cannot but feel that there is still something to be said upon a few, but very important, points, concerning the identification of the two most notable streams of this city of waters, the Marsyas and the Maeander, in the discussion of which I may differ from Dr. Hirschfeld, hardly so much as amplify and continue his statements.

A glance at Dr. Hirschfeld's map shows that the central and most striking source, rising at the foot of the old citadel of Calaenae, is identified with that

[1] Severus, Macrinus, and Philip.

[2] *Abhandlung d. Akad. der Wissenschaften in Berlin*, 1875.

of the Maeander; the short stream to the north is the Marsyas, rising from the later citadel of Apamea; the Orgas rises away to the south and winds round the spur of the hill to join the Maeander, while the Obrimas is omitted altogether.

When I visited the springs with Mr. H. A. Brown, our guide led us first to the central source, then to the Indjerly Sou, and lastly to the Ilidja, where Dr. Hirschfeld locates the twin springs of Laughing and Weeping, the source of the mystic Marsyas. My first sensation on looking at this prosaic fount was one of blank surprise: could this melancholy stream, bubbling tamely out of a flat tract at the foot of a naked slope, and slinking away more like a drain than a river, be the storied Marsyas, 'Phrygiae liquidissimus amnis,'[1] the favourite haunt of nymphs,[2] the seat of one of the most famous of myths? Could this be Herodotus'[3] *καταῤῥήκτης*, dashing down from its grotto on to the rock beneath?[4] If there ever had been a cave at the source, wherein Apollo hung the skin of his vanquished opponent, a convulsion quite as gigantic as Nicolas of Damascus reports with such miraculous details[5] must have changed the whole face of nature. Remembering the constant appositeness of Greek legend, and its close connection with natural beauty or natural grandeur, I had expected to find a notable stream, issuing amid beautiful or striking surroundings: whereas this sacred fountain is inferior in every respect to many others which we saw in the neighbouring country. But on the other hand we had just left such a spot as might in other days have inspired a famous legend, no other than the source of Dr. Hirschfeld's Maeander.

Welling out in two impetuous streams at the foot of a precipitous cliff, from a dark hole which may have formed the recess of a larger grotto, before frost and rain had broken away the upper rocks which now lie about the point of exit, and flowing through a narrow wooded glen, to presently dash down a steep slope through the modern town of Dineir, it was as striking as the other source proved uninteresting, and the conclusion that the former and not the latter was the scene of the punishment of Marsyas was irresistible. That a legend should have been localised on the Ilidja while the Hudaverdy rose scarcely a quarter of a mile away, unhallowed and unsung, would be a very strange phenomenon: and the 'deus ex machina' in the shape of an earthquake, which Arundell and Dr. Hirschfeld call in to account for it, is infinitely less satisfactory than the peaceful agencies of nature, which will amply suffice to reconcile existing facts with ancient authority in the case of the so-called Maeander.

Thus much *a priori:* let us turn to the authorities, Herodotus,[6] Xenophon,[7] Livy,[8] Pliny,[9] Strabo,[10] Quintus Curtius,[11] Arrian,[12] Theophrastus,[13]

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[1] Ovid, *Metam.*
[2] Curt. III. 1.
[3] vii. 26.
[4] Curt. *loc. cit.*
[5] ap. Athen. Deipn. 8.
[6] vii. 26.
[7] *Exped. Cyri*, I. 2. §§ 7. 8.
[8] xxxviii. c. 13.
[9] N. H. V. 29.
[10] pp. 835, 6.
[11] *Hist. Alex.* III. 1.
[12] *Anab. Alex.* I. 29.
[13] *ap.* Pliny.

Maximus of Tyre,[1] Nicetas Choniates,[2] John Cinnamus,[3] and Dio Chrysostom,[4] who give us details regarding the topography of the place. Of these twelve it can only be safely asserted that one, namely Xenophon, saw the site with his own eyes, and on that account, as well as by reason of his writing before the spread of exact geography, and nearer to the birth of legend, I shall rank his testimony at least as high as the more professional and more precise description of Strabo. Between the two, I take it, there is direct opposition in this matter of Celaenae, and under the banner of one or other of these leaders the minor authorities may be ranged, so far as they are not hopelessly at sea as to the whole topography of the site. Nor is it anything surprising that they should be so at sea without the evidence of their own eyes or any accurate chart to guide them: and nobody can appreciate this better than one who has actually been at Dineir. Four separate sets of springs are contained within a two-mile radius; two distinct cities with two distinct acropoleis; two Persian palaces, and two marshy lakes to pass for Aulocrene. The geographical relations of the streams are most peculiar: the one certain identification is that of the sluggish stream, *δι' ὁμάλου φερόμενον πρᾳον καὶ μαλακόν*,[5] with the Orgas; this river, by far the deepest and broadest in itself, rises behind a spur of the hills and has a course of four or five miles before it loses its identity in the Marsyas or Maeander; we may well ask on what principle it can be said to fall into either of these torrents which rush down the slope from their neighbouring springs, and not they into it? It is the elder and stronger stream and would undoubtedly in modern days be accounted the receiver of the others,[6] but the remarkable character of the central spring under the acropolis of Celaenae and the sanctity of its traditions has outweighed ordinary considerations of geography; and this will in any event deter us from attaching weight to the order of the rivulets as regards one another. But, more important than all, I cannot but believe that they did actually interchange identities at different periods, and what had been the Marsyas came to be known to some as the Maeander, when changed conditions began to operate on topography which was perhaps never very certainly fixed.

It is worth while to quote Xenophon's description:—'*διὰ μέσου τοῦ παραδείσου ῥεῖ ὁ Μαίανδρος ποταμός· αἱ δὲ πηγαὶ αὐτοῦ εἰσὶν ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς Κελαινῶν πόλεως. ἔστι δὲ καὶ μεγάλου βασιλέως βασίλεια ἐν Κελαιναῖς ἐρυμνὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Μαρσύου ποταμοῦ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ οὗτος διὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὸν Μαίανδρον· τοῦ δὲ Μαρσύου τὸ εὖρός ἐστιν εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ποδῶν. ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Ἀπόλλων ἐκδεῖραι Μαρσύαν νικήσας ἐρίζοντά οἱ περὶ σοφίας, καὶ τὸ δέρμα κρεμάσαι ἐν τῷ ἄντρῳ ὅθεν αἱ πηγαί· διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ ποταμὸς καλεῖται Μαρσύας· ἐνταῦθα Ξέρξης . . . λέγεται οἰκοδομῆσαι ταῦτά τε τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τὴν Κελαινῶν ἀκρόπολιν.*'

[1] *Dissert.* viii. 8.
[2] vi. p. 115.
[3] ii. 9.
[4] xxxv. 14, p. 496.
[5] Strabo, *loc. cit.*
[6] Indeed Arundell supposed it to be the Maeander, apparently for this reason.

Xenophon's Marsyas must then be Dr. Hirschfeld's Maeander; it rises *ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει, i.e.* the acropolis of Celaenae of which the steep cliff is the first stage, from an *ἄντρον*, traces of which can be still observed at the source of the Hudaverdy, whereas it is inconceivable (without a stupendous convulsion of nature) that any such cave could ever have existed at the comparatively flat outcome of the Ilidja: its breadth is twenty-five feet, not too much for the twin streams of the Hudaverdy (hardly so much two streams as one repeatedly divided by islands), but a ridiculous exaggeration of the insignificant Ilidja: Xerxes builds a palace upon the brow of the cliff, as well as the fortifications of the acropolis above. On the other hand the Maeander rises from the palace of Cyrus, a wholly distinct building: nothing is said of the acropolis; and it flows through the park. Now if this park is located on the steep narrow glen of the Hudaverdy it must have been of a most confined order if the city of Celaenae occupied the hill-top on the south, and most probably that also upon the north, which was later made into the acropolis of Apamea: it is more natural to place the paradise on the gentle slopes and wide plain below the Ilidja, where gardens bloom at this day. Both are said to flow through the city: this can only be if Celaenae extended across the Hudaverdy glen, the hill Itschlerdja, and some way over the slope below: or is it possible, that while the acropolis and royal palace were up on the high ground, the city of Celaenae lay far below, as in many instances, *e.g.* Argos and Corinth, and occupied something of the site of the existing Dineir? The transference to Apamea, effected by Antiochus Soter, would then imply no more than a change of citadel. That the Marysas *ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὸν Μαίανδρον* is probably no strict geographical statement, but due to the accident that the combined river, so well known in its lower course, was known by the latter name.

Herodotus, after mentioning the Maeander without any special detail as to its source, states that another stream, *οὐκ ἐλάσσων*, and named *Καταρρήκτης*, rises *ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀγορῆς τῆς Κελαινέων*. Dr. Hirschfeld has no doubt that this is the Marsyas, and its name suggests the centre spring; nor can we well suppose the *ἀγορὰ* to have been at the Ilidja. If Herodotus is right, it must have lain in the open space at the foot of the cliff through which the road to Antioch of Pisidia passes at this day.

Pliny's words, 'Sita est (Apamea) in radice montis Signiae, circumfusa Marsya, Obrima, Orga, in Maeandrum cadentibus,' seem to prove that his Maeander was only a name given to the combination of the three streams below the point of entrance of the Ilidja, which is possibly his Obrimas: the central spring would then be the Marsyas.

Curtius mentions only the Marsyas, rising 'ex summo montis cacumine,' and streaming down with great noise of waters on to a rock below: but no weight can be attached to so inaccurate a writer, who maintains his character by denominating the combined streams the Lycus!

Arrian does not allude to the springs at all, but Theophrastus, quoted by Pliny, says that the fountain of the Marsyas 'ad Celaenarum oppidum saxa egerere. Non procul ab eo duo sunt fontes, Claeon et Gelon, ab effectu

Graecorum nominum dicti': nothing is quoted as to any other stream, but Dr. Hirschfeld had made a great point of these twin founts of Laughter and Weeping; for finding that the Ilidja is a double spring, he declares this to be conclusive evidence of its identity with Theophrastus' Marsyas. It may be so, but there is nothing in the passage, quoted above, to prove it, for two reasons: firstly, that Theophrastus only says that this twin fount is *non procul* ab eo, not that it is identical (and the central spring is hardly a quarter of a mile away): secondly, that *all the springs* (except perhaps that of the Orgas, which I have not seen) *are double:* if the Ilidja rises in two distinct founts, so more conspicuously does the central stream, and even the little Indjerly Sou has two separate sources. Further, the Ilidja could hardly be said 'saxa egerere.'

Maximus of Tyre says of the Marsyas and Maeander *ἀφίησιν αὐτοὺς πηγὴ μία, ἡ προελθοῦσα ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ἀφανίζεται κατὰ νώτου τῆς πόλεως καὶθις ἐκδιδοῖ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος διελοῦσα τοῖς ποταμοῖς καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα.* This is a mere reference to the very probable fact that one, if not both, streams flow underground from the marshy lake of Bounar Bashü (Aulocrene ?) behind the acropolis: but it affords no clue to the identification of either, when they emerge below.

Nicetas does not help us by simply mentioning the existence of the two, one flowing into the other; but Dio Chrysostom alludes to the Marsyas flowing *διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως*, and further mentions only the Orbas (*sic*).

To sum up then, Xenophon, Herodotus, Pliny and Theophrastus seem to identify the central source with that of the Marsyas, while Curtius and Dio Chrysostom say nothing at all as to the Maeander. There remain two important authorities, Strabo and Livy (who perhaps repeats Polybius) and one unimportant one, John Cinnamus.

I have no intention of attempting the idle task of making the first two square with Xenophon and Herodotus; in clear terms they state the Maeander to be the central stream, 'ex arce summa Celaenarum ortus, media urbe decurrens,' in the woods of Livy, rising *ἀπὸ Κελαινῶν λόφου τινὸς ἐν ᾧ πόλις ἦν ὁμώνυμος τῷ λόφῳ*, in the woods of Strabo, who removes all ambiguity by stating that *before* the Maeander receives the Marsyas, it has already been joined by the Orgas. Cinnamus describes the Maeander as rushing out of the rock with sufficient force to hollow out a pit beneath—a characteristic exaggeration of the character of the central source.

As Mr. Ramsay says, Strabo's description of the site is most clear and accurate; I would add also, technically correct, from the ancient geographer's point of view; for in the distinction of points of view lies, I conceive, the secret of such discrepancy as exists. As I take it, the central and most remarkable source is that of the original Marsyas: in its grotto under a beetling cliff, and on its banks in a wooded glen, the famous legend was localised; and in the days of Herodotus and Xenophon, while sacred tradition was yet all-powerful, and exact geography was unknown, the principal spring was still the Marsyas, although the great river 'flowing down past the Carians and Ionians to the sea,' had long been known as the Maeander; but Polybius, and in an

especial degree Strabo, who had never, like Xenophon, come under the influence of the *genius loci*, and to whom religious tradition carried less weight (even if they ever knew anything in detail as to the character of the two sources), naturally identified the principal spring with the source of the main river. Had Strabo ever visited the spot he would probably have been compelled in strict geography to recognise the Maeander in the eldest stream, the Orgas; but judging from hearsay only, he finds it in that which any informant, who had seen the place, would have certainly described to him as the chief fountain. Two-thirds of the authorities I have quoted, being of little value to either side in a matter involving such minute accuracy, may be put aside; but I have tried to show how those who are really valuable, while in complete disagreement with one another, may each be right in his respective age, and, avoiding the *pessima ratio* of natural convulsion, to bring the famous fable of Marsyas into accord with the customary character of Greek myth.

One piece of partly negative evidence remains to be quoted. Mr. Ramsay, in drawing my attention to the famous coin of Apamea (Head, *Hist. Numm.* p. 558, fig. 317), on which the Ephesian Artemis is surrounded by four river-gods, stated that he was unable to read the names attached to them as MAI : MAP : OBP : OP : but was compelled to see ΘΕΡ in the third place, and this reading (which is manifest in the reproduction), has since been agreed to by Mr. Head himself. Now this, which must represent Θερμά, can only mean the modern Ilidja, the single 'hot-spring' of Dineir, and disposes at once of Dr. Hirschfeld's identification of the latter with the Marsyas. A glance at the coin shows that the rivers are not placed in any particular order, merely that there are four of them, and we must find four in modern days to correspond. Like Mr. Ramsay, I noticed the little Indjerly Sou which issues in a tiny stream from the base of the hill about half a mile further south than the Hudaverdy, and after an independent course of only some ten yards loses itself in the Orgas: but it is so insignificant that it can scarcely be ranked with the other three springs, least of all be the Maeander: as to its being the lost Obrimas of Pliny, the coin and probability both point to the identification of that with the θερμά or Ilidja. Indeed Pliny's words, 'Apamea . . . . circumfusa Marsya, Obrima, Orga *in Maeandrum cadentibus*,' suggest a likely solution of the whole difficulty—namely, that the Maeander had in strict parlance no distinct source whatever, but was simply the united river formed by the junction of the Marsyas, Obrimas, and Orgas, and acquired its separate name only at the point of junction of the lowest of the springs, the Obrimas or θερμά.[1] Strabo, the professional geographer, might require a definite source for the great river which he knew in its lower course, but such was neither the original nor the local tradition. At any rate the fact, proved by the coin, that the Ilidja is *not* the Marsyas (while there is no doubt about the Orgas), makes it practically certain that the central spring, the Hudaverdy, is the scene of Apollo's contest with the Phrygian.

[1] This lowest spring (whose name seems never to have been certainly fixed) might often be loosely regarded as the Maeander itself, and so Xenophon's informant, probably a native peasant, has led him into a trifling error.

One word upon the citadel of Celaenae, before leaving this site: there can be no question, in view of the unanimous authorities, that Dr. Hirschfeld has rightly represented it upon his map, as the eminence upon which are still to be seen the ruins of a little church: but I must differ from his confident identification of it with Arrian's *ἄκρα πάντη ἀπότομος*: in the first place, although a stiff climb, it is far removed from being precipitous or really very steep; and secondly, being no more than a buttress of the mountain behind, it is most easily approached by any one who climbs up the low range to the south-east. Such a position would be most difficult to defend against any one, and Alexander, who scaled Aornus and the Rock of Chorienes, could not have hesitated about attacking, or failed to take it at the first attempt; and yet Curtius confirms the fact that he preferred that the garrison of the *ἄκρα* should surrender at their leisure to hazarding so arduous an assault. But about half a mile up the valley which leads from the central source, there rises on the left a most remarkable conical hill, steep and isolated on every side, and forming a most conspicuous object from the citadel which it easily overtops; here I would suggest that the men of Celaenae, knowing their own acropolis to be of no avail against such a foe, took refuge: and Alexander showed the better part of valour in awaiting rather than forcing the surrender of so strong a position.[1]

D. G. Hogarth.

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[1] I have a photograph of the citadel, which, though not very satisfactory, shows well enough the character of the hill: it is at the service of any one who is interested in the topography of this site, as is also, a (somewhat under-exposed) view of the central spring, which I suppose to be the original Marsyas: above the spring will be noticed the hole which Arundell saw, and whence he suggests that the water originally emerged: this is very possible in a limestone country, and if so, Herodotus' *καταῤῥήκτης* is appropriate and Cinnamus' description not so much exaggerated after all.

A STUDY OF PHRYGIAN ART. (PART I.)

A BRIEF introductory statement of the historical views to which I have been led by a study of the Phrygian monuments will make the following pages clearer, and will enable the reader to criticise the whole with greater advantage. I can hardly hope to have reached the truth in regard to this difficult subject; but it is so closely connected with many disputed points in early Greek history that I have thought it best to carry out my view to its logical conclusions and state the whole in brief and precise terms. This will place the reader on his guard from the beginning, and if it leads him to exercise unsparing criticism, I shall have attained my object.

1. The Phrygians are a European race, who entered Asia Minor across the Hellespont: the unanimous Greek tradition to this effect (which at one time I regarded as probably a reversal of the truth) is confirmed by longer study of the country and the monuments.

2. The Phrygians and the Carians were two very closely kindred tribes, nearly related to some of the Greek races, who established themselves in the countries which bear their name as a conquering and ruling caste amid a more numerous alien population: they were mail clad warriors whose armour gave them great advantage over opponents equipped in the slighter oriental fashion. Greek tradition associated various improvements in the style of armour with the Carians, and a relief published below (fig. 9) shows two Phrygian warriors armed quite in the Carian style. I do not of course imagine that the first Phrygo-Carian conquerors were armed exactly in this style: study of the monuments leads to the belief that they were a progressive and inventive race, but the armour which is shown in this relief is certainly worn only by a race which had been for generations accustomed to defensive mail.

3. The Phrygo-Carian conquerors are distinguished from the conquered race in language and in social organisation, as well as in military equipment. The earlier population belonged to a stock which spread over at least parts of Greece and Italy as well as Asia Minor. It is the race which has been traced by Pauli[1] through its use of local names ending in *-nda* and *sa*. Its social system knew no true marriage and traced descent through the mother: and corresponding to this its religion acknowledged a mother goddess and her son, whose worship under various names, as *σύνβωμοι θεοί*, can be traced in

[1] *Eine vorgricch. Inschrift aus Lemnos.*

Asia Minor. The conquering tribes introduced the worship of a supreme god, the Father (Papas), and the Thunderer (Bronton).[1] These two religions were amalgamated in various ways in different parts of the country: an illustrative case of the amalgamation of opposing religions may be quoted in the worship of Athenaia and Poseidon at Athens.

4. There was a similar conquering caste of the same Phrygian stock in Lydia and in Lycia. The difference which gradually established itself between these peoples was due to intermixture in various degrees with the older population and in a less degree to the natural divergence from the original type in different situations. On this view it is obvious that the whole controversy as to whether the Carians &c. are Aryan or non-Aryan has been conducted on a misunderstanding. It is necessary to distinguish the two races in Caria before discussing the origin of the Carian race: *e.g.* the arguments by which Pauli seeks to demonstrate that the Carians are non-Aryan are founded on facts that are true only of the older population.

5. The Phrygians proper were in close relations with the Greeks of Cyme and Phocaea during the eighth century: this intercourse could exist only so long as Lydia and Phrygia were closely associated with each other, and it was interrupted by the establishment in Lydia of a strong independent military power under the Mermnad dynasty. Previous to that event the Phrygian kings bulked more impressively in the Greek mind than any other non-Greek monarchy: their language was the original language (Herod. II. 2) and the speech of the Goddess herself (Hom. *Hymn Aphr.* 111 *ff.*): their country was the land of great fortified cities (Φρυγίης εὐτειχήτοιο, *ib.*): and their kings were the associates of the gods themselves. In this intercourse we hear of a Cymaean princess married to a Phrygian king[2], and the theory is advanced below that the Cymaean alphabet was adopted by the Phrygians. Through this intercourse with Cyme, Phrygia was brought into relation with the kings of Argos, the most powerful state in Greece during the eighth century, and the Phrygian device which appears over the principal gate-way of Mycenae was learned during this intercourse and belongs to the period of Argive ascendency, 800—700 B. C.

6. The Phrygian monuments belong to the ninth and eighth centuries before Christ. The end of the Phrygian kingdom is a fixed date, about 675 B.C.; and the progressive character of their art forbids us to assign a very long duration to it. Phrygian art is not a stereotyped traditional art of the oriental style, which might have lasted for centuries, but a vigorous and

[1] Another name of this god is Bennis or Benneus. Benneus, from the Thraco-Illyrian word Benna, a car, means the god who stands in a chariot, as Benfey used, orally at least, to explain Jupiter Stator: v. Deecke, *Rhein. Mus.*, vol. 37, p. 385. In *J. H. S.* 1887, p. 512, I have by a slip of memory explained Soa in the name Bennisoa by 'treasure.' Stephanus explains it as meaning 'tomb.' But the word Bennisoa has to be dismissed as a fiction of editors, who have united Βεννεῖ Σοηνῶν in an inscription into one word. The people are in another inscription, and in this one when rightly understood, called Σοηνοί.

[2] Damodike, daughter of Agamemnon of Cyme, married to Midas. The legendary expression of this intercourse appears in the relations between Priam and Phrygia, and in the suggestion of the goddess to Anchises to send a messenger to the King of Phrygia.

progressive art. Moreover the irruption of the conquering tribes from the west into Phrygia cannot be carried back too far: we find a reminiscence of their conflict with the older religion in the *Iliad* (III. 185), and it probably took place not earlier than the beginning of the ninth century, soon after their sea hegemony (905-880 B.C., Diod. 7. 13). The old Phrygian monuments come to an end at the Cimmerian conquest, about 675: and under Lydian and Persian supremacy Greek influence affected the country and produced a very different style of art (see *J. H. S.* 1882, pp. 28, 262). But a certain continuity of religious symbolism is traceable throughout the Greek and Roman periods: the type of the two rampant lions is common in all periods: the tomb which in the earliest time took the form of a shrine of the goddess continues to have two essential features—an altar and a door (*J. H. S.* 1884, p. 250 ff.): stones of the same form which was employed in the crowning member of Lydian tumuli[1] are frequently to be seen used as tomb-stones of the Roman period in southern Phrygia about Apameia-Celaenae and in the Maeander valley generally.

7. Phrygian art was developed under influences very similar to those which acted on Greece and by a race closely akin to the Greeks. Naturally there results an art which has decided analogy to Greek art. A direct comparison between the two is apt to suggest a later date than I assign to certain Phrygian monuments; but in these cases I regard the analogy as due to the circumstances which I have just stated, and as affording no ground for dating the two classes in the same period. There are closer and more real analogies to be detected with the early bronzes of Olympia, the palaeo-Etruscan remains at Bologna, and the bronze-work of Hallstatt, than with any later period of Greek art.

8. Further study has confirmed my first opinion that the art of Phrygia is developed under the influence or in imitation of the Syro-Cappadocian or 'Hittite' art, whose remains are found widely in Asia Minor. Distinct proof can now be given that this older art has left remains in the midst of the Phrygian monuments: the proofs I hope to publish next year in the *Mittheilungen des Instituts zu Athen*. The manner in which the earliest Phrygian reliefs are executed may be described in the very words which I have elsewhere used about a Cappadocian monument (*Archäolog. Ztg.* 1885, pp. 206-7): 'the artist seems first to have prepared a smooth flat surface on the rock: he next indicated the outline of the figures, and then cut away the rock all round the outlines to a depth of' half an inch or more, 'leaving the figures standing out in low relief within a sunken panel' of irregular shape, corresponding to the general outline of the group of figures.

I begin with the remains about one mile south of the small Yuruk village of Demirli, three miles N.N.W. of Ayaz Inn, and three miles east of

[1] See for example Texier's plate of the Tomb of Tantalus, and Perrot's forthcoming volume on Asia Minor Art.

Bey Keui, which form perhaps the most interesting centre of Phrygian history. It was first brought to the knowledge of Europeans by our expedition of November 1881,[1] and since that time it has been visited several times. The remains of the fortifications on the little acropolis were discovered by Mr. Hogarth during our expedition of 1886.[2] I had long suspected that the acropolis was situated on this isolated and almost inaccessible rock, but Mr. Hogarth found the way up, and observed the parapet and the chambers and cisterns cut out of the rock. The concealed staircase by which alone access is now possible is a peculiar feature of this acropolis;[3] otherwise it is strikingly like in shape and arrangement to the rock acropolis of Sipylos over the 'Niobe' near Magnesia. The larger map, which I drew in order to show the situation of the remains in this spot, would make the shape and character of the acropolis clearer than any mere description can make them, but it cannot be given here.[4] The acropolis, as it now stands after various parts of the rock have fallen in pieces, owing partly to the ancient cuttings made in it, and partly to the disintegrating force of water and time generally, is long and narrow with perfectly perpendicular sides about forty to sixty feet in height, and with no traces of an outer staircase, such as can be seen, too much broken to be of any use, in the acropolis of Sipylos. The outline of several houses, which were partly cut in the rock, and partly built above the rock, can still be observed on the top. One or two cisterns remain, and a parapet of rock runs round the eastern end. The features are so simple, that only one who actually visits both can realise how like each other, though in totally different situations, are the Lydian and the Phrygian acropoleis. I have on a previous occasion in this *Journal* tried to prove (*J. H. S.* 1882, p. 64) that the monuments round this Lydian acropolis of Sipylos are the same which the Magnesian Pausanias mentions as 'the Tomb of Tantalos,' 'the very ancient statue of the Mother of the Gods made by Broteas son of Tantalos,' 'the Throne of Pelops,' &c. Tantalos and Pelops are always in Greek legend called Phrygians, and the remarkable similarity in these two acropoleis and their surroundings affords a striking confirmation of the Greek belief. The settlers who founded the acropolis at Sipylos and those who founded the acropolis in Phrygia, whose remains are here described, must have been so closely kindred in manners and habits as to be practically one race. In each case the acropolis can never have been more than a very tiny fortress, serving as a centre and place of temporary refuge for the inhabitants of the

[1] Consisting of Mr. A. C. Blunt, sent at the expense of a special fund raised by the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, myself as Travelling Student of Oxford, and Mrs. Ramsay.

[2] I have profited by the criticisms and suggestions of Mrs. Ramsay and Mr. Hogarth in numerous points, which it would be tedious to mention in detail

[3] A similar concealed staircase in the rock still exists in the small Phrygian acropoleis at Yapuldak and Pishmish Kalessi. Concealed entrances beneath the city walls are a remarkable feature at Pteria. Sir C. Wilson and I observed one nearly destroyed, one almost perfect, resembling in appearance the galleries at Tiryns.

[4] An older and less perfect sketch, but still sufficiently clear to make the situation intelligible, has been, I think, reproduced for MM. Perrot and Chipiez's Hist. de l'Art, vol. V., which may be expected in December, 1889.

country round, and practically impregnable to direct attack by an undisciplined enemy.

On some of the fragments of rock which have broken off from the acropolis and now lie beneath it, there are parts of the interior of at least one chamber which was cut out of the rock. I have not been able to understand the forms sufficiently to restore the shape or size of the chamber, except that a high round-arched niche formed part of one end.

About 100 yards south of the acropolis is situated what is perhaps the most important and certainly the most imposing of all the Phrygian

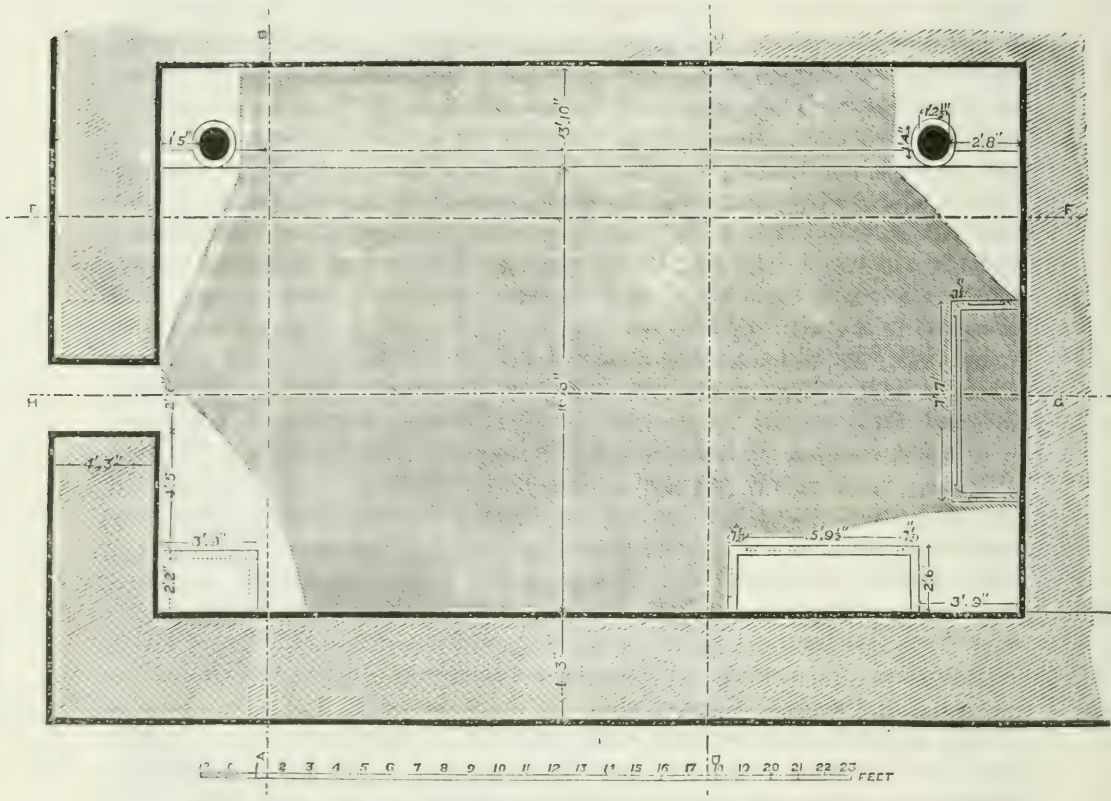

Fig. 1.—Restored Plan of Broken Lion Tomb.

monuments. I refer to it always as the 'Broken Lion Tomb.' Only one new fragment has as yet been discovered of this immense monument to add to those which were examined by us in 1881. The drawings already published by Mr. Blunt enable me to dispense with several illustrations which would otherwise be here necessary to bring before the reader the present situation and appearance of the fragments, and the reasons on which the restoration of the whole monument depends. The older drawings will therefore be frequently referred to in the following pages, and so far as

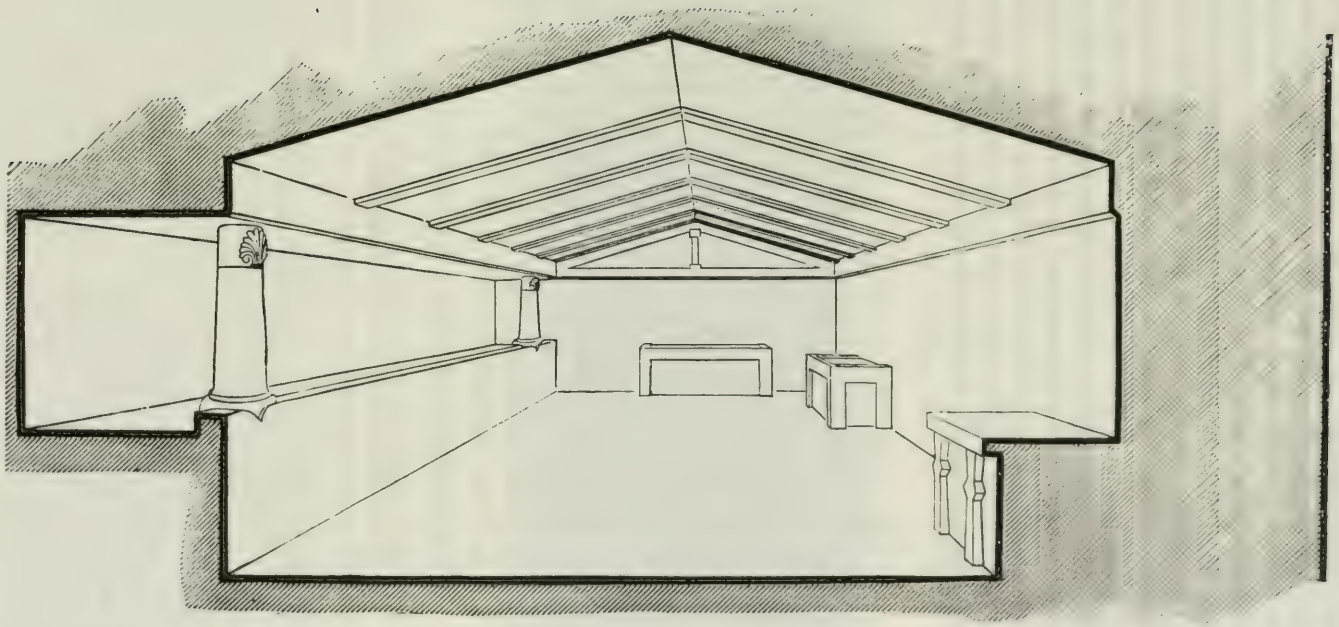

Fig. 2.—Restoration of Interior of Broken Lion Tomb.

possible nothing which appears in them will here be repeated. But in bringing together the fragments, the character of some of them is so entirely altered that the small pieces given by Mr. Blunt appear anew as parts of the whole subject, and the reader must compare the first drawing with the second in order to comprehend the following argument. A mere restoration, such as is given here, without Mr. Blunt's previous sketches of the actual appearance, would hardly give a true or at least a sufficient idea of the monument. But it is also necessary to put together the *disiecta membra*, a task which Mr. Blunt has not yet attempted, in order to give any real idea of the magnificence of this tomb and of the artistic character of the people who made it. This monument is the key-stone of the whole theory which I now attempt to explain and justify, and I must lay great stress on the restored sketches figs. 1—9. The responsibility for them rests on Mrs. Ramsay and myself, except part of fig. 9, which rests jointly on Mr. Hogarth's sketch

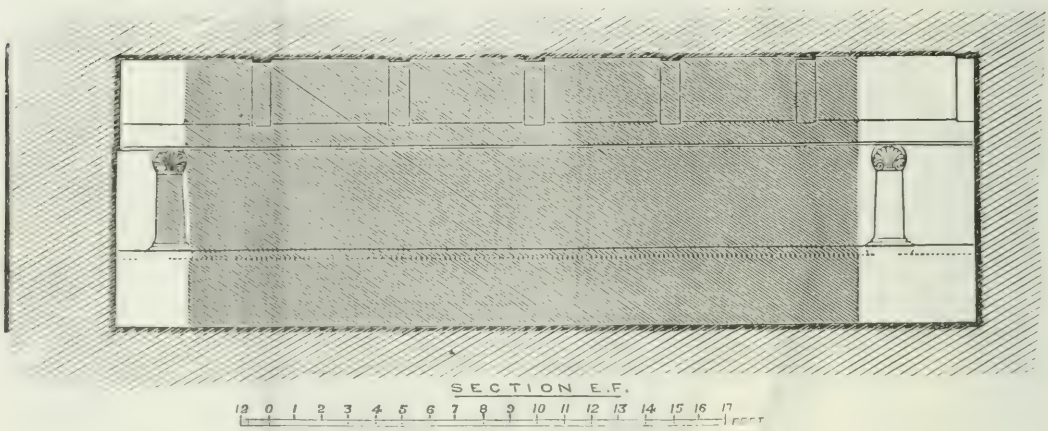

FIG. 3.—ELEVATION OF NORTH INTERIOR RESTORED.

and on mine. Except fig. 10, which is reproduced from Mrs. Ramsay's sketch, the accompanying illustrations have been re-drawn from our measurements, photographs, and sketches by Mr. J. P. McCann, of the Aberdeen School of Art. We are responsible for the restorations, which are shaded.

The plan, fig. 1, shows the fragments of this monument restored to their original position.[1] There is no doubt as to any of the dimensions except the length from east to west. The only clue to the length is given by the sculptures on the southern exterior; if we have correctly restored these sculptures, the great length of the chamber, unusual as it is, is a necessary condition. The reader who doubts whether the restoration of the interior is correct in respect of the length is referred to the description of the exterior sculptures for the reasons on which the length is estimated.

[1] The actual condition is shown in a photograph, which will be reproduced in M. Perrot's vol. V.; See also Mr. Blunt's drawing, *J. H. S.* Pl. xviii.

The sepulchral chamber was entered by a small door in the western end That this door was originally about twenty feet above the ground is rendered probable, first, by the analogy of many sepulchral chambers with similar small doors, which exist in the rocks around, and secondly by the reliefs on the exterior, which, if the human and animal figures represented on them were complete, must have extended about eighteen feet below the door of the chamber.

It is however right to leave open the possibility that the lions were only half-length figures. This would enable them to be placed closer, and the chamber might then be shortened by about five feet at most, by bringing the two lions which stand back to back closer to each other. But the symmetry of the relief would be utterly ruined by this arrangement, and as the restoration here given (which results from simply completing the three lions, each of which remains in part) puts the figures symmetrically with their heads nearly equidistant, I prefer to follow it.

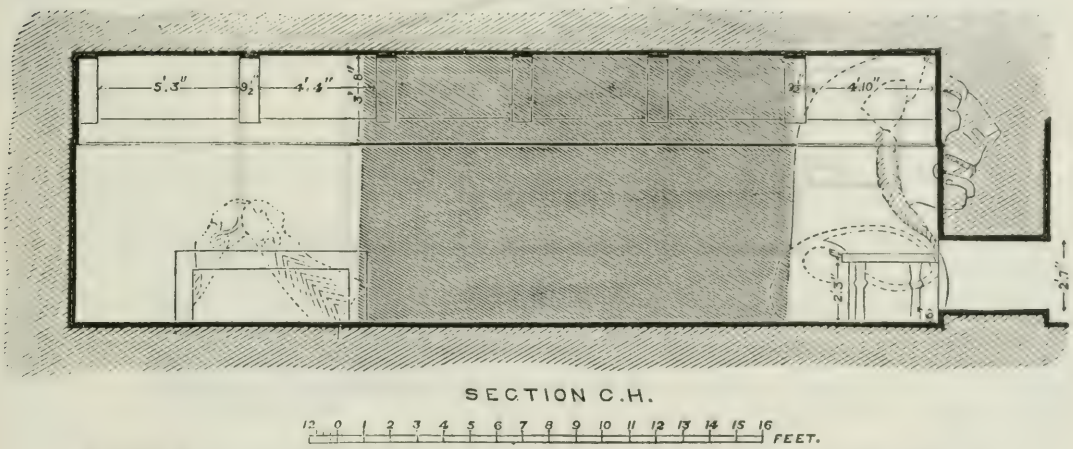

FIG. 4.—ELEVATION OF SOUTH INTERIOR, SHOWING RELATIVE POSITION OF REMAINING FRAGMENT OF EXTERIOR SCULPTURE.

The door in the west end leads into a large oblong chamber, twenty and a half feet broad from north to south, and perhaps thirty-one and a half feet in length. Flat beams, carved in relief on the sides of the roof, which slope upwards towards the centre, represent the rafters which support the roof of a wooden house or temple, imitated in this house of rock. A sort of corridor or gallery, about three feet above the floor of the chamber, runs along the northern side. The roof of this corridor is supported by at least two columns, one near the southern, and one close to the northern end; but no intermediate fragment is now visible to show whether a row of columns supported it from end to end, though we may take it as highly probable that such a row did exist.

The southern side of the chamber was occupied by a seat or chair in the

western corner, and a sepulchral couch or bed towards the eastern end, The gap between the couch and the seat was perhaps filled by a second couch, but this is purely conjectural. The three legs of the seat are quaint; one is on the east side of the seat, the other two, which are on the north side, are shown in fig. 2. The front of the couch is so much broken that the details are quite uncertain. A restored elevation of the northern and southern sides of the interior is shown in figs. 3 and 4. The northern side was in the main mass of the hill, and the north-east corner is still in the hill-side with one column in its original position unbroken. The southern side, which has entirely fallen away in fragments, showed an exterior to the spectator. The exterior was adorned with sculptures, and the relative position of the fragments of these sculptures which are still visible is indicated by dotted lines in fig. 4.

The eastern side of the chamber still remains almost entire, as part of the rocky hill, together with one of the columns of the corridor on the north side,

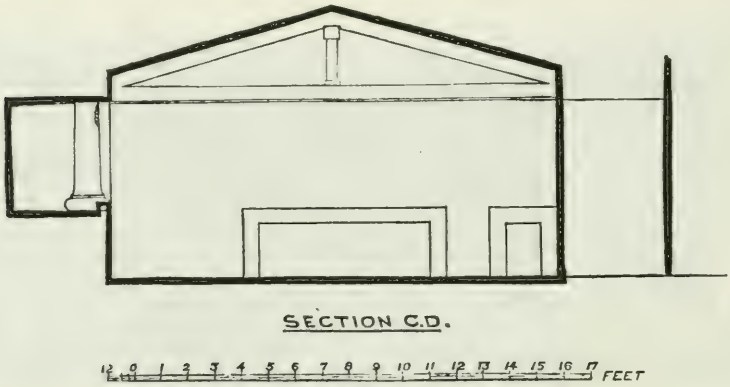

Fig. 5.—Elevation of East Interior.

as represented in the sketch, fig. 5, in which I am obliged to differ greatly from Mr. Blunt's representation of the lower part, *J. H. S.* Pl. xix. A rectangular space, seven and a half feet by about three feet, in the middle of this side, is rough, showing that a couch similar to that of the west side had once been attached to the wall, and had been broken away when the chamber fell. On each side of this couch, the wall has been carefully smoothed down to the level of the floor.

In these sketches I have marked those measurements which I made in 1884 and 1887; it will be seen that they approximate to, but do not exactly coincide with, those of Mr. Blunt. I give these, like the other sketches, as the best which I can furnish from the materials in my possession. I have actually compared Mr. Blunt's drawings with the monuments, aided in doing so by Prof. J. R. S. Sterrett in 1883, and by Mrs. Ramsay in 1884.

Fig. 6 shows the details of the column, which stands at the north-east corner of the chamber. The capital, which is purely ornamental and serves no bearing purpose, gives perhaps one of the earliest forms, which might

be called 'proto-ionic.' On a flat surface are indicated two volutes with the anthemion springing between them.[1] In the present state of the monument, I hesitated for a long time as to the form of the volutes: the lower part of the volutes is defaced, and it was difficult to determine whether there was a spiral or merely two concentric circles, a small and a large one. But I examined before the original the drawing given by Mr. Blunt, both with Prof. Sterrett and with Mrs. Ramsay. None of us had a moment's hesitation in condemning the representation which he gives. The point is one of very great importance for deciding the relation of Phrygian art to oriental and to Greek art, as intermediate between them and older than the latter, that it is necessary to lay some stress on the details.

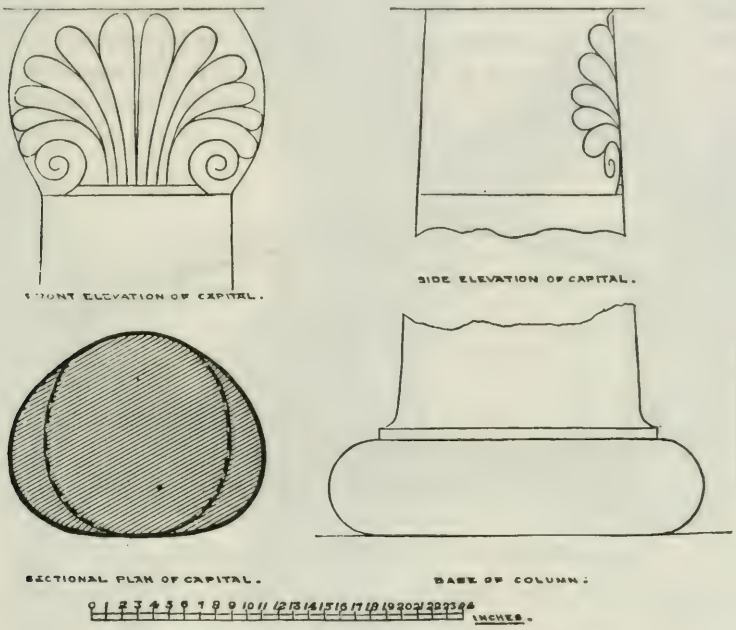

FIG. 6.—DETAILS OF COLUMN, BROKEN LION TOMB.

The western interior wall, in which is the small door, is now broken in two fragments, which fit each other, They lie near each other in such a position that the sculptures of the exterior are turned downwards. The interior is shown in fig. 7, and the relative position of the remaining fragments of the exterior sculptures is indicated by dotted lines.

This sepulchral chamber was so situated at an angle of the rock that the southern and western sides presented an external face to the spectator, while the northern and eastern sides were against the main mass of the hill. Both the exterior faces, the southern and the western, were adorned with

[1] Compare the 'proto-ionic' column from Chiqri in the Troad, and the excellent paper by Mr. J. T. Clarke which accompanies it, in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1886, p. 1 *ff.*

sculptures. Of the sculptures on the southern face two fragments at least remain, and a third may probably be detected in a hopelessly defaced state on a third huge fragment of rock which lies beside the other two. One of these is the head of a lion, published *J. H. S.* 1882, pl. xviii., a work of singular power and vigour, 'yet breathing out threatenings and slaughters.' The position of the shoulder is perhaps best explained by the supposition that the lion was in the attitude of fig. 8, which is about the same as that of the lionesses of Mycenae. To support his paw we have therefore inserted a column. The tip of the nostril and the teeth of the upper jaw,[1] which are now mutilated, have been restored on the analogy of the 'Lion Tomb,' which will be described below.

The head is indicated on a surface which is almost flat, and which stands about twenty inches in relief above the background; the edges are flat surfaces perpendicular both to the surface on which the head is represented and to the background. The treatment is therefore essentially the same as in the Syro-Cappadocian sculptures: an outline is traced on the stone, and the edges

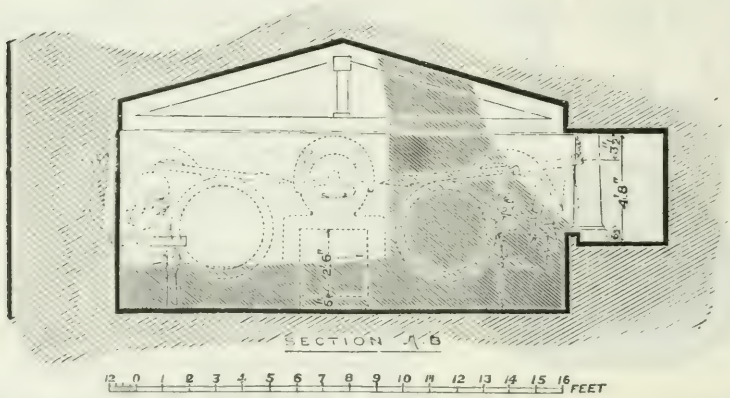

Fig. 7.—Elevation of West Interior, showing Relative Position of Exterior Sculpture.

of this outline are cut sharp away all round down to the level which the artist chooses for the background.[2] The mane is indicated on the perpendicular edge, which represents the back of the neck, by a series of parallel oblique lines, and on the front surface by a series of curls. On the perpendicular edge which represents the breast the line of the hair is represented by a similar series of parallel lines, forming a continuation of the herring-bone pattern on a slightly raised band, which begins below the ear and extends down the cheek and breast. A similar pattern surrounds the neck of the

[1] I made an erroneous statement, *J. H. S.* 1882, p. 21, 'no teeth are indicated in the upper jaw': closer examination showed that the present surface is not original but broken. Otherwise the description on pp. 20–1 is correct, and may be used to supplement the following remarks.

[2] See my paper on the *Basrelief of Ibriz* in the *Archäolog. Zeitung*, 1885, p. 203.

lionesses on the neighbouring 'Lion Tomb' (see below), but passes in front of the ear. The shoulder stands out prominently in higher relief than the head.

The other fragment of the southern exterior is given by Mr. Blunt in *J, H. S.* p. 22. We were at that time unable to understand the meaning of this fragment: part of a leg was distinct, but we could not guess the action. Mr. Blunt thought it was a hind leg, and has placed his drawing accordingly,

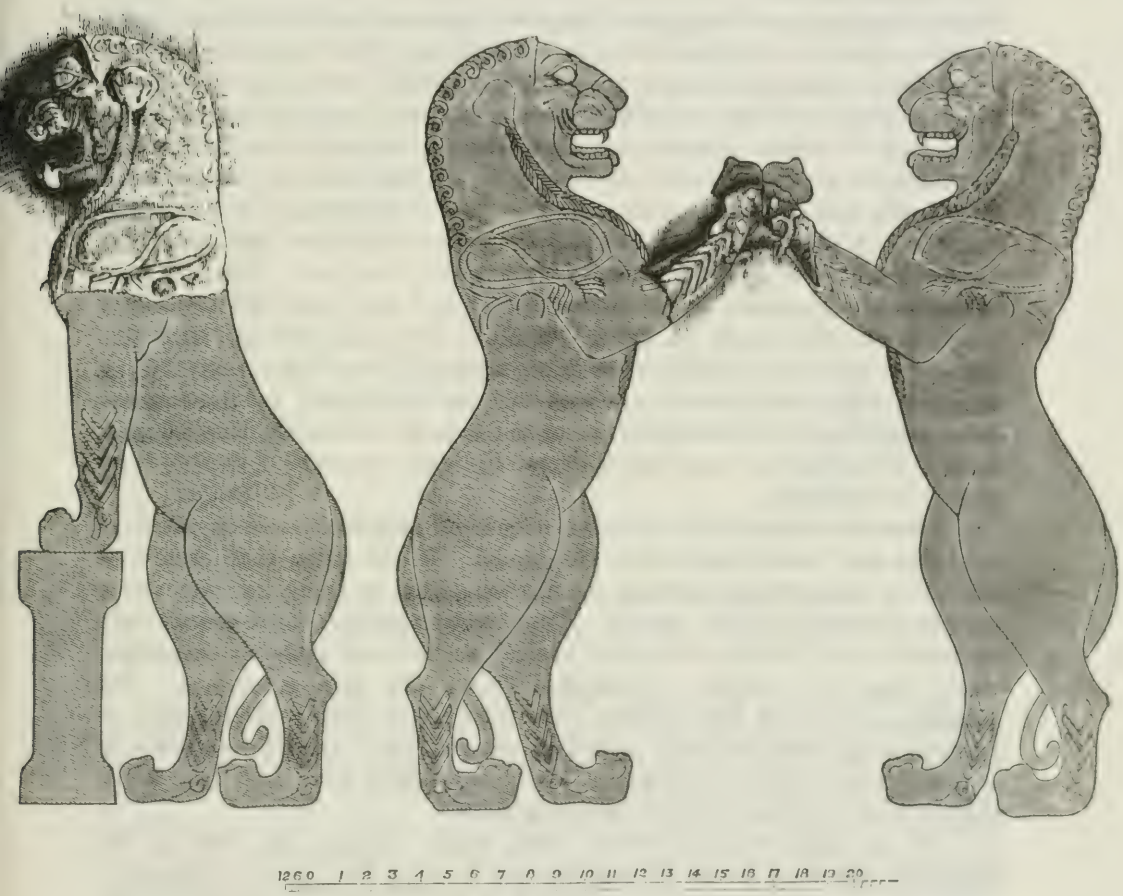

FIG 8.—CONJECTURAL RESTORATION OF SCULPTURES, SOUTH EXTERIOR.

whereas Mrs. Ramsay maintained that it was a foreleg. In 1884, when she and I again visited the place, we divined the interpretation of the action, and succeeded also in restoring the fragments of the interior in the way just described. A subsequent visit in 1887 completely confirmed every view which we arrived at in 1884. The fragment shows the forelegs of a pair of lions, who stood rampant with their raised forepaws pressed against each other, an

attitude well known in archaic Greek art.[1] If Mr. Blunt's drawing of the fragment be held nearly upside down, so that a line bisecting the angle between the two paws is vertical, the reader will see the position in which these paws were carved on the tomb. The paw on the left is partially mutilated, and Mr. Blunt was of course embarrassed by our failure to comprehend the meaning of the fragments, but in spite of these drawbacks the true action is easily seen when one holds his drawing in the proper position, and any one can then restore *ex pede Herculem*.

The problem then is how to restore the whole-relief on the southern face. The relative position of these two fragments is certain, and is shown in fig 4, where the exterior reliefs are drawn in dotted lines. The fragment of rock on which the two paws are carved fits on to the eastern end of the monument, which is still in its position in the hillside; the other fragment on which the lion's head is carved contains the south-western corner of the monument, and the head looks westwards and away from the two paws. It seems therefore certain that three lions were carved on this southern face; two standing rampant with their raised forepaws pressed against each other, and one standing also rampart with its back turned towards the other pair. The two paws which remain correspond in scale with the head, and with these data it is easy to complete the figures as in fig. 8. While I fully acknowledge that this restoration makes the sepulchral chamber unusually long[2] (thirty-one feet, as compared with a total breadth of twenty-one and a half feet), yet the data are quite certain, and the restoration seems to me to be necessarily deduced from them. If however any one can interpret the data otherwise, I shall be very glad to be corrected.

I have mentioned above that the door in all probability was originally at least fifteen or twenty feet above the ground. If the fallen rocks were now restored to their original position, the door would not be nearly so much above the present surface of the ground. There must therefore be a considerable accumulation of detritus above the ancient surface, and probably excavation would show the remains of sculpture below the present surface. Yet considering how soft this volcanic rock is, and how utterly disintegrated it becomes when damp has once gained an entrance below the carved surface, it is quite possible that any remains of sculpture which have long been below the soil would be destroyed and unrecognisable.

Of the relief on the western face, which contains the door of the sepulchral chamber, one small fragment was found in 1881, but it is in such a position on the under side of a huge mass of rock, that one can hardly see it.[3] It appeared to represent a human arm and hand grasping an elongated object such as a spear, but the fragment was otherwise inexplicable, and we could

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[1] See for example the lions and the sphinxes on the archaic cuirass published by Mr. Stillman, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1883, pl. i.–iii.

[2] In Phrygia the chambers are indeed usually oblong, with the door in one of the shorter sides, just as in this case; but there is not much difference in length between the long and the short sides.

[3] It is necessary to crawl under the rock, which is slightly tilted against another mass, and look up at the sculpture with one's face almost touching the surface.

not in its dark and difficult position feel quite sure even about the human arm. Mr. Blunt's drawing, *J. H. S.* 1882, p. 23, is turned upside down. In 1887 I went out with the resolve to turn over or to dig under some of these huge blocks, and consulted my engineering friends in Smyrna about the best way of doing this. As it appeared from the known measurements that the blocks weigh over forty tons each, the former course was impossible, and it was necessary to trust to excavation. We left this work till the last possible day, in order to avoid the risk of official interference with our future movements. In the morning we started from the camp at Bey Keui; Hogarth and I went to try to dig a second hieroglyphic inscription out of the mound south of Bey Keui,[1] while Brown went off to dig under the lion's head. The former task proved unsuccessful, and we reached the Broken Lion Tomb early in the forenoon. Descending into the hole under the lion's head, we saw that Brown had already unearthed part of a human head. Bit by bit the subject of fig. 9 was disclosed, one of the most curious and important of all known archaic sculptures.

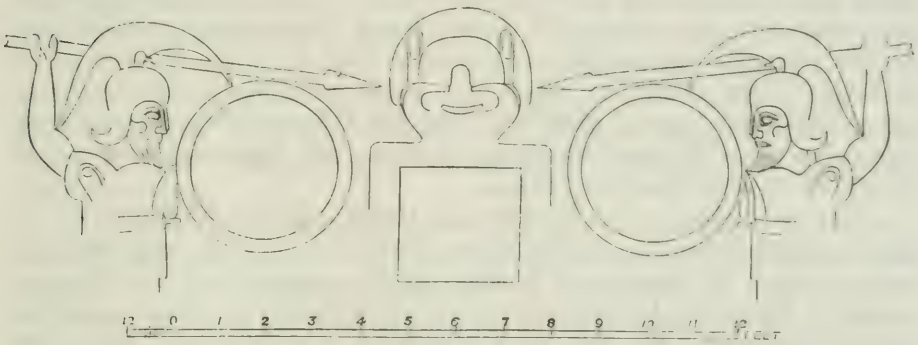

Fig. 9.—Restoration of Sculptures, West Exterior.

As may be gathered from fig. 1, this fragment which we uncovered is carved on the same mass of rock on another side of which is carved the lion's head. The mass of rock on which the arm and spear drawn by Mr. Blunt are represented fits on to this mass, but the surface has been partly broken so that there is a gap between the fragments of sculpture. The two fragments however are sufficient to make the restoration of the whole subject quite easy and absolutely certain in most of the details. When complete the sculpture on the western face represented two warriers, armed with shield, spear, helmet and cuirass,[2] in the act of spearing a grotesque figure with high pointed ears and hideous upturned nose; this Gorgon-like figure has the door of the tomb in its breast.

If the lower parts of the two warriors and of the Gorgon are completed, it

[1] See below, p. 372.

[2] The lines indicated on the cuirass are uncertain; as the rock lies, the sculpture is turned downwards, and the spectator, lying on his back, has to look up at it, with his eyes only about two inches from the surface of the relief.

will be found impossible to make them stand on the same level except by making the legs of the Gorgon bent. This suggests the probability that its attitude was that of the archaic running figures well-known in Greek art. This Gorgon should be compared with the running male Gorgon, found in an Etruscan grave of unusual construction at Orvieto and published by Korte (*Archäol Ztg.*, 1877, p. 110 and Taf. 11). The type which is there traced by Korte from Etruria back to its origin in the east is unmistakably of the same origin as this Phrygian Gorgon. The resemblance of the Orvietan figure to the Phrygian is striking (especially if I am right in believing that the latter is a running figure), and the Orvietan lions (or lion and leopard) on the Gorgon's shoulders remind one so strongly of the Cybele figure with the lions leaning on her shoulders[1] at this same Phrygian city that I think Korte's explanation of the origin and diffusion of the type through Phoenician agency is insufficient. The Orvietan figure has the mouth opened and the tongue hanging out; while the Phrygian figure shows the mouth slightly open, like the mouth of Cybele on the stele of Fassiller,[2] but without any protruding tongue. Furtwängler argued that the idea of showing the protruding tongue of the gryphon is a Greek device of the seventh century, and Milchhöfer has applied the same principle to the Gorgon type.[3] If any stress could be laid on this principle, we should have an interesting deduction from it. The Orvietan Gorgon shows the Greek type, which must have been brought to Orvieto by Greek agency, while the Phrygian Gorgon shows the pre-Greek type. But the whole principle is very uncertain, and Furtwängler omits it in his article *Gryps* in Roscher's Lexicon.

The view which is entertained as to the date of this monument guides the historical inferences to be drawn from it. On the view which I maintain, that the monument belongs to the greatness of the Phrygian monarchy before the Cimmerian conquest, the following seems to be the natural conclusion. We have in this relief a representation of the actual warriors who surrounded the Phrygian kings, who fought against the Amazons on the banks of the Sangarius in the eight century B.C. (*Iliad* III. 185), and who continue here to defend their king in death as they had fought for him in life. The hideous figure against whom they direct their spears is perhaps an impersonation of the malignant power, and the whole design has the character of an apotropaion: on the importance of this idea in Phrygian art I have already spoken (*J. H. S.* 1882, p. 15).

The warriors represented in the relief are clad in full defensive armour (for there is every probability that if the under part of the reliefs were preserved we should find that they wore greaves also). Their shields are convex with a flat rim round the edge and are evidently grasped by *ὄχανα*. Their helmets have immense crests, *λόφοι*. Now the invention of *ὄχανα* and *λόφοι* is expressely attributed to the Carians, and we may therefore infer that

[1] See *J. H. S.* 1884, p. 245.

[2] The drawing of this monument, which I visited in 1886, will, I hope, shortly be published in the *Mittheil. Athen.*

[3] Furtwängler, *Broncefund von Olympia*, p. 47, 51, &c.: Milchhöfer, *Arch. Ztg.* 1881, p. 289.

these Phrygian warriors wear the same fashion of armour as the Carians.[1] At this period (about 700 B.C.) Carian mercenaries were already employed in foreign services, and it might be suggested that they were used by the Phrygian kings; but I think it very improbable that foreign mercenaries were represented on the tomb of this Phrygian chief. The guardians of his tomb are the men of his own race and his immediate personal attendants and friends. Therefore either the Phrygians adopted the use of *ὄχανα* and *λόφοι* from the inventors, or else they are practically the same race with the Carians, equipped in the same style and adopting simultaneously the same improvements in their arms. The second alternative seems to me by far more probable, taken in conjunction with the recorded beliefs of the Greeks that the Phrygians were an immigrant race from Thrace or Macedonia, that the Phrygians were originally a seafaring race who ruled the Aegean from 905 to 880 B.C., that the Carians were also a seafaring race who ruled the Aegean rather later, that a Phrygian colony had settled in the Peloponnesus, that a tribe of Phrygians lived during historical time near the Hellespont and the Sea of Marmora, that the Trojans were in close relations with the Phrygians of the Sangarius valley, receiving aid from their chiefs Otreus and Mygdon, and sending their own chief Priamos to aid the Phrygians in their wars with the Amazons on the banks of the Sangarius. Hence we find the name Gordius both in Caria and in Phrygia, Mygdon both in Phrygia and in Thrace, Ascanius, and Ascania among the Trojans and near the Sea of Marmora and in various parts of Phrygia and the Phrygo-Pisidian frontier.

The Syro-Cappadocian (often called Hittite) monuments and inscriptions take us back to a period when a homogeneity of art and religion and social organisation ruled over the greater part of Asia Minor; its type is oriental. The Phrygian monuments reveal to us a new period and a fresh young art, founded on the earlier art, but developing it with new freedom and life. This interruption of the earlier condition is probably due to the irruption of a conquering race, which must have come from the west, for it never established itself on the other side of the river Halys. Such, as I think, is the evidence of archaeology, and when this is confirmed by unanimous Greek tradition going back to the earliest known time, it may accepted as historical. The relief which is here published places before our eyes two warriors of this immigrant Phrygia race; we find them clad in the same arms as were worn by the pirates of the Aegean sea, and Greek tradition asserts that these Phrygians also were sea-rovers. Again archaeological evidence confirms tradition.

Even after the sculpture had been uncovered, it was not easy to study it or make a drawing of it. To see it we had to lie on our back and push ourselves under the huge rock with our faces touching the surface of the

[1] Schol. Thucyd. I. 8: *Κᾶρες πρῶτοι εὗρον τοὺς ὀμφαλοὺς* (error for *τὰ ὄχανα*) *καὶ τοὺς λόφους*. Strab. XIV. p. 661, *τά τε ὄχανα καὶ τὰ ἐπίσημα καὶ τοὺς λόφους· ἅπαντα γὰρ λέγεται Καρικά*. Cp. also Herod, I. 171, who agrees with Strabo. There is no *ἐπίσημον* on the Phrygian shield, but *ἐπίσημα* were not universally used, and may have been invented later than *ὄχανα* and *λόφοι*.

sculpture. It was therefore impossible to get a connected view of the whole; but by comparing our impressions and by mutual criticism we did our best to reach a fair and impartial conception of the whole. We then set about the task of drawing, and the accompanying figure 9 is the result. The general outline is due to me, and is founded on measurements made as well as the circumstances permitted; Mr. Hogarth drew the head of the warrior separately. I drew the Gorgon's head, trusting entirely to measurements of each detail, and I also made a drawing of the warrior's eye, which is a remarkable feature. Working on these sketches Mr. McCann has produced the accompanying figure.

The likeness to Greek Art unluckily is exaggerated in this drawing: the warrior should be much uglier in feature, with thick swoln lips.[1] We found that our draughtsmanship was unable to attain the ugliness of the sculpture.[2] This fact, combined with the arms which are quite like early Greek arms, gives an impression of too close analogy to Greek sixth century work; such an analogy does indeed actually exist, but the resemblance in style is closer to Assyrian art than to Greek. The case might be put thus: the resemblance to Greek art is due to the fact that the Phrygian artist is representing warriors equipped like Greeks, but the resemblance to Assyrian art is due to the fact that the artist was trained in imitation of the oriental art. I see therefore no reason in point of style to date the monument later than the Cimmerian conquest, about 675. I base this opinion specially on the rendering of the eye. In Greek art of the time to which this monument shows most analogy, *i.e.* of the sixth century, there is no attempt to represent according to nature the eye as seen in profile, but in this Phrygian warrior the artist distinctly aims at rendering the eye naturally and is also certainly trained to do so in a style similar to that in which the eye is rendered in the monument at Ibriz.[3]

Looking at the question from the historical point of view one must admit that the magnificence of scale and the pride of subject in this monument marks it as belonging to a powerful and proud kingdom, and not to one which, after being overrun and destroyed by the Cimmerians, became subject first to Lydians, and afterwards to Persians, and whose people were known to the Greeks only as slaves. Finally considering that this is the most ambitious in style and in scale, as well as the most developed in artistic skill, of all the Phrygian monuments, we may assign it perhaps to the latest period of Phrygian art, about 700 B.C.

It must be admitted that all who judge from the analogy with Greek art only will prefer to date this monument a century or more later than the

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[1] It was suggested jokingly at the time we were studying the relief that the King of Phrygia must have employed negro guards.

[2] In place of trying to modify our sketches in accordance with my recollection, I thought it best to leave Mr. McCann to imitate the conventional Greek type which our imperfect sketches showed. No pupil is indicated in the eyes of the warriors of Fig. 9. The woodcut does not make the eye nearly so Assyrian in type as it really is. So also in the eyes of the lions (fig. 8) no pupil is indicated.

[3] See my drawing, *Arch. Ztg.* 1885.

date which has here been assigned to it. But I do not believe that it is a correct principle to date Phrygian art by Greek analogies. Phrygian art develops entirely independently of Greek art, and according to my view at an earlier date under the influence of eastern art. I lay great stress on the recorded fact of the destruction of the Phrygian monarchy by the Cimmerians. All that is recorded indeed is that the last king Midas was defeated by them and in consequence committed suicide, but the fact has impressed itself on historical memory because it was the destruction of the greatest monarchy known to the Greeks.

It is of course impossible that a warrior immigrant tribe should be able to annihilate an older population, possessing already a certain degree of civilisation and art. It could only establish itself as a dominant caste, and the subsequent course of history shows that the new element was strongly influenced by the older religion and art. The worship of a supreme goddess was universal among the older race. It would appear that the Phrygian conquerors introduced the worship of a supreme god, whom they call Papas, 'the Father,' and Benneus or Benni, which I have elsewhere explained as 'the god of the chariot.' The god who stands on the car is the thunderer, and another common grecised title for him is Zeus Bronton.[1] These names are common in dedicatory inscriptions of the very district where the monuments are found: we have sometimes Διὶ Βεννίῳ or Βεννεῖ, sometimes Διὶ Βροντῶντι, once the double title Διὶ Βροντῶντι καὶ Βεννεῖ.

The religion of course stands in the closest relation with the social system of the country. Elsewhere I shall seek to show that the original anatolian social system knew no true marriage and traced descent only through the mother, and that the Phrygian conquerors introduced the supremacy of the father in the family and the social system of Teutons and Greeks.

The older and the newer religion and society amalgamated in varying forms in different districts, according as the new element varied in strength. All evidence leads to the conclusion that the immigrant race was most completely victorious in Phrygia, and that the Sangarius valley was its chief centre. Here the most powerful foreign monarchy known to the Greeks during the eighth century was established; and the fall of this powerful dynasty about 675 before the same barbarian horde, which threatened the existence of the Greek coast cities also, was an event so striking as to impress the historical memory and to be handed down to us as one of our surest marks in early history.

A few yards from the 'Broken Lion Tomb,' is another interesting monument of this early period. A drawing of this monument by Mr. Blunt, based on a photograph and sketches taken by himself in November 1881, was published in *J. H. S.* 1882, Pl. XVII. In the month of November the monument, which faces nearly due north, is never lighted by the sun, and the greyish-black rock, encrusted in many places with moss, conceals many details of the

[1] See *J. H. S.*, 1884, pp. 256-8, 1887, p. 512.

sculpture. In 1884, when we saw the monument lit up by the morning and evening sun, these details became visible: the accompanying cut from a drawing by Mrs. Ramsay shows the details which we could distinguish with confidence. The muscles of the shoulder were probably indicated also, but it is now impossible to detect the curves which represented them. The small eye, correctly represented in profile, the nose and the pinched nostril, the row of teeth with a long fang in the front jaw, the band which surrounds the head passing in front of the ears and below the neck,[1] the line of junction of the shoulder with the body, and the pattern on the foreleg are all distinctly visible[2] in a good light and can be traced in a photograph taken in 1884 by Mrs. Ramsay.

The two animals, whom the cubs beneath prove to have been intended as lionesses,[3] stand facing each other, planting their forepaws on the framing of

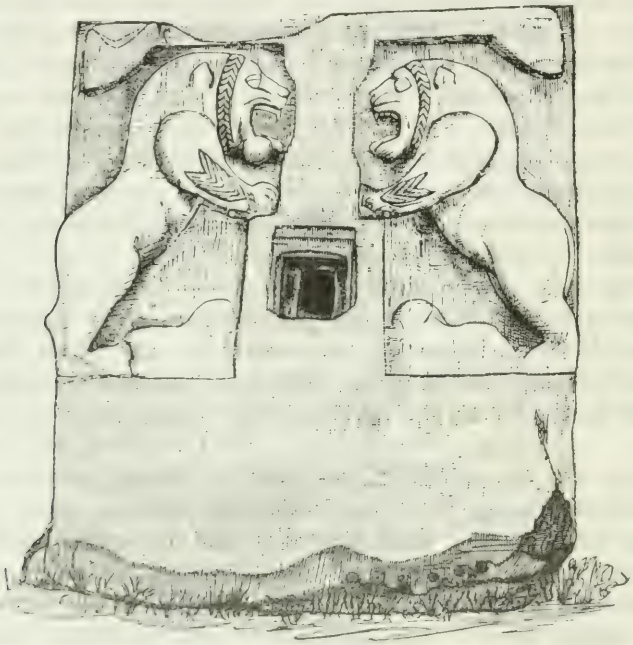


Fig. 10.—Lion Tomb, with Shape of Moulding of Cornice partly Restored.

the door, which is probably considered to represent the altar.[4] I have previously attempted to prove that the Phrygians of later time regard the altar (*βωμός*) and the door (*θύρα*) as two essential parts of the sepulchre, and that this idea is a survival of primitive custom (*J. H. S.*, 1884, p. 254). On

[1] The difference in position of this band from that on the head of the Broken Lion (fig. 8) should be noticed.

[2] Some details are clear in one animal and barely distinguishable in the other.

[3] The absence of mane also shows that the animals are female. Those at Mycenae are female likewise.

[4] The door then is in the altar: in later monuments the word *θύρα* is inscribed on the altar (*J. H. S.*, 1884, p. 254).

the altar rests a column with high rectilinear base, short shaft, and high curved capital, which supports the heavy plain cornice. The lionesses are of decidedly ruder and less skilful form than those of the monument which has just been described: they are thicker, heavier, without the life, energy, and spirit of the splendid head of the great lion. The style in which the details are indicated, and the general form, show close relation to the other monuments.

I have to make an important correction in my former account of this monument. The upper part is sculptured in rather low relief (perhaps about two or three inches high), but the lower part, including the hindlegs, projects at least one and a half feet above the background. The height of the monument is 37 feet.

With regard to the "Lion Tomb" I have only to add that in 1883 I climbed up by help of a rope to the door; the sepulchral chamber is small, absolutely plain and rough-hewn. In Christian times a cross was incised on one side of the door-way.

The most interesting question in regard to this monument is—in what relation does it stand to the Lion Gate of Mycenae? The reliefs on the two Lion Tombs are most easily interpreted on the supposition that the intention of the Phrygian artist in each case was to represent outside the grave of the dead chief the guardians of his tomb. The figure which I have called a Gorgon seems to be an impersonation of the power of evil, and the two warriors threaten it with their spears. I should interpret in a similar way the Gorgon of Orvieto, which was referred to above: the lions on its shoulders, the sacred animals of the goddess, neutralise the evil power. In this *Journal*, 1882, p. 14—5, I have stated at some length the belief, which is only strengthened by further investigation, that apotropaeic emblems play a considerable part in Phrygian art. In other cases the lions or lionesses alone typify the protecting power of the mother goddess. In a third class of monuments the grave is actually represented as a shrine of the goddess, and the chief is considered to be gathered again to the bosom of his mother; just as the Maeonian chiefs, sons of the Gygaean lake according to Homer, are buried on its shores.[1] In some of the examples of this last class a richly ornamented carpet is represented as concealing the sanctuary (*ἐσκέπασεν τὰ ἱερὰ μυστήρια*).

In the Lion Tomb, the two lionesses symbolise the protecting power of the goddess, and stand over the door of the grave; and at Mycenae the lionesses stand as guardians over the door of the city. The resemblance in idea is complete. There are then only two possible alternatives: either the idea was learned by one people from the other, or they both learned it from a common source. Now the *schema* is so peculiarly characteristic of Phrygia, that we can hardly admit it to have been borrowed from any other country.[2] We are therefore driven to the conclusion that the Mycenaean artists either

[1] See the examples in this *Journal*, 1882, pp. 57, 58; also 'Sepulchral Customs in Ancient Phrygia' (*J.H.S.* 1884): cp. *Iliad* II. 865; XX. 382.

[2] It occurs in a large number of examples in all ages of Phrygian art, 'in this earliest known time, in monuments showing the strong influence of Greek art, and in the latest Roman Imperial period' (*J.H.S.* 1884, p. 250).

are Phrygians, or learned the idea from Phrygians. Now considering that Kohler, Dummler, Studniczka, Paton, all argue that Mycenaean art is Carian, and that we have just argued that Carians and Phrygians are sister-races, armed and equipped alike, it might seem that the former alternative must be adopted, viz. that the Mycenaean artists are Carians. This would be a most satisfactory conclusion: for it is always more satisfactory to confirm previous views than to set up new theories. But I find one difficulty in this view. Carians actually settled as a people in Mycenae can hardly be attributed to any but a very remote period (in fact the idea of Carians at Mycenae seems to me to be historically most improbable);[1] but if there is any connexion in idea between the Phrygian monument and the Mycenaean, it is not allowable to separate them in time by several centuries. If the date which I assign to the Phrygian monuments, viz. the two centuries preceding 675 B.C., is accepted, I do not think it is allowable to place the Mycenaean gateway earlier than the ninth, and it is more likely to belong to the eighth, century. The view to which I find myself forced is as follows. There was in the eighth century lively intercourse between Argos and Asia Minor: in this intercourse the Argives learned to use the linen breastplates which were worn by the Mysians,[2] and to fortify their city in the Phrygian style with lions over the gate. Historically there is certainly good reason to assign at least part of the fortifications of Mycenae to the time when the Argive kings were the greatest power in Greece, and such authorities as Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and Niese have adopted this opinion. On the other hand the almost universal opinion of archaeologists rejects this hypothesis.[3] But the positive grounds which are adduced by Furtwängler and Loeschke to prove the great antiquity of the Mycenaean remains seem to me singularly inadequate to support such a superstructure of theory as they build. Moreover there remains a difficulty which no one has even attempted to dispose of. It is a historical fact that Argos was the greatest power in Greece and supreme in the Peloponnesos during the eighth century: Greek tradition assigns to the Argive kings several developments of civilisation, coinage, standards of weight, &c., which imply intercourse with Asia Minor. Yet the majority of archaeologists assign all the early remains in this district to a period centuries earlier. Is it probable that all traces of the greatest period in Argive history have altogether disappeared, while numerous remains exist of Argive glory during the unknown

[1] They would belong to the race which inhabited Caria before it was conquered by the mail-clad tribe akin to the Phrygians.

[2] See Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen*, &c., ed. 4, pp. 137, and 141, 142.

[3] Studniczka, making the strength of his language proportionate to the difficulty of the subject, says, *die Dorer wird kein Archäolog ernstlich in Betracht zu ziehen vermögen*, *Mittheil. Athen.* 1887, p. 8. Mr. A. S. Murray however has advanced the same opinion as I hold, and Monsieur S. Reinach has expressed his adhesion to my view, which was published in one of his *Chroniques d'Orient*, 1887. See Wilam. in *Hermes*, xxi. p. 111, n. 1, and *Isyllos*, p. 162, n. 1; Niese, *Entwickl. d. homer. Poesie*, p. 213, n. 1; Busolt advanced a similar view in vol. i. of his *Gesch.* and retracted it in vol. ii. Mr. Murray stated his view in a lecture at Edinburgh in 1887. M. Reinach says in one of his recent *Chroniques*, 'ce fait vient à l'appui de la date proposée par M. Ramsay et qui me semble à peu près exacte' (1888).

period 1500—1000 B.C., and again of Argive bronze work of the sixth century B.C.? I find myself unable to face this difficulty: the presumption is that very early remains of art and wealth in the Argive valley belong to the period of Argive greatness, and those who refer them to a remoter period must begin to face and explain away this antecedent probability against them. Finally, it is acknowledged generally that the remains in Mycenae are of a very mingled character: Carian and Phrygian, Assyrian, Egyptian, and Hellenic styles are all found. Even such an advocate of Carian settlement in Argos as Studniczka admits the admixture of objects Hellenic in character. But this mixed character is precisely what we should expect in a kingdom like the Argos of the eighth century with its mixed Dorian and pre-Dorian population, its well-attested intercourse with Asia Minor, and its legendary connexion with Egypt. I wish however to express no opinion here about the date of the Mycenaean tombs and about Mycenaean pottery, but only to argue that the fortifications of the Lion Gate belong to the period 800—700 B.C. The people who built the Lion Gate considered the peribolos with the tombs as sacred, and the heroes buried in the tombs belong to an older time.

The tale of Pelops the Phrygian crossing the sea in his chariot, and of Danaus the Egyptian settling in Argos, have not the same historical character as the tradition (accepted above as truly historical) that the Phrygians came from Europe into Asia Minor. They are inextricably involved in a great body of legend of very various character. The historical foundation for both is, according to my view, only the actual intercourse of Argos with Phrygia and Egypt during the eighth and seventh centuries.

The view which I maintain is therefore that the idea of the lions as guardians of the gate arose in a country where Cybele was worshipped, and where the dead chief was believed to be gathered to his mother the goddess. Her sacred animals, the lions, guarded the door through which her son had returned to dwell with her. The Phrygians adapted an old oriental heraldic *schema* to represent this idea: and the artistic type thus devised remained in use in Phrygia so long as the religion of Cybele lasted, *i.e.* down to the third or fourth century after Christ. In the interchange of artistic forms and improvements in civilisation which obtained between Phrygia and the Greeks, this lion-type passed into Mycenae during the ninth or more probably the eighth century B.C.

Around this old city are scattered many other early monuments. One of these is roughly published in my *Historical Relations between Phrygia and Cappadocia;* it consists of a species of rock-altar not standing free but against a perpendicular surface of rock. Over the altar is carved a long inscription, of which only the first and the last few letters are now legible: the beginning is *Matar Kubile Pat*[ar ?] written to the left in archaic letters.[1] This monument has no appearance of connexion with a grave, but the general analogy

[1] The last two letters are here added to the text as published in the above-quoted article (*Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1883). Is it an invocation to Mother Cybele and Father —— ?

is sufficiently strong to produce in my mind the belief that it also is sepulchral in character.

Another group of monuments connected with this old city is situated at the village of Bey Keui, three miles west of the Lion Tombs. Two of these deserve a brief notice. The first is a chamber tomb, cut in a group of rocks 300 yards east of the village. A short *dromos* cut in the rock leads to the entrance, which is now in a very ruinous state, but which originally consisted of a *prothyron* and an inner door admitting to the *naos* or sepulchral chamber. In the round arched pediment over the outer door is a defaced relief, representing two lions sitting facing each other, each extending a forepaw and resting it on an upright object between them. A similar *schema* occurs on a very archaic vase from Attica in the British Museum. The present state of the monument is too dilapidated to permit any confident opinion as to style and date.

The other monument of Bey Keui which I shall mention is of the first importance. In 1884, while encamped at Demirli ($1\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of the Lion-tombs), we heard a curious tale about a black stone covered with writing which had once been dug out of a mound at Bey Keui. We went there and succeeded in finding a man who had seen the stone. The mound, which is about a mile south of Bey Keui, on the left bank of a stream, is clearly artificial; and we hired four workmen, whose labour for a whole day disclosed the stone, on which there is a short inscription in the Syro-Cappadocian ('Hittite') hieroglyphics. I hope to publish it shortly with other monuments of the same class in the *Mittheilungen des Instituts zu Athen*. The existence of an indubitable Syro-Cappadocian hieroglyphic inscription among the Phrygian monuments is one of the points which confirm me in the belief that Phrygian art succeeded the older Syro-Cappadocian art in this district, when the energetic tribe of mailed warriors from the west established itself in the Sangarius valley. The only Syro-Cappadocian monument which seems to me to be certainly as late as the Phrygian monuments, is that at Ibriz. In publishing this monument in the *Archäologische Zeitung* 1885, I pointed out its later character (its style being more Assyrian as distinguished from the Egyptian analogies in the older monuments of Syro-Cappadocian art), and the resemblance between the embroidered robe of the king and the pattern on such Phrygian monuments as the Tomb of Midas.

An outlying group of monuments connected with this old city is situated near Liyen, a few miles north. The most important of these is the Arslan Kaya, published in this *Journal*, 1884. It shows that sphinxes and gryphons were forms familiar in Phrygian art. A mile or more east of this monument is a similar one, but of a much less imposing character, and in far worse preservation. The pediment with sphinxes, exactly similar to Arslan Kaya, is the chief feature in it. Close to the two Lion Tombs is a monument which shows some analogy with the shrine in Arslan Kaya. It is situated to the right of the road leading from the Lion Tombs to the villages Tekke and Kairan, concealed among the low brushwood about half a mile south of the tombs. I saw it in 1883 in company with Prof. J. R. S. Sterrett, and again

in 1884, but was unable to find it in 1887. Room cannot here be found for the sketch which I made in 1884.[1] The monument consists of two parts, a rock-altar, rectangular, approached by continuous steps on all sides, and beside it a small rock-shrine, roughly cut in the shape of a gabled *naiskos*. A rude image of the goddess, quite similar to that at Liyen, but without the lions, is represented in high relief in the shrine. The total height is between five and six feet. About a quarter of a mile east of the Lion Tomb is a small rude monument in low relief within an oblong slightly sunk panel. It represents a human figure or rather a pillar surmounted by a human head and shoulders. At the side of the panel is an oval cartouche, 9 inches high. The relief which nearly fills up the panel is 34 in. high by $12\frac{3}{4}$ in. broad.

A third group of monuments, exceedingly numerous and varied in character, is situated at the village of Ayaz Inn, about four miles SSE. from the Lion Tombs. The village with the pile of carved white rocks rising over it is a most picturesque and remarkable sight, but the monuments are not of the highest interest, partly on account of their generally ruinous condition, and partly from their belonging for the most part to a later date. Several of them have been already published in this Journal, plates XXIX. No. 5 and No. 6, XXVI. No. 1, XXVII., XXVIII. No. 3, from Mr. Blunt's drawings. One of these with ionic supporting columns appears to me to be anterior to Greek influence (Plate XXIX. No. 6). Several others also seem to me to be of true Phrygian pre-Greek style; a specimen may be found in Plate XXIX. No. 5. But the great majority, as I think, show the influence of Greek art, which penetrated Phrygia before Alexander's time; the commercial relations which spread this knowledge doubtless facilitated Alexander's conquest by causing a philo-Greek party in the cities of the interior.

These various groups of monuments, extending from Liyen to Ayaz Inn, belong to one Phrygian town. In the Roman and Byzantine period this town probably bore the name Metropolis, and was situated at Ayaz Inn: it is an interesting coincidence that one of the monuments near it bears the name of Mother Cybele. Metropolis was a small place, which probably had not the rights of a *civitas* until the fourth century, when there was a general tendency to break up the dominion of the great cities by honouring small towns with the *jus civitatis*. Previously it was probably subject to Prymnessos (as Orkistos was to Nakoleia), and coins of Prymnessos bear the name and bust of Midas in virtue of the old Phrygian monuments in its territory.[2]

After the Cimmerian conquest about 675 there was a period of disquiet which ended by Phrygia passing under the Lydian dominion. According to the treaty of 585, the Halys was fixed as the boundary between the Medes and Lydians. The kings of Phrygia mentioned under Alyattes and Croesus by Herodotus were vassal kings. The old Phrygian warriors armed like Greeks or Carians seem to have disappeared after 675, and in 481 the Phrygians

[1] It will be published in M. Perrot's fifth volume.

[2] 'Cities and Bishoprics,' § XXXVII.—XXXIX.

were armed like the tribes to the north and east, while the Lydians were armed like Greeks. The Greeks in this period knew the Phrygians only as slaves, and it is highly improbable that any powerful national art was developed in such a period. Hence it seems to me to be necessary to date all the great monuments before 675, and to class the numerous monuments which show more analogy to and even dependence on Greek architecture to the centuries following 585. Lydia, the mistress of Phrygia after 585, was penetrated by Greek ideas and Greek influence.

A second series of monuments of the old Phrygian kingdom is situated about fifteen to twenty miles north-east and north of the series which has just been briefly described. It is impossible here to publish the map in which I have shown the relative situations of the monuments in the two series. In M. Perrot's fifth volume a map of the kind will be given, and I must refer to this. As in the previous case, this second series is divided into several groups, a mile or two separate from each other, three of which are situated at the villages of Bakshish, Kumbet and Yapuldak respectively, while the fourth lies along the sides of the glens beside the Tomb of Midas. Kumbet is situated on the river Parthenios, whose name is recorded only on coins of Nakoleia belonging to M. Waddington's collection. In this neighbourhood three towns, and one or perhaps two forts, all belonging to the old Phrygian period, can be distinctly traced. I shall begin with the one which is by far the largest and most important of these: I shall call it the Midas-city, because in a spur of its rock-walls is situated the famous monument of Midas.

Fig. 11 shows the shape of the Midas-city: it, along with Fig. 12, is the result of six long days' work of Mr. Hogarth and myself in 1887. It was made thus. Hogarth started from the gate at *D*, and fixed by measurement and angles a series of points along the walls, about thirty to forty feet separate from each other. I measured a line of 400 feet due north and south (magnetic), about the centre of the city, and from this base line I measured separate lines to the points *D*, *H*, *C*, *A*, and *Q* on the walls. When Hogarth reached *H* his position for it varied five feet from mine; here we adjusted our plotting to make our results agree. The line along the wall between *H* and *C* is exceedingly rough and difficult, and some mistake occurred, which made us differ at *C* by about thirty feet: in all probability it is due to some measurement between *H* and *C* being omitted in plotting. It would have taken a whole day to discover the error, our host the Circassian Bey who had recently built a village beside the Midas-tomb was getting very sick of our company, and time was precious. I have therefore lengthened the distance between *H* and the gate *E* in order to bring us into agreement.

From *C* to *A* I measured the line of the walls, having the extreme points fixed from the base line. Hogarth did the wall from *A* to *Q*, his final position differing very little from that which I measured from the base line. The distance *Q* to *D*, and all the measurements about the gate (which are used in

TOMB WITH RELIEF OF HUNT
LOW BROKEN ROCK
CATE
H
MIDAS TOMB
CHAMBER
CHAMBER PARTLY IN ROCK
STEEP SLOPE
PLATFORM
STEPS
CATE E
TALL POINTED ROCK
EDGE OF PLATEAU
ALTAR E
ALTAR D
HIGH PERPENDICULAR ROCK
D
OUTER EDGE OF ROCKS
SLOPE
TREE
LINE OF PRECIPICE
STEEP SLOPE
EDGE OF PLATEAU
ALTAR A
Q
POSTERN D
C
CATE C
CATE B
LOFTY ROCK
TREE
POSTERN GATE
LOFTY ROCK
POSSIBLE APPROACH NOW INACCESSIBLE
LOFTY ROCK
PROBABLE APPROACH
CASTLE
STEPS
TREE
100 50 0 100 200 300 400 500 FEET
WALL BUILT OF SQUARED STONES
CYCLOPEAN
PROBABLE LINE OF WALL
ROCK CUTTING
PROBABLE LINE OF ROCK CUTTING
ROUGH ROCK
WALL OF NATIVE ROCK
STEEP GRASSY SLOPE
TREE
TREE
HOUSES
ALTAR F
PROMINENT ROCK A
A
TREE
VERY LOFTY ROCK
POSSIBLE POSTERN
R

FIG. 11.

Fig. 12) were done by me. In measuring this series of points, most of the lines of wall which can be seen were filled in according to measurement; but the breadth of the wall is exaggerated on the plan to make it more distinct. I went round the whole circuit and filled in roughly by eye the rest of the natural features along the measured line of the walls. At the same time I added also (judging by eye only) a few traces of wall which had escaped us previously. With these few exceptions, and some of the details of wall between *A* and *C*, *Q* and *D*, every trace of the line of fortifications was examined by us both and carefully discussed.

Of the whole line of fortifications not a single stone now remains in its place. The fact seems extraordinary to those who have not traced carefully the lines of the walls of ancient cities, but I have observed similar cases. At Phocaea I have followed the line of the ancient wall for a mile, tracing it with perfect ease by the marks cut in the rocks to receive the stones, but not a single stone can now be seen, and no visitor to Phocaea has so far as I know ever observed the line of the fortifications. One of the many schemes which want of means prevented me from carrying out in Asia Minor was a survey of the situation of the ancient Phocaea. Erythrae was the first place where I observed this phenomenon. The walls there still remain (or did in 1880 remain) in massive ruins across the plain. As I was making the tour of the circumvallation, I came to a rocky hill with sloping sides: here the wall came to an end, and all trace of it disappeared. Up the sloping hill ran a sort of staircase, which I ascended, wondering what was its purpose, but when I reached the top and looked back, I saw that the wall came straight to the lowest step, and that the staircase was simply the beds cut in the slope to receive the stones of the wall. The walls of Phocaea, like those of the other Ionian cities, were probably destroyed by the Persians, and not a trace now remains of them except the rock-beds. The walls of Erythrae remain in fair preservation, except on the rocky hill-sides, where they had not firm grip of the soil: they belong obviously to the period of the Diadochi, like those of Smyrna and Ephesus.

The Midas-city is situated on a rocky plateau, whose general level is about 200 feet higher than the open ground in front of it to the east and north. The rock is a rather soft and friable volcanic stone,[1] which splits easily in vertical surfaces; and either on this account or through scarping, or probably through both causes combined, the plateau is almost entirely surrounded by vertical faces of rock, absolutely inaccessible except where a break occurs. Some of these breaks are either wholly or in part modern, but many of them are ancient, and one can trace distinctly on each side of these old gaps the lines where the wall that filled up the gap fitted into beds cut in the rock.

[1] A portion of the stone of the Midas-tomb was submitted to Prof. Alleyne Nicholson of Aberdeen; he writes that it 'is a volcanic *ash*. It is apparently a submarine ash, and is in many respects very similar to the peculiar ash which occurs so largely in parts of the Rhine valley, and which is locally known as *trass*. As it is very friable, and as its external characters seem to be quite sufficient for identification, I did not prepare a slide of it for the microscope.'

Besides this there was a parapet built along the edge of the plateau, in all places where the rock forms a vertical precipice. The northern half of the plateau is level, the southern part is rocky, and rises towards west and south.

The rocks of the plateau occupied by the city do not rise straight from the plain on all sides. Except on the southern side, a steep bank of grass-covered detritus, formed by the disintegration of the rocks above, rests against the rocks and facilitates the ascent. This bank is of varying height, sometimes about 100 feet, while west of gate *B* it reaches up to the summit of the plateau: it is now of course much higher than it was when the city was inhabited, through the increased rapidity in the disintegration of the rocks. The same formation—rocky plateaus with precipitous sides and banks of deposit at their base—is characteristic of the entire district.

The line of the walls cannot be completely recovered, but some features of the fortification can be traced.

Gate *A* is an entrance into a sort of chamber, 50 or 60 feet long, and completely surrounded by perpendicular rocks, except where two roads lead east and south up to the plateau. On the upper edge of the rock-walls are traces of a parapet which was once probably continuous. Out of this chamber a narrow road, which has been cut through the rock and is clearly ancient, leads upwards towards the east into the city; another narrow road leads southwards towards a place where considerable cutting seems to show that a large house stood, with part of its lower walls formed in the rock and part built above the rock.

The precipice which bounds the plateau is lofty as we go round from *A* for some distance towards gate *B* and *C*. The line of the parapet can here be traced almost continuously, and some outlying rocks, accessible from the plateau but defying approach from without by their smooth and perfectly perpendicular sides, have evidently been occupied as forts to strengthen the defences.

At gate *B* an easy ascent leads up to the walls, which here are strongly planted on rocks, precipitous though not lofty. There were here apparently two entrances, leading respectively east and south through the line of walls. An approach at *C* is possible, but very doubtful, and a little further north there was perhaps a postern, as there seem to be traces of cutting for a passage.

Further north is *E*, the best preserved of all the entrances. At the top of the bank of detritus a path leads up through a cleft in the rocks to a gate in a recess of the walls. On each side the cleft is shut in by perpendicular rocks. Between the cleft and the lines of the city-wall are level platforms high above the path and quite inaccessible from it, but at a lower level than the city-plateau. Besides the gate which is at the top of the path, there are at the sides two small gates, each with a staircase leading down to the level of the intermediate platforms. The defenders had thus easy access to the two platforms, and any enemy attempting to approach by the narrow steep path below and between them was completely at their mercy.

The parapet of the city-wall on the left hand as one ascends this path still remains, as it was not built, but cut out of the rock, like the parapet which still remains in the Acropolis beside the Lion Tombs. One of the little side-gates admitting to the intermediate platforms is cut through this rock parapet.

A little south of *D* the form of the plateau changes. It rises to a much higher level, and towards the edges is separated by a short steep slope from the bounding line of the precipitous rocks. The line of fortification follows the line of the higher plateau, and the steep slope towards the precipice was outside the wall. From *Q* to the south-western corner *R* the precipice is

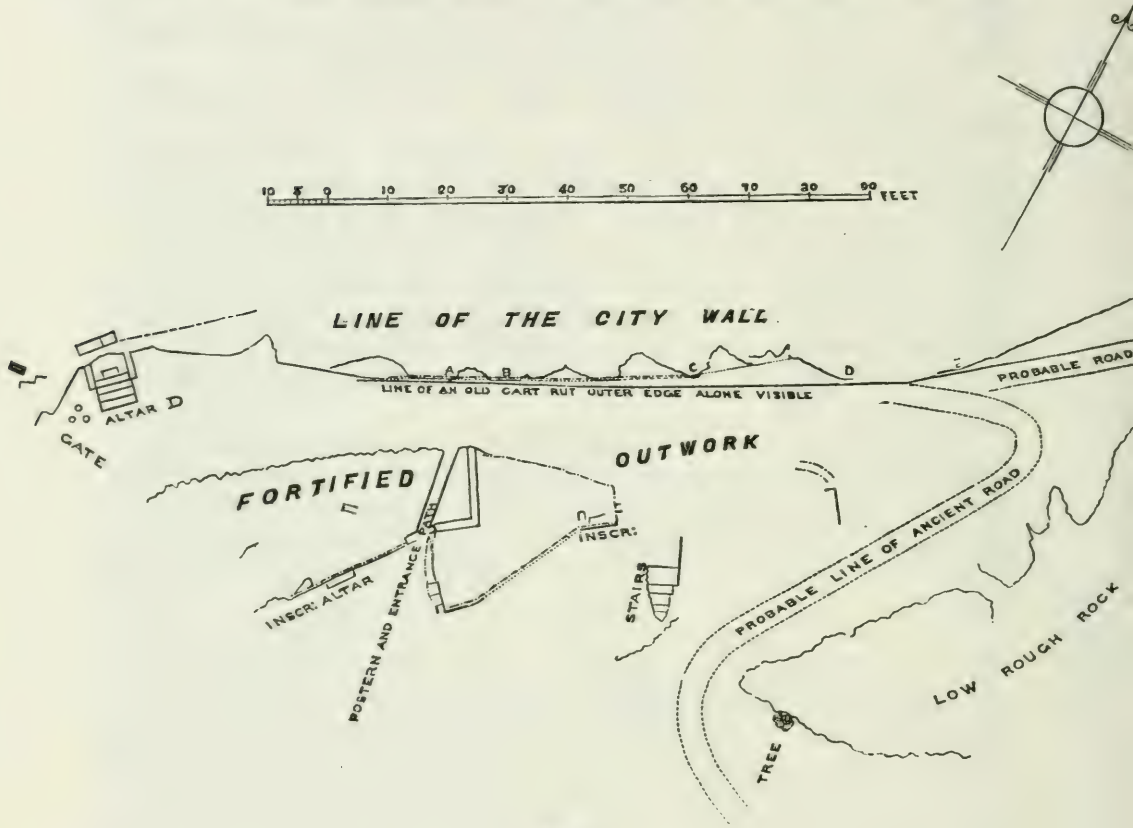


FIG. 12.

very lofty, and only one possible approach now exists. A path was once in use up this difficult approach, which winding to the right over the intermediate slope entered the city through a small postern between two lofty parallel faces of rock about four feet apart. The holes in which the gate was fastened can still be seen in these rocks.

Between *H* and *D* the rocks are much broken, and it is difficult to

determine which of the many now practicable entrances were used as such when the city was inhabited; the two which are marked were probably ancient, but their original arrangement can hardly be determined.

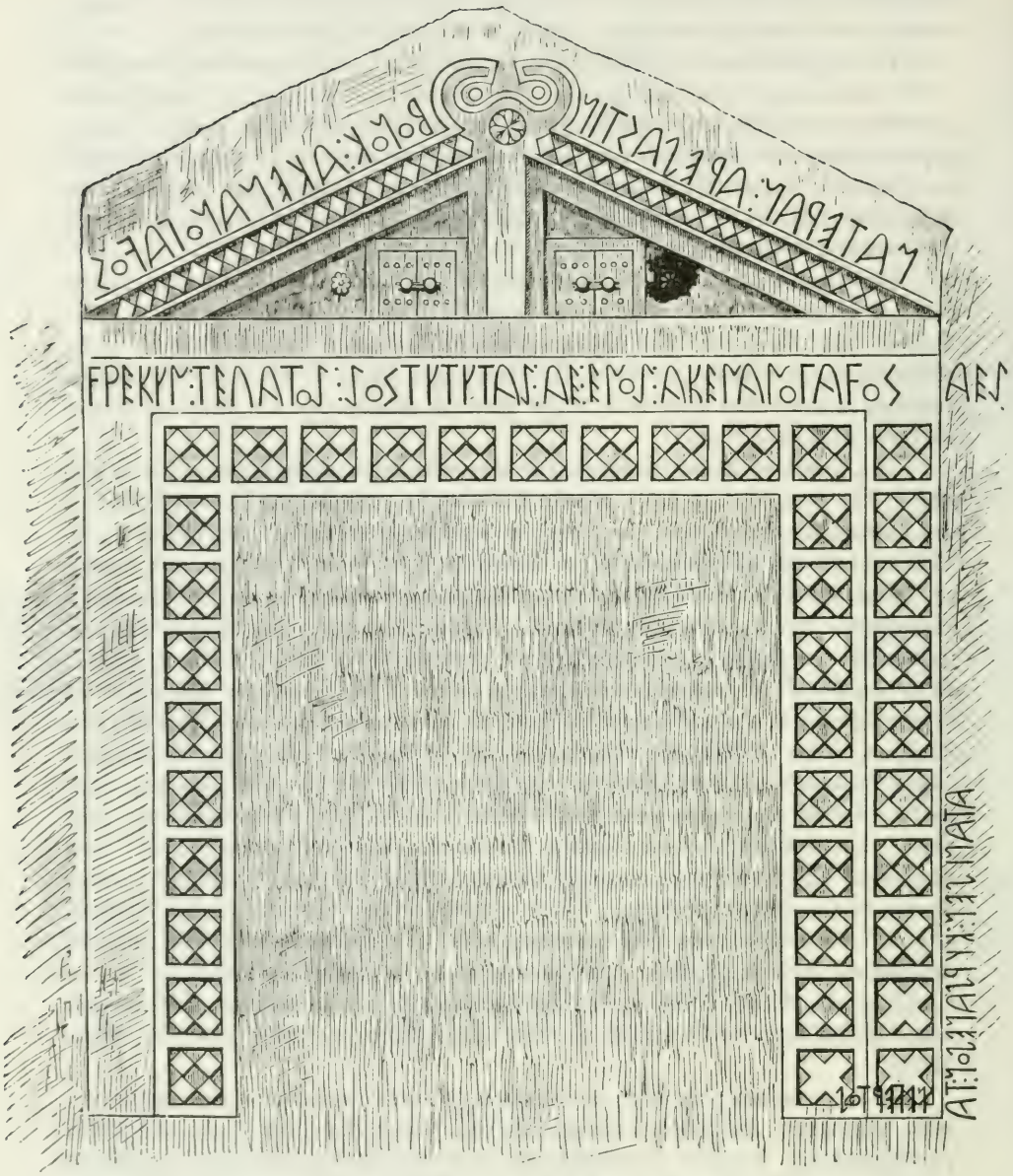
The approaches to gate *D*, probably the chief gate in ancient time, are shown on a larger scale in Fig. 12. The fortifications were very strong here. A *dromos*, once fringed on each side by walls, leads up to the gate. There approaches ascend the slope to the *dromos*, one through a narrow postern, and two broader ways. This was the only gate practicable for wheels. In describing some of the separate monuments, the arrangement at this gate will be described more in detail.

The traces prove that many parts of the walls were Cyclopean, other parts of squared stones. The same variation occurs elsewhere, *e.g.* at Pishmish Kalessi (the Phrygian fort opposite the Midas city) and at Pteria. It is naturally more difficult to trace the Cyclopean parts of the wall, but rough cuttings in the rocks to receive large unhewn stones can be observed where we have indicated them.

The Tomb of Midas is situated at the extreme northern extremity of the city. The fact that it faces nearly due east is probably to be attributed to the natural formation, and no religious significance can be attributed to it. This monument was discovered by Leake in 1800, and this discovery marks as real an epoch in the investigation of early Greek history as Dr. Schliemann's excavations do in more recent time. Before that discovery it was utterly impossible to assign any historical value whatever to the tales about Midas. In no mythical personage is the fabulous element more strongly marked than in the Midas of the ass's ears, the umpire between Apollo and Marsyas, the familiar friend of Silenus, who turned all he touched to gold. Since that discovery there is probably no one who doubts that the old Phrygian kingdom really existed and impressed the Greeks so strongly by its brilliancy and power that the crash of its sudden destruction by the Cimmerians 675 B.C. impressed itself on the memory of history and is now one of our few certain marks in the early centuries. When we survey the remains of this ancient city and the monuments that surround, some of singular beauty, and many of interest on various grounds, and then look at the grave dedicated to 'Midas Lavaltas the King,'[1] the monarchy becomes to us a reality. The double name Midas Lavaltas reminds us that more than one king bore the name Midas.

It is a remarkable fact that this important monument has never yet been published accurately, though it has frequently been seen and often photographed. Texier's drawing is the least inaccurate, but his reputation is so low that Mr. Murray has preferred in his *History* to reproduce Steuart's hideous and ridiculous engraving. Mr. Blunt made a very successful photograph and drawing in 1881, and I had hoped that his drawing would

[1] My friend Mr. Neil suggested to me the opinion, which seems to be correct, that Lavaltas is the Phrygian form of Laertes.



FRONT ELEVATION.

12 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 FEET

Fig. 13.

have been published in my former paper on this subject, and given this *Journal* the distinction which still remains open for M. Perrot's fifth volume, of placing the first trustworthy representation of this monument before the eyes of scholars.

These wide-reaching inferences lose much of their foundation, if the opinion, which I have formerly combated, but which I believe is adopted by M. Perrot, is true, viz., that this monument is not the Tomb of Midas, but merely a religious representation dedicated to a hero or deity. The reason which I formerly advanced, and which still seems to me sufficient, is the almost universal analogy of surrounding monuments. Almost all are tombs: in some cases an ineffectual attempt has been made to conceal the grave, but in a few cases the attempt has been successful, and has therefore roused disbelief in the existence of any grave. But as the point seems to me of the first importance in regard to historical evidence, I shall now advance two other arguments. The first is the meaning of the inscriptions on the very monuments where no grave can be discovered. 'Ates placed to Midas Lavaltas the King' is not quite clear, but certainly suggests more naturally the form of an epitaph.[1] But a much clearer case occurs in the inscription on a neighbouring tomb, represented on Fig. 13. I have discussed this inscription in the forthcoming number of Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, and have translated it: 'Phorkys (*nom.*), himself the son of Akenanolas, Arezastis (*accus.*), the mother of himself, wife of Akenanolas," after which follows a verb. A separate inscription, on the uncarved rock above the niche which contains the monument, continues 'if he should . . . . the name of the mother who bore him, he . . . . (the grave? *accus.*) of that same mother.' Fragmentary as this translation is, it leaves no doubt that the monument is dedicated by a son to his mother, *i.e.* that it is a grave for a Phrygian noble lady, in all probability a queen.

The next argument will come more conveniently in my second paper; but I hope that already I have made out a strong case for the view that all monuments of the classes yet described are sepulchral.

The analogies with Lycian, which I have pointed out (*l. c.*) in discussing this inscription, are my chief ground for maintaining that a branch of the same European stock settled as a conquering caste in Lycia. The analysis of the Phrygian glosses published long ago by Fick, and confirmed by his brief note on the Phrygian inscriptions of the Roman period[2] in the last number of Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, show that linguistic evidence marks Phrygian as a European language. Deecke also considers Phrygian as of the same family with dialects of Thrace and Illyria.

In Fig. 13 the unfinished state of both the right and the left sides is

[1] The verb *edaes* appears to me to be an aorist of the root *dha*, the medial aspirates becoming media in Phrygia. Deecke prefers to derive it from *da*, but appears to take from it the same meaning as I advocated in *Journ. Asiat. Soc.* 1883.

[2] I published these in *Zfl. f. vergleich. Sprachf.* 1887, p. 381-400. See Deecke's papers on Lycian and Messapian in *Bezzenb. Beitr.* and *Rhein. Mus.*

remarkable. In the pediment are represented two double doors, imitated after wood studded with metal nails: the doors are fastened shut by cross-bars, which are now much broken as they are quite clear of the actual valves of the door. They pass through sockets in two metal bolts which stand out prominently from the woodwork of the door. The imitation of woodwork is frequently apparent in Phrygian monuments, and the imitation of a wooden door studded with metal nails recurs in Arslan Kaya (*J. H. S.* 1884). I have restored the original appearance in this sketch: parts of the surface and the letters are much worn. The scale given is merely approximate, as the monument is not accessible.

W. M. Ramsay.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

(*A.*)—ART AND MANUFACTURE.

Tanis, Part II.—Nebesheh (Am) and Defenneh (Tahpanhes). By W. M. Flinders Petrie, with chapters by A. S. Murray and F. Ll. Griffith. (Fourth Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund.) London. 1888, 4to. With numerous plates.

A complete review of this work must be left to Egyptologists, but some notice of it from the standpoint of Hellenic studies may well be looked for in this *Journal*. Any notice may justly begin by eulogizing Mr. Petrie's untiring energy and care as an excavator, and by congratulating him and Mr. Griffith on the publication of the present volume. In *Tanis*, part ii., Mr. Petrie continues the description of the monuments of Tanis begun in his previous monograph (*Tanis*, part i., 1883–4, published 1885) by giving an account of the further clearing of the two stone-lined wells at Tanis. Translations of the Egyptian inscriptions are published by Mr. Griffith.

Tell Nebesheh and Defenneh are sites new to the traveller and archaeologist. Tell Nebesheh was probably the city Am, the capital of the nineteenth nome of Lower Egypt. Cypriote mercenaries appear to have been stationed here by Psamtik I. at the time (*circ.* B.C. 664) when he established the Greek garrison at Tell Defenneh, seventeen miles to the east. In the cemetery of Nebesheh Mr. Petrie discovered tombs dating from the seventh to the fifth centuries B.C. and containing Cypriote vases, chiefly of the 'pilgrim-bottle' type, spear-heads and bronze forks (see Pl. III.). He suggests that these forks are the shoeing of the butt-end of spears for fixing in the ground, and that the pilgrim-bottle form was borrowed by the Egyptians from the Cypriotes. In tomb 17 was a well-preserved pottery coffin with a human figure represented on its lid (Pl. I. 17). In nearly all these Cypriote tombs the body lay with the head to the east. In one of the houses in the town twenty-five Ptolemaic tetradrachms were found, the latest being of B.C. 244–43.

The ruins of the old frontier fortress of Tahpanhes, Defenneh or Daphnae (Δαφναί, Hdt. ii. 30, 107; Δάφνη, Steph. Byz.), which guarded the great highway into Syria, stand in the desert bordering on Lake Menzaleh. The fortress—as the foundation-deposits attest—was built by Psamtik I. Herodotus (ii. 30) states that guards were stationed at Daphnae in the reign of King Psammetichus and also in his own day, and Mr. Petrie places at Daphnae the Stratopeda (Camp) (Hdt. ii. 154) in which dwelt the Ionian and Carian mercenaries who had aided Psammetichus. At Defenneh—as at Naucratis—Greek pottery and iron tools

were discovered in abundance, and from this alone it might be concluded that the population there was largely Greek. The establishment of the fort and camp probably took place about B.C. 664. The Greeks of Daphnae came into contact with the Jews, and Mr. Petrie has some interesting remarks on the results of this intercourse. On the accession of Amasis, Greek trade in Egypt was restricted to Naucratis (*circ.* B.C. 570–565). The Greek garrison at Daphnae was now deported and all commercial activity seems to have ceased there: none of the Greek pottery discovered appears to be later than this period. In several chambers of the fortress (now locally named the 'Palace of the Jew's daughter') a large quantity of good Greek pottery was found, much of which had evidently been thrown away. The 'Typhon' or 'Boreas' vase (Pl. XXV. 3) was found broken into ninety-nine pieces. Certain kinds of painted pottery which are common at Naucratis are not found at Defenneh; while other kinds common at Defenneh are not represented at Naucratis. Mr. Petrie conjectures from this that the two cities did not obtain a regular trade-supply of pottery from Greece and Asia Minor, but that each manufactured for itself. At Defenneh, at any rate, there is evidence of a native manufacture. The situla-type of vase (*e.g.* Pl. XXV. 3) was evidently copied from the bronze situla of the Egyptians. The finding of vases at Defenneh is highly important for ceramic chronology, as the specimens must almost certainly have been made within the period B.C. 664–565. The pottery from certain chambers can even be dated within the narrow limits B.C. 595–565. Some interesting remarks on the painted vases are contributed by Mr. Murray (chap. x.). Among the specimens noted by him are the following: (1) *Situla* (Pl. XXVI. 8). On one side, Bellerophon on Pegasus; on the other, the Chimaera with open jaws awaiting his approach. It is unusual on early vases to find a subject thus divided into two parts. (2) *Fragment of Situla* (Pl. XXVI. 4). Figure of Nike with wings on back and feet. Mr. Murray compares with it the marble statue of Nike from Delos by Mikkiades and Archermos. (3) *Situla* (Pl. XXV. 3). On one side, a winged and bearded figure holding a serpent in each hand, and with his body ending in a serpent. Mr. Murray suggests that this figure is Typhon or, rather, the wind-god Boreas, one of whose sons (Zetes or Kalais) is probably represented on the other side of the vase. The figures are here painted in black and purple on a white slip. Other vases have been painted in black on the red clay and then fired. (4) *Fragment*, with two scenes in parallel rows: (*a*) Hunt of Calydonian boar, (*b*) Athletes wrestling and boxing; beside them, the judges, and the tripods given as prizes (cp. the François and Amphiaraos vases). The unpainted pottery of Defenneh is both Egyptian and Greek.

Chapter xi. deals with the small antiquities, which are in some cases of the seventh, but mostly of the sixth century B.C. Among them is a piece of the familiar *Tridacna* shell, engraved; a series of rude stone figures; some dice, and scarabaei—the last-named however not numerous and important like those of Naucratis. The finding of gold foil, gold globules, minute weights, &c. is evidence that goldsmith's work was carried on at Daphnae; the Daphnae workshops may possibly have been 'the source of much of the Greek gold-work with quasi-oriental designs which is found all over the Mediterranean.' Iron and bronze objects are common at Defenneh, and it is also evident that Daphnae, like Naucratis, was an important place for smelting and iron-working. Lastly, Defenneh yielded an almost inexhaustible supply of ancient weights, and with these Mr. Petrie carefully deals in chapter xii.

W. W.

Catalogue of the Engraved Gems in the British Museum. (Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities.) London. Printed by order of the Trustees. 1888. 8vo.

The publication of this volume will be welcomed by ordinary visitors to the British Museum as supplying a long-felt want, and by archæologists as a valuable contribution to glyptography. The work has been written by Mr. Arthur Hamilton Smith, and the Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Mr. Murray, has revised it and prefixed an interesting and suggestive Introduction. The descriptions of the gems (pp. 39–231) are clear and accurate and, though in most instances no notes are added, references to the literature are given in the case of specimens already published. Indices of subjects and inscriptions are appended. The illustrations consist of nine well-executed autotype plates and a frontispiece. Considering that the price of the book is only three shillings, this is a liberal allowance of plates, and a more lavish expenditure on this head would have made the work too dear for a guide-book. For a 'catalogue' however—and one which will be frequently consulted by archaeologists living abroad—it may well be questioned whether ten plates (though judiciously selected) is an adequate body of illustration. We should like to see in future editions illustrations on the scale of the British Museum Coin-Catalogues, in some volumes of which there are nearly forty plates of photographs.

The arrangement adopted for the Museum gems is as follows:—1. A class consisting of the earliest Greek gems—the 'Inselsteine' and specimens from Ialysos and Kameiros. 2. Scarabs, consisting of a series from Tharros, and of others illustrating Greek myth, legend and daily life. 3. Gems of undoubted Greek work. 4. The largest class—Graeco-Roman gems, arranged according to subjects, the divinities and heroes being followed by personifications, portraits, agonistic and other subjects, animals, &c. Gems retaining their ancient setting as rings are classed separately. The author and the editor have naturally grappled with the difficult problem of true and false, and have obelised as of doubtful antiquity several of the specimens catalogued. This will make the study of the Museum gems an easier and more profitable task than formerly. The determination of the date of ancient gems is a no less difficult problem, and one on which archaeologists have not yet said the last word. In his Introduction Mr. Murray has stated his views as to the date of the principal classes of gems and as to some of the more important specimens. In dealing with the Etruscan scarabs he assigns the earliest specimens to the end of the sixth or to the beginning of the fifth century B.C. This view which is mainly arrived at by a comparison with contemporary Greek sculpture, is well borne out, I think, by extant specimens of Greek coin-engraving of the period. Mr. Murray points out the similarity in form and subject of the earliest Greek gems and the earliest coins. The study of Greek coins is in fact—for all periods—a quite indispensable aid in determining the date of ancient gems. W. W.

Die Giganten und Titanen in der antiken Sage und Kunst. Maximilian Mayer. Berlin. 1887.

This book is an extraordinarily elaborate and careful enumeration and discussion of all the information to be found on this subject in literature and monuments, and as such will in all probability be final. At the same time it will rather serve as a store whence specialists can draw the facts for all subsequent discussions, than

as a treatise that will enlighten the student on the complicated problems with which it deals. It is very difficult to form any clear notions from such an accumulation of details, in the absence of any general sketch or *résumé* of the results for which the materials are here so richly gathered together. In the very complete enumerations, especially those of early works of art representing various scenes of the Gigantomachy, the chief value of the book will be found.

Legend and literature occupy the first two hundred and sixty pages; one hundred and fifty are devoted to works of art, recorded or surviving. The popularity of the Gigantomachy, as contrasted with the Titanomachy and the constant confusion of the two, require careful investigation; for this purpose 'first the giants are discussed, then the Titans; then the Titanomachy, and last of all the Gigantomachy, which forms the result of the whole development.' To indicate in detail the classifications adopted would occupy far too much space; they can be followed in the list of contents, which, with the numerous headings to sections and pages, greatly facilitates the use of the book. The section headed 'Sagen einzelner Gegenden' is referred to in the 'Contents' as 'Sagen einzelner Giganten'—probably a misprint.

We may doubt whether derivations such as Ἄστακος from ἄσταχυς, γίγας from γῆ = γηγενής will find favour with philologists; the reader might infer too, p. 81, that Τιτάν is connected with Ζὰν and Dianus: but the whole passage as to the origin of Titan is anything but clear; for on p. 117 we find, 'Titan von Tan stammt, also in erster linie nicht den Sonnengott sondern den Donnerer zukommt.' The system of the interpretation of myths hardly appears scientific in all respects. That the Hekatoncheirs should, if sea-monsters, represent the hundred arms of the Aegean, or that the stone thrown among the earth-born to cause them to slay one another represents the land for which they quarrel, seem at least fanciful explanations, ill-fitting the period when myths originated.

The *Giants* are not notable for size, like those of northern tales, which rather resemble those of the *Odyssey*, but for their wildness, pride, and fury; they are children of the earth and mortal; thus they represent the mythical aborigines often slain by Heracles. The Aloadae are connected with Demeter and agriculture; in their attempt to scale Olympus there is no trace of the fight with the gods, which cannot be traced back beyond the sixth century.

The story of a *Titan* dominion before Zeus never had a hold on popular belief; various Titans, and even Titan itself, are old names of various local gods of heaven or the sun, some later identified with Zeus or Apollo-Helios; so Kronos means 'ripener.' Atlas, Tantalus, Cyclops, all similarly represent the sun. It is difficult to explain the connection by which these find their way into Tartarus, as well as the monsters (Hekatoncheirs, &c.) that properly belong there. Later the Titans are confused with the Giants, or made into demons, as in the Orphic myths. A full list of passages where the words Giant and Titan are interchanged is given on p. 145. For the Titanomachy probably the account of Eumelus was nearer to tradition than that of Hesiod. The Gigantomachy also was probably included in Eumelus, but not in Hesiod. Apollodorus alone still preserves a continuous account, which is in part derived from two distinct early sources, in part gives Hellenistic developments, The story may perhaps be an imitation of the Titanomachy, perhaps a development of the stories of Euboean giants in Chalcidian colonies (Phlegra, Pallene, Phlegraean plains in Italy, &c.).

In the enumeration of extant works, Kronos, Prometheus, Atlas, &c. are

excluded. A valuable discussion follows of those Gigantomachies either totally lost or surviving only in fragments. Among the earliest surviving instances are the Olympian treasure-house of the Megarians and the new pediment on the Acropolis at Athens, probably belonging to the great temple of Athena that preceded the Parthenon. Very full lists are given of the Attic vases before the end of the fifth century; on these, it seems, Herakles only appears in or near the chariot of Zeus, armed with sword or lance: the various scenes are fully classified and described. Then comes the bowl of Erginus, painted by Aristophanes; lastly the later vases, in which the gods occupy the circle of Heaven, stormed by the giants. The sculptural instances are then discussed, including those from Sunium, the Parthenon, New Ilion, Priene, and others, and above all the Pergamene friezes. For the great altar the latest arrangement from the Berlin working model is recorded. It has recently been discovered that the steps were broader than was at first supposed, and therefore fewer fragments are missing. Finally small works of art, bronzes, gems, coins, &c. are described, and thus the work is made as complete as possible. It concludes with a somewhat scanty index. A fuller one would have been very valuable. E. A. G.

Hypnos. H. Winnefeld. Berlin and Stuttgart. 1886.

This work is dedicated to Professor Kekulé by the *Philologische Gesellschaft* in Bonn. It is a worthy product of his school, and is full of the refined criticism for which it is distinguished. In the first part the types of the Sleep-god are discussed. In the second a statue of another type, which is modified so as to represent that deity, is described and discussed.

The author points out the distinction which we must draw between Hypnos, the god that gives sleep, and the mere personification of sleep. These two were in later times confused. As to early representations of Hypnos—of that on the chest of Cypselus we can gain no clear notion; on the Attic vases with the combat of Heracles and Alcyoneus we see a winged figure, not yet individualized. On the 'Memnon vases' we find two armed genii carrying a warrior. Under the influence of the Sarpedon myth these become Sleep and Death; but no distinction is made between the two. On the polychrome lecythi Hypnos is distinguished as young, but has otherwise nothing distinctive. Not much later is the sculptural model that fixed the type of the sleep-giving god; it is preserved in the well-known Madrid statue, in the bronze head in the British Museum, and in smaller reproductions. This type is carefully described (pp. 8—11). From it the figure of a dancing satyr, of early Hellenistic time, seems to be derived; hence it must belong to the Praxitelean period—a conclusion confirmed by other indications. The series of imitations is numerous; on a bowl of Canoleios the type is used for Hermes. It frequently occurs on Endymion sarcophagi. An old man overcome by sleep—a mere personification of sleep—is often confused with the true Hypnos type, the result is an interchange of characteristics between the two. Another conception of Hypnos is as the guardian of the sleeper; this is represented by a bearded type, always with wings on the shoulders: these are not found in earlier examples of the other type.

The statue discussed was found near Tusculum, and acquired for Karlsruhe in 1885. It is of the 'Narcissus' type; but other examples of that type are of Peloponnesian style, while this one, preserving their general arrangement, is in all

details softened and made more Praxitelean; wings are added on the head. It is doubtless a Hypnos, and it is modified from the 'Narcissus' type to approximate to the ordinary Hypnos type. Such an adaptation is more natural if we suppose, with Friederichs, that the 'Narcissus' is really a genius of death.

Appendix—a description of two pieces found with this 'Narcissus';—an Aphrodite (Medicean, more or less), and a group of a girl and a boy holding a small mask over her shoulder.

Three good photographic plates are added: I. the Karlsruhe statue; II. the Head of the same; III. Head of 'Narcissus' at Berlin. The last two could be more easily compared if photographed from the same point of view. But as it is they bear out the criticism of the author very well.

E. A. G.

Studien zur Vasenkunde. Paul Arndt. Leipzig, 1887.

In this work Mr. Arndt, a pupil of Professor Brunn, takes up the views of his teacher in regard to the dates of the classes of Greek vases, and works them into further developments; works them one may say to death.

The views now prevailing in regard to Greek vases, are that except the very early and very late classes nearly all were manufactured at Athens and exported to the places where they are now found, and that their date is that to which the style of their art and the character of the letters in their inscriptions immediately point. The protest of Brunn against these views is marked by his usual insight and force. But in assigning the great bulk of the black-figured and red-figured vases found in Italy to the age after Alexander he has certainly overstepped the truth. Arndt goes still further, and will scarcely allow any vases found in Italy to be earlier than the third century. Brunn allows that a few vases of the 'Chalcidian' class are really archaic, Arndt will not pass one; even vases regarded by Brunn as of fine archaic Attic work, such as the British Museum vase representing the birth of Athena (*M. d. I.* III. 44 and 45), are set down by Arndt as archaistic.

If Mr. Arndt had satisfied himself with maintaining that many of the vases found in Italy, both of the black-figured and early red-figured classes, are of the imitative sort and of local fabric, or that the red-figured vases found in Sicily were produced in the Greek cities of that island, many people might have been disposed to agree with him. But he allows no compromise and makes no discrimination. And when we read that Euphronius was an Italian potter of the third century B.C. we feel that Mr. Arndt is carried away utterly at the mercy of a doctrinaire hypothesis. The Athenian excavations of the last few years have sufficiently fixed the date of Euphronius.

No one could check all the assertions in this book, dealing as they do with history, philology, and archaeology in all branches; but every one can test a page here and there and from the results judge of the rest. The first thing that strikes one in Mr. Arndt's reasonings is the large part played in them by the 'argument of silence':—this that and the other phenomenon does not occur in archaic art. Of course if any of them does occur on an apparently early vase, it at once becomes *bedenklich*. For example, sea-horses do not belong, says Mr. Arndt (p. 85), to early Greek art, therefore the vases on which they appear must be late. Yet it is well known that ordinary sea horses appear quite commonly on archaic coins of Tarentum. One occurs also on the François vase, the early date of which is

actually allowed by Mr. Arndt, only as it is rude, Mr. Arndt prefers to call it a *Seeungeheuer thierischer Art*, rather than a sea-horse. If Mr. Arndt had only had courage to call the François vase also late he would not have been obliged in this and other cases to explain away its testimony, and he could have greatly lengthened his list of phenomena which 'do not occur in early Greek art,' but do occur on vases which are usually considered archaic. If a second vase were found as rich in figures as that of François it is fairly certain that a large part of Mr. Arndt's 'arguments from silence' would collapse.

At p. 106 Mr. Arndt tries to prove that the only period in the stormy history of Sicily at which the people could possibly have leisure for producing vases was B.C. 240—215; and for this reason he would give to that period the severe red-figured vases found in Sicily. Does he mean seriously to say that ancient peoples did not produce pottery while they were at war? During the fifth and fourth centuries the mints of Sicily produced vast quantities of most beautiful coins. How was it that there was time to cut dies, but not to paint pottery?

It is unnecessary to pursue our criticism further. Mr. Arndt has done well to call in question the current views as to the history of Greek pottery, and some of his remarks and observations are interesting; but he utterly lacks judgment and caution. The solution of these difficult problems to be successful must be attempted in quite another spirit. P. G.

(*B.*)—HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES.

A History of Greece. By EVELYN ABBOTT, M.A., LL.D. Part I. From the Earliest Times to the Ionic Revolt. Rivingtons. London. 1888.

THIS first instalment of Dr. Evelyn Abbott's History of Greece shows much conscientious care in the investigation of historical materials, a scrupulous regard for certainty, which resolutely excludes from the field of history all premature conclusions, old or new, and a cautious self-repression which avoids any temptation to make new and brilliant hypotheses. We may, however, be allowed to regret that the result on the whole is a character of negation, which is likely to prove rather discouraging to the ordinary student. For it can hardly be said that the author gives us what he promises in his preface, 'an intelligible sketch of Greek civilization . . . . within a brief compass.' Such an 'intelligible sketch' in the present state of our materials for constructing Greek history demands a combination of rare qualifications in the historian. It requires both a power of lucid arrangement and a unity of plan and purpose, combined with a faculty for eliciting important truths from a mass of confusion—the historical imagination in fact, which can construct *ex pede Herculem*, and which unfortunately is seldom found in conjunction with perfect sobriety of judgment.

The sentence from Strabo which is prefixed to the work is not a very inspiriting motto, and it expresses the tone of the whole. A student might be led to suppose that recent criticism and research had destroyed all the old bases of historical knowledge without giving us anything to put in their place. Thus it is stated that 'the evidence of monuments, unless illustrated or confirmed by written documents, is of small service to the historian,' and so the remains at Mycenae, Tiryns, Hissarlik, and other places, of which Dr. Abbott does not dispute the high

antiquity, are rendered uninteresting to the historian, as not standing in relation to anything that we know of historical Greece. In the mythological field Dr. Abbott is equally sceptical. He shows how extremely small is the amount of historical information to be derived from a large amount of legendary lore, while at the same time he carefully guards against any one-sided theory of myth-interpretation, such as that of solar phenomena or of totemism. Yet when he has shown the historical worthlessness of most mythology, it is rather wearisome work, for himself and his readers, to traverse the wide field of rejected material. We would rather that he applied himself to the work of construction, citing the myths where they afforded the grounds of his conclusions, than that he devoted long chapters to relating the myths, giving us some general hints as to the use of some of them, and a warning as to their ordinary worthlessness.

Similarly with the epic poems. 'Homer,' says Dr. Abbott, 'is of little or no value as evidence of the early civilization of Hellas,' and if this is the case, we do not see much object in examining with attention the social and political institutions described in the Homeric poems, seeing that he does not regard them as even roughly corresponding to the institutions of any definite time or place.

On most of the other debatable questions in early Greek history, Dr. Abbott is equally cautious and reserved. He expresses no definite opinions as to the primitive inhabitants of Greece or the respects in which they differed from the Hellenes. He believes in the Phoenician colonization of Thebes, and rather favours the view of early contests between Greeks and Phoenicians in Attica. In treating of the beginnings of the Spartan state—respecting which he rejects Dr. Duncker's theory of a combination of two states—in examining the evidence for an early Argive confederacy, in his treatment of origins generally, Dr. Abbott is always on his guard against over-estimating traditions or assuming unverified hypotheses. We should feel more grateful for the discipline of his cautious scepticism, if only he would make a little more of those facts respecting which we are certain, and from which, if rightly interpreted and expanded, a good deal might be derived. For instance, we have very little said about the early religious associations among the various Greek states. Even the great Amphictyony of Thermopylae receives little more than a casual mention. Yet perhaps the further investigation of the origin and significance of so marked a feature in early Greek life might, in the paucity of other materials, throw a good deal of light on what seems hopelessly obscure. It is to be regretted that Dr. Abbott has found it necessary to postpone his chapter on Greek religion to his second volume, since he is obliged, in this first part, to say something of the influence of oriental cults on those of Greece, and of the formation of the Hellenic pantheon, and a thorough treatment of the subject, early in the work, would be conducive to the clearness and the interest of the whole.

Some attention is paid to the beginnings of Greek art and thought, though rather casually than in a systematic way. The long and elaborate description of the chest of Cypselus seems rather out of place without an attempt to show exactly how it is important to the historian. We feel inclined to invoke the shades of Pythagoras and Thales—to say nothing of nobler and more recent examples—against the statement that 'in the period when Greek biographies were written, the life of sage or philosopher was thought insipid without an infusion of vice.' In speaking of Greek athletics, and of the great solemnity with which the Olympic games were regarded, he says that the fact 'would be incredible if it were not

true. But it is true.' This seems almost a confession of inability to enter into the mind of the Greeks, since to one who had done so the fact would seem not incredible, but entirely natural. We regret to see that Dr. Abbott favours the more limited view of Greek history, by quoting with approval the remark that it 'begins with Achilles and *ends with Alexander.*'

In some other respects, besides those already noted, the arrangement of the work seems unfortunate, as it involves repetitions, and prevents the laying of sufficient stress on leading features. Some of the mythology has to be repeated or referred to in the non-legendary chapters. The political changes of the seventh century have to be generally noticed among the causes of Greek colonial expansion before we come to the chapter on 'The Tyrants.' The story of the Pisistratids and of Spartan intervention in Attica belongs to both the series of events related in chapter xiv. and in chapter xv. respectively.

All this amounts to little more than saying that the work is deficient in constructive unity. The want is, perhaps, less conspicuously felt when we come to more definitely historical ground. In treating of Solon and of the early Athenian constitution Dr. Abbott is comparatively on *terra firma*, and is both instructive and readable. We would note in passing that while accepting the view of Dr. Busolt, Mr. Head, and others, that Solon substituted the Euboean standard for the Aeginetan, Dr. Abbott does not regard this measure as one of those designed for the relief of debtors.

The succeeding volumes of this history will be anxiously awaited by all who have read the later and more political chapters of this first part. If a satisfactory history of early Greece is yet to be written, it must wait till a more complete consensus has been established as to the significance of the literary and monumental relics of pre-historic times.

A. G.

Griechenland. 2nd edition. BAEDEKER. Leipzig. 1888.
Grèce, I; Athènes et ses environs. GUIDES JOANNE. Paris. 1888.

THE travellers and the students who visit Greece this year have a great advantage over their predecessors in these two excellent guide-books. Everywhere in Greece, and especially in Athens, a description a few years old is in many points superseded, and for museums, &c. practically useless. When it is stated that the Baedeker is written for the most part by Dr. Lolling, and special sections are due to Drs. Dörpfeld, Purgold, Reisch, and Winter, and that the Joanne is compiled by M. B. Haussoullier with the assistance of Professor K. D. Mylonas, it is superfluous to add that both leave little, if anything, to be desired in thoroughness and in archaeological accuracy. The Joanne at present only includes Athens and excursions in its neighbourhood, while Baedeker covers most routes in Greece which any tourist is likely to follow; but the French guide, in compensation, is considerably fuller for the places which it includes.

The Baedeker, though only a new edition, in Greece necessarily contains a large amount of new work. 'The maps and plans of the book have been increased to nearly double the number in the first edition,' and the text has in many cases received corresponding additions. Either entirely new discoveries or great additions to our knowledge may be followed in the excellent plans and descriptions of Eleusis, Delos, Delphi, Epidaurus, Tiryns, while Mycenae and Olympia have been in some points rectified or improved. Maps of the environs of

Corinth, of Sparta, and of Olympia will also prove useful. The book contains excellent practical instructions, and we would especially commend those that help a traveller to dispense with the expense and inconvenience of a dragoman, and to travel more independently with only native guides and muleteers. Useful information as to steamboat and other routes is included. Professor Kekulé's excellent sketch of the history of Greek art is repeated in this as in some other of Baedeker's guides. Any traveller will be benefited by its perusal, and it does not greatly increase the bulk of the book. The architectural plate at the end may be useful where correct; it is to be hoped that the 'painted Doric capital' is too absurd in profile to deceive anyone as to the nature of the Doric echinus—the 'Doric cymatium' is also puzzling.

Outside Athens, one turns with greatest interest to the great sites of recent excavation—Epidaurus, Tiryns, Delos, Olympia, Oropus, Eleusis. At Epidaurus the tholus of Polyclitus and the theatre are briefly but carefully described. But the inscriptions set up in thanks for the healings of Asclepius were in the peribolus, not inside the tholus, as is stated in the text. The plan of Tiryns, of course after Dörpfeld, is a model of clearness, and should enable anyone to follow out the chambers of the pre-historic palace, as well as the great walls. The plan and description of Delos are adequate. Of Olympia, it is needless to say, the plan and description afford the best possible *résumé*, in a moderate space, of the results of the great excavations, so far as they are yet completely worked out, and are worth the study not only of the traveller, but of any who would learn these results as now viewed by those most competent to judge. The Amphiaraum is passed over somewhat briefly, and without a plan; but it is out of the way for most. To Eleusis is accorded a description and plan that will probably satisfy the requirements of any who are not special students. To Athens itself are devoted eighty-two pages; a wonderful piece of compression, when we notice that but few things of much interest are omitted, and that the account of the principal buildings, if short, is in all cases clear and intelligible. One or two points might be improved; thus it is implied in the text that Pericles was the first to select the site of the present Parthenon for a temple—a statement that will probably astonish any visitor, and will leave him at a loss to explain the fragments of a great and early marble temple both in the museum and outside it. If Dörpfeld's view as to the early Athena temple be so completely accepted, it requires more than seven lines of discussion. The view given as a fact in the text rests solely on the true identification of that early temple, which is referred to as doubtful. But in any case Pericles cannot have been the first to begin a temple on the present site—Cimon did, if Pisistratus or his predecessors did not. The description of the cella of the Parthenon is inconsistent with the plan, which has only partially been corrected in accordance with the views of Dörpfeld and others, accepted in the text. On the other hand the description of the Erechtheum is clear and consistent—no slight attainment in such a complicated problem, whether the solution given be the true one or not. But here the most probable seems to be selected. It is hard to see why the description of the museum on the Acropolis is still kept with the order of the rooms reversed; if one begins on the left of the entrance, the succession is roughly chronological—at least one sees the archaic things before the sculptures of the Parthenon and the Nike temple, and a reversal of this order must be confusing.

But it is easier to find fault with details than to estimate duly the completeness

and accuracy of the whole work. It is indispensable to the traveller in Greece, who cannot be too thankful for the help it will give him throughout his tour.

The Guide-Joanne is on a larger scale; it assigns 127 pages to Athens alone, and the excursions in the immediate neighbourhood which it includes are also very thoroughly treated. We especially notice the plan and description of Eleusis, which leave nothing to be desired. Small plans of Marathon and Salamis are also added—the last somewhat superfluous, since it is already contained in a map on a larger scale. This larger plan of Attica has the advantage of extending to Marathon on the N.E.; but neither Joanne nor Baedeker gives a map of the Laurium and Sunium district, which almost all travellers visit. The French guide includes most convenient and well-arranged tables and information as to routes[1] both by boat and railway from Paris to Athens, and about Greece; its sketch of the language and archaeological hints will also supply much information of just the kind wanted by the traveller; but he who carries a guide-book in his pocket will not readily forgive the publisher who burdens it with no less than 128 pages of advertisements—more than the amount assigned to Athens!

The description of the various museums is excellent, and the criticism there given fully compensates for the absence of a complete sketch of the history of Greek art—and it is more likely to be read and understood. One can only regret that the constant rearrangement and increase of the museums will soon render this part of the book difficult to use. A plan of the Dipylon and the Ceramicus will be a great help in an attempt to follow the confusing topography of that region. The plan of the Acropolis is brought up to date, giving the space flattened for the altar of Athena N.E. of the Parthenon, and the pre-historic palace and steps E. of the Erechtheum. The description of the Parthenon is very clear and thorough—that of the Erechtheum not so good; it goes carefully into details, but is very difficult to follow, especially in its description of the Pandroseum. As to the 'early temple of Athena' Dörpfeld's theories are entirely accepted; but it seems rash, in a hand-book such as this, to state as a positive fact that the cella of this temple was reconstructed and seen by Pausanias. It would have been well to add that this last fact is at least still disputed by good authorities, and that the mention in Pausanias rests on a conjectured lacuna in his text. The difficulty of the Caryatids facing a blank wall is not referred to. In contrast to the usual care with which the most recent results have been utilized, the Olympieum is stated to have ten columns on its E. and W. faces, though Mr. Penrose's last excavations have proved it to have only eight.

But here, as in the case of Baedeker, to quote inaccuracies is not to give a fair notion of the excellence of the book. For Athens itself and its immediate neighbourhood the French guide is probably the best now existing; while Baedeker's more comprehensive work makes his guide the most convenient for the traveller in Greece, and in parts (Olympia, for instance) it is beyond all possible rivalry. It is to be regretted that our English guide-book lacks the practical utility and the complete working up to date that distinguish the foreign ones. In Murray's guide, and especially in the section devoted to Athens, there is the basis of a better

[1] We notice, for correction, that in some cases the sea distance is given as 'kilos.,' when it should be 'geogr. miles.' Also that the Messagerie boats are said to call at Naples—they have ceased to do so for two years.

and completer description than is given by either of the others; but the work must be thoroughly remodelled before it can hope to replace them in the hands of the traveller.

One word as to general maps. The plans of Athens both in Baedeker and Joanne are excellent—the latter the more complete. Joanne has no map of Greece—that in Baedeker is professedly based on the Austrian map. Kiepert's map (neues Handatlas 25*a*), with some additions, would have been better both for clearness and accuracy; it well stands the test of serving as a travelling-map. Tiryns should not be omitted.

An English translation of Baedeker's Guide has now appeared.

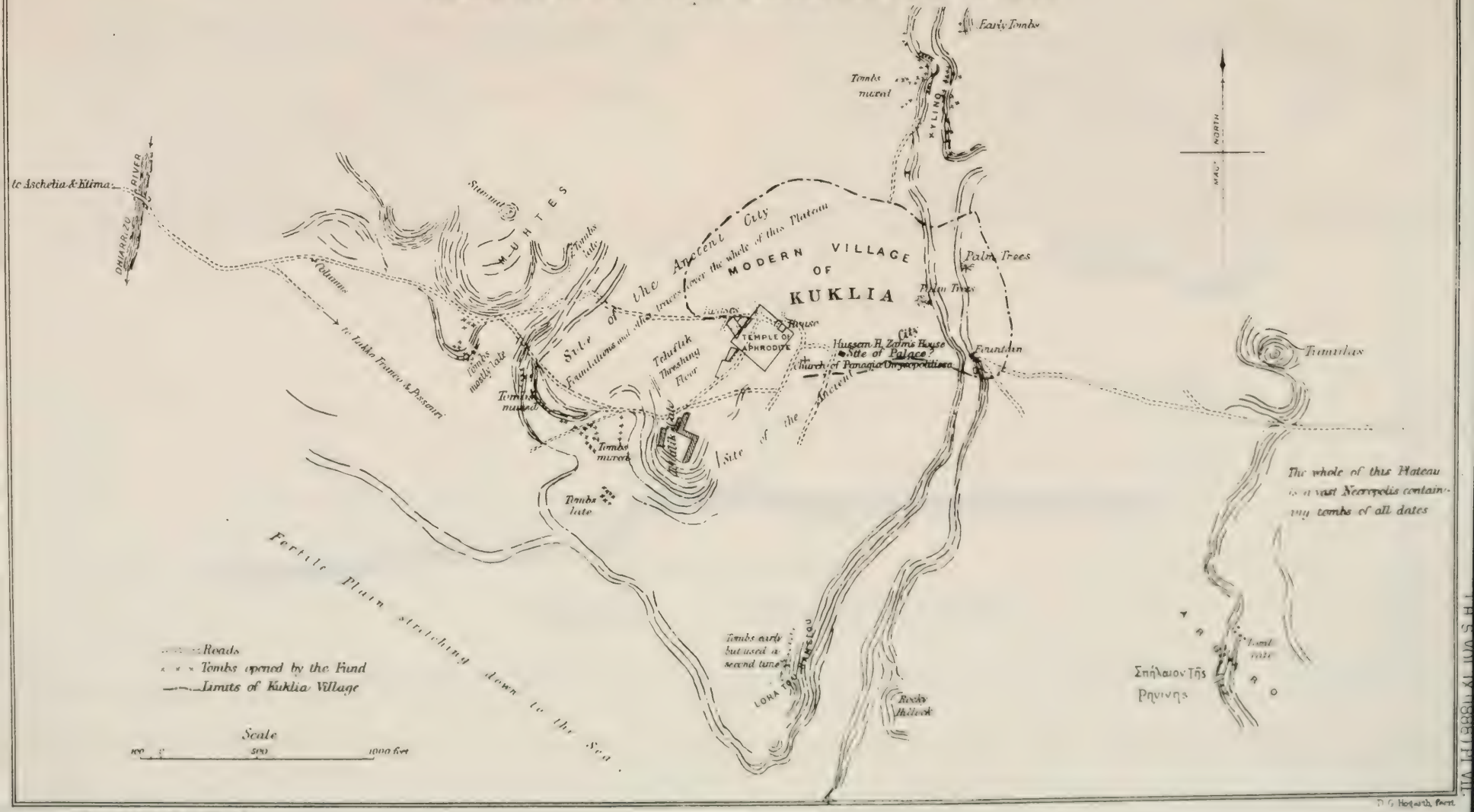
E. A. G.

RICHARD CLAY AND SONS, LIMITED, LONDON AND BUNGAY.

EXTERIOR OF VASE

INTERIOR OF VASE

PLAN OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF KUKLIA SHOWING THE DIFFERENT TOMBS, AND OTHER SITES EXCAVATED BY THE CYPRUS EXPLORATION FUND IN 1888.

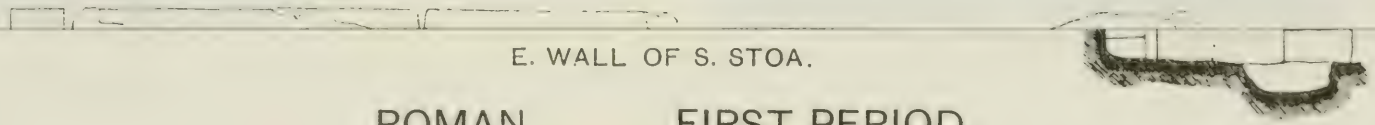


D. G. Hogarth, fecit.

TEMPLE OF APHRODITE

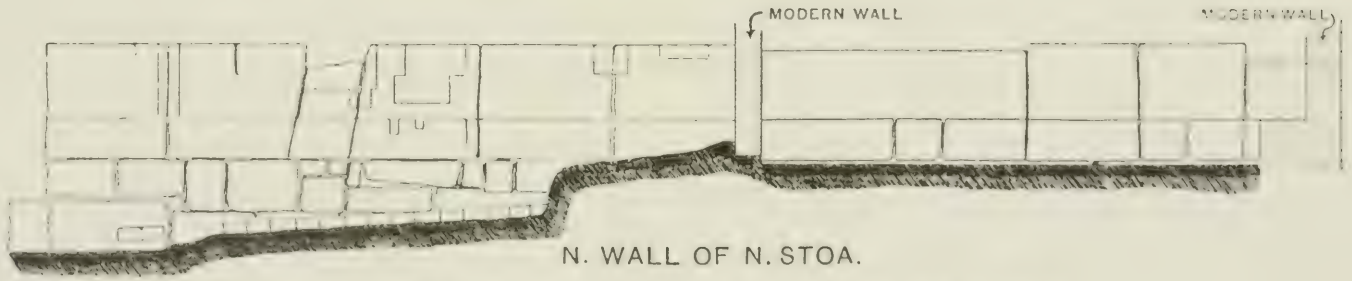
OLD PAPHOS — CYPRUS.

WALLS IN SECTION
CONCRETE .. ..
ROCK OR EARTH ..



E. WALL OF S. STOA.

ROMAN FIRST PERIOD.



N. WALL OF N. STOA.

ROMAN SECOND PERIOD.

Scale 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 of Feet

J.H.S. VOL. IX. (1888) PL. VIII.

TEMPLE OF APHRODITE

OLD PAPHOS = CYPRUS.

WALLS IN SECTION
CONCRETE .. ..
ROCK OR EARTH ..

W. WALL OF COURT. S. WING

PRE-ROMAN FIRST PERIOD.

N. WALL OF COURT S. WING.

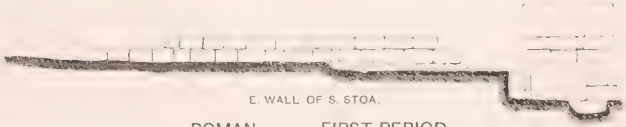
OF PIERS N. END OF S. WING

PRE-ROMAN SECOND PERIOD.

S. WALL OF E. ENTRANCE.

PORTION OF E. WALL.

PRE-ROMAN THIRD PERIOD.



E. WALL OF S. STOA.

ROMAN FIRST PERIOD.

N. WALL OF N. STOA.

ROMAN SECOND PERIOD.

Scale 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 of Feet

Fig 1. S. WING FROM NORTH

Helioǧ Dujardin

Fig 2. E. ENTRANCE FROM NORTH

Héliog. Dujardin

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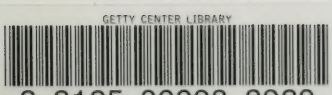

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